

THE
EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,

AND

LITERARY MISCELLANY,

BEING A NEW SERIES OF

The Scots Magazine.

JULY 1825.

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EDINBURGH:

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HIGH WATER AT LEITH.

<i>Days.</i>	<i>Morn.</i>		<i>Even.</i>		<i>Days.</i>	<i>Morn.</i>		<i>Even.</i>	
Aug. 1825.	H.	M.	H.	M.	Aug. 1825.	H.	M.	H.	M.
M. 1	3	30	3	46	W. 17	4	10	4	32
Tu. 2	4	1	4	17	Th. 18	4	52	5	15
W. 3		33	4	48	Fr. 19	5	35	6	0
Th. 4			5	20	Sa. 20	6	26	6	53
Fr. 5		36	5	56	Su. 21	7	25	8	4
Sa. 6	6	18	6	39	M. 22	8	45	9	32
Su. 7	7		7	36	Tu. 23	10	14	10	54
M. 8	8	12	8	55	W. 24	11	29	11	57
Tu. 9	9	39	10	22	Th. 25			0	21
W. 10	11		11	34	Fr. 26	0	45	1	4
Th. 11			0	5	Sa. 27	1	22	1	39
Fr. 12	0	32	0	58	Su. 28	1	57	2	13
Sa. 13	1	19	1	45	M. 29	2	29	2	44
Su. 14	2	5	2	28	Tu. 30	2	58	3	13
M. 15	2	48		10	W. 31	3	28	3	42
Tu. 16	3	31		51					

MOON'S PHASES

Mean Time.

	D.	M.	H.
Last Quart...Su.	7.	7	past 0 morn.
New Moon...Su.	14.	50	— 6 morn.
First Quart...Sa.	20.	23	— 9 aftern.
Full Moon...Su.	28.	48	— 11 morn.

TERMS, &c.

Aug.

1	Lammas Day.
12	Grouse Shooting begins.
12	King George IV. born, (1762.)
16	Duke of York born, (1763)
21	Duke of Clarence born, (1765.)
26	Salmon fishing in Forth and Tay ends.

Editor's Note.

Various circumstances (bad health among others) have prevented us from attending to certain subjects which we hinted at in our last. Our attention shall be more directed *hence forwards* in our next.

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JULY 1825.

REMARKS ON LOCHANDHU, BY A CRITIC OF THE OLD SCHOOL.

[In our Number for June we inserted a notice of *Lochandhu*. After that Article was printed, we received the following remarks from a quarter of *high respectability* in the literature of Scotland; and we trust that it is unnecessary, in these circumstances to make any apology to our readers for laying before them a second Review of the same work. With feelings of satisfaction, and even of pride, we place this Article at the commencement of a new Volume of our Work, and we are sure that our readers, on perusing these remarks, will participate with us in similar emotions.]

IN this age, certainly one of the most reading and writing ages which we have seen, no species of composition seems to be so much a favourite as the *Novel*. The number of such works is infinitely beyond that of any former time in Britain, or even in France, fertile as it is in productions of that sort, for which both its genius and its language are better adapted than for the more serious and deep investigations of study or of science.

We may, perhaps, without partiality to our contemporaries, ascribe part of the success of such publications to the superior merit of those of the present day. The *Novel* has assumed a higher tone, and a more lofty port, than in the days of our literary predecessors, great as we must allow to be the genius and merit of *Fielding*, *Richardson*, and *Smollet*. Its subjects have been of a higher caste. It has become, as it were, the handmaid of history, tracing the portraits and characters of princes, and statesmen, and warriors, following them in their more serious occupations—and, what is more new, and more interesting to the great bulk of readers, attending them in their retirements from business into

the haunts, the habits, the passions, and the manners, of their ordinary life. In this, which may be called the higher department of the *Novel*, our illustrious countryman, the author of *Waverley*, has particularly excelled, and may, perhaps, fairly claim a great share of the honour of elevating the *Novel* to a rank to which formerly it did not aspire.

But even the modern *Novel* partakes of the nature of its ancestors, and has its loves, its mysteries, its crosses in love, its developement of mystery, in common with the *Novels* of former times. The love, particularly, which French critics have thought that tragedy could not do without, is always the leading passion of the *Novel*, the highly-coloured thread which we always trace through the web of such works. This costume, as it may be called, common to the *Novel* in every age and nation, gives a sameness to the stories or plots, which often fixes the charge of plagiarism, in cases where the author of the supposed imitation was quite unconscious of the similarity of incident or of character.

To this last charge the author of *Lochandhu* may be considered liable. Besides a close imitation of *Waverley*,

he has condescended to imitate authors much inferior. His introduction is almost a counterpart of the introduction to Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*; but it is not so appropriate to the work which it introduces, nor has it (if we are not partial to our venerable contemporary) that pensive tenderness which is the principal merit of his works, particularly of his *Man of Feeling*. There is another introduction, that prefixed to one of the Tales of my Landlord, describing the walk of the Schoolmaster by the side of the lonely brook, after the dismissal of his evening school, much more in the spirit of Mackenzie's introduction, and with, at least, as much merit, both in itself and as an introduction to the excellent work which follows it. We, who are a little of the *old school*, have always looked on this as one of the purest and most interesting passages of any of the works of its justly-celebrated author. In one chapter of the present work, which may fairly be considered as a pretty close imitation of *Waverley*, the drunken, brawling scene, near the beginning of the book, in the alchouse of Mrs M'Claver, we think the copy had better have been spared. The original, though full of that characteristic delineation of place and person, which all the author of *Waverley*'s works possess in so eminent a degree, is somewhat too coarse for readers of delicacy, and the copy in *Lochandhu* is still more coarse and indelicate, we had almost said disgusting, because dirtiness and drunkenness, ribaldry and swearing, are always offensive to persons of taste; and in this work they seem to us not to have even the merit of natural character, (the worthy Baronet, who is one of the principal dramatis personæ of the Tale, seeming quite out of place in this congregation of blackguards;) and still less of tending in any degree to the advancement of the narrative, or the denouement of the plot. This leads us to consider the construction of the fable, a quality in such works of fiction which the seduction of *Waverley* has perhaps tended to make readers undervalue,

but which gives such excellence and interest to *Tom Jones*, and some other works of that kind. It is time, however, and properly belonging to this part of our criticism, to give our readers some account of the story of *Lochandhu*, of which an abstract may be contained in a few pages, all that our limits at present allow. The person whose name forms the title of the book is a material, but not a principal character, of the work. He is a *chieftain* (not a *chief*, for these designations are not synonymous) of the second rank in the Highlands of Inverness-shire, one of the old proprietors of an estate there, who uses his power, as was but too much the case in the Highlands at the period to which this tale is attributed, (though rather of the latest, for the manners are rather too rude even for the eighteenth century,) in a sort of trade of rapine and plunder, in which, however, he was careful not to commit himself personally, but to employ some of his neighbours and retainers. The story opens with a meeting between a young English gentleman of the name of *Amherst*, who comes to Scotland under the guidance of an old friend, formerly Captain of a man-of-war, (Captain Cleaver,) to avoid the importunity of his father's endeavouring to persuade, or rather compel him, to marry a rich heiress, a *Miss Delassau*, who, with her aunt, *Lady Deborah Delassau*, are the principal instruments employed in the construction and development of the story. At the head of the drunken party whom we have just mentioned, and in the chair of that meeting, is placed *Sir Alisander Sanderson**, a worthy and benevolent Baronet, ill assorted, as we said above, with such dissipated and vulgar companions, who kindly invites *Amherst* and his friend *Captain Cleaver* to his house, where the latter resides during the time his young companion remains in Scotland. That companion was indeed domesticated, for the time, in a house, or castle, at no great distance from Sir Alisander's, the seat of *Lord Eaglesholme*, where he finds a new and

* We do not know why in this work the name *Alexander* is changed to *Alisander*; in the native language of the Highlands, the Gaelic, it is *Alister*.

more powerful attraction—a young lady every way superior, both in beauty, and still more in virtue and accomplishment, to his former mistress, Miss Delassaux, in the person of a niece of his Lordship's, *Miss Malcolm*, with whom, having shaken off any remains of his former misplaced attachment, he becomes deeply enamoured, and she, of course, is the heroine of the Novel; their attachment is soon discovered to be mutual, and they plight their troth to one another; but, contrary to the expectation of the reader, he soon after learns that there is an invincible barrier to their union, from some mysterious cause, of which the reader is, with considerable art and effect, kept in ignorance till near the conclusion of the tale. A story of atrocious crime is now unfolded, in which *Lady Deborah Delassaux* is the chief actress, employing for her willing associate and instrument one *Anthonio*, a Neapolitan assassin. This man had become acquainted with *Lord Eaglesholme* at Naples, where *Lady Deborah* seduced him into a connexion with her, though her husband was then living in a different part of Italy, and being found by this profligate woman a fit instrument for her wicked purposes, was employed by him to murder her husband, in hopes of making way for a marriage with *Lord Eaglesholme*. In this, however, she is disappointed; but their connection, though not sanctioned by the church, is so intimate as to produce a child born by *Lady Deborah*, and by her committed to the charge of a Neapolitan woman, wife of *Anthonio*, who, after a certain time, brings her back, educated in all such accomplishments as foreign tuition could give. But though smitten with the charms of her person and the gaiety of her manners, *Amherst* is so much disgusted with an accidental discovery of her total want of that feeling to which she pretended, as immediately to break off all connexion with her, while his father, ignorant of the cause of his estrangement, is indignant at his son's refusal of this match, and on his obstinacy in resisting it, is so much irritated as to oblige his son to leave his house, and to accompany his friend Cleaver

in a tour into Scotland. There, as we have above stated, he forms the tenderest attachment to *Miss Malcolm*, who is said to be niece of *Lord Eaglesholme*, which she candidly owns to be mutual, and he has no doubt of the accomplishment of their union, but finds first her uncle and then herself inexorably determined against it; the mysterious reason for their refusal is explained towards the end of the book; she was believed to be the daughter, not the niece of *Lord Eaglesholme*, born to him by *Lady Deborah*, while her first husband was yet living; the consciousness of this crime in a man of so refined a sense of honour and morality as his Lordship, has the effect of determining him to seclude himself from the world, where he is found living, with the ascetic severity of a monk, in his old castle, with his charming niece; but the second and final discovery of her real birth, by means of the discoveries, first of the *Dwarf*, and afterwards of *Anthonio*, removes this barrier, and *Amherst* is married, with the almost invariable issue of all Novels, to the lady; she inherits the fortune of *Lord Eaglesholme*, (great wealth being another indispensable adjunct to the felicity of the heroes and heroines of such tales,) who throws off the melancholy to which he had so long been subject, and is the happy associate of *Amherst*, and his most amiable wife. The minor characters are rewarded and punished, according to the code of poetical justice. *Lady Deborah* and the associate of her crimes, *Anthonio*, having poisoned themselves, the virtuous persons of the tale attain the happiness and comforts to what they are entitled.

From the above abstract, our readers will perceive that *Lochandhu* has not much pretension to originality, but the imitation is sometimes well executed, and the interest is strongly excited and kept up by the strangeness of the incidents and the uncertainty in which the reader is kept till the very close of the book, though that uncertainty is not so artificially contrived as to overcome the improbability of the story. The details are, however, striking, and the characters sufficiently delineated and preserved

amidst the various circumstances in which they are placed. One of them, a favourite with the reader, is somewhat abased in his estimation, by an excessive love of good eating, which we think not a common attribute of a sea character, and is cast upon *Captain Cleaver*, without any good reason, or any advantage to the conduct of the story. There is, in his declaration of this epicurism, as in other delineations of the characters of the persons, rather too many words, and somewhat exaggerated features of such characters; but the *ne quid nimis* seems a rule which is apt to be neglected in modern Novel-writing. In the *descriptive*, we think the author is very happy; and though in that branch he may be accused of a too close imitation of his favourite prototype, *Waverley*, and sometimes is rather too luxuriant, yet the scenes he describes are delineated with accuracy and force, and strictly belong to the local of the district in which they are laid.

As we think these the best executed parts of the work, we will, in justice to the author, give liberal extracts from those portions of his book, which will afford fair specimens both of his powers of description and of the style of his performance.

The footway-track Amherst had alluded to led them up a steep and very rugged ravine, the bed of which was encumbered by large fragments torn by time and weather from its rocky sides. A clear little rill, gushing from a copious spring towards its upper extremity, ran tinkling over the stony masses, and poured itself into a narrow chasm under one of the largest of them, where it was entirely lost. The fountain-head was enclosed within a circle of ancient ruined masonry, exhibiting marks of having been once polished, laid, and jointed with great nicety; but many of the stones having been shaken from their beds, were now tufted with moss, and partially covered by the broad-leaved, wild plants, growing in profusion around them, and the pure water, once confined to a single jet, now rushed out through various fissures. At the distance of a yard or two above the well stood the remains of the shaft of an ancient cross, and near it on the ground lay the upper part of it, half buried by the herbage, to which the humidity of the place gave peculiar luxuriance.

"What a lovely, wild, and interesting!" exclaimed Amherst.

"What a noble watering place!" cried Cleaver; "here is water enough to supply a whole navy; but what the deuce are these copper coins laid here for?"

"Judging from these fragments of a cross," said his companion, "this must be some holy well. I have heard that such offerings are still made by the superstitious vulgar to springs once blessed by saints of former days, and ever since supposed to be peculiarly gifted, even although popery has ceased to protect them."

Having reached the brow of the crags, a very cheerless prospect presented itself to their eyes. The downs, extending for several miles along the summit of the rocks, and rising in elevation as they retreated inland, displayed a barren surface of irregularly-blown sand heaps, covered with patches of wiry bent grass. Beyond all this a bold promontory arose to the westward, its green head exhibiting traces of ancient fortifications; and, farther still, the eye was carried over an extensive low and sterile plain, yet more unprofitable than the ground around them. Not a house, nor even hovel, was to be descried. What appearance the country, lying beyond the ridge about a mile to the south, might wear, they had no opportunity of knowing; but, as Cleaver expressed it, what they did see looked sufficiently "glum," and damped all hopes of a snug supper. They hesitated for some time what to do. At length, as the sun had already sunk behind the huge bulk of the distant western mountains, and the sea and its coasts were beginning to melt into obscurity,—after wandering from knoll to knoll, without gaining any additional information, they finally resolved to postpone all further attempts to explore till to-morrow, and to return to spend the night on board.

In the continuation of the same passage is the description of the strange anomalous being, who is one of the chief persons of the drama, and expounder of its mysteries, the *Dwarf, the Carlone of the Cove*.

The creature was sitting as if occupied in raising water from the spring. It started up at the sound, stretched its tiny arms abroad, as if in alarm, and running with the rapidity of thought, three times round the circle of the well, suddenly disappeared.

Amherst, roused by curiosity from the momentary surprise this singular apparition had thrown him into, rushed impetuously down the hollow, to discover where it had concealed itself. He carefully examined every nook—he looked into every crevice where a human being

might have been secreted, all the way from the spring, down to the very bottom of the ravine, where it opened upon the strath, but he could not perceive the least vestige of the object of his search. Surprised and disappointed, he stood for some minutes wrapt in silent astonishment, until he was joined by Cleaver, whose obesity of person, ill calculated for such rapid movements, had permitted him to follow but slowly.

"Why, Amherst, my boy," cried the captain, puffing and blowing as he spoke, "why, Amherst, you must surely have the legs of a goat, or a roebuck, to enable you to bound over slippery stones and rugged rocks in this sort of way. I, for my part, who did not run quite so fast, shook my carcase to pieces, and had two or three times nearly broken my legs in my attempt to overtake you. But who the devil was that person we saw?"

"The devil, indeed!" cried O'Gollochar, with a face as pale as death.

"Strange!" said Amherst, after recovering himself, "very strange indeed! where can she have hid herself?"

"She certainly did not pass out this way," said Cleaver; "for before I started to follow you in this same break-neck, mad-cap chase, I kept my eye so fixed upon the bottom of the ravine here, that I must have seen a rat or a weasel, if it had escaped in this direction."

"She could not have scaled these walls of rock," said Amherst.

"Not unless she can walk like a fly, with her head down," replied Cleaver.

"By the hill of Howth she's a fairy or a witch," cried O'Gollochar; "I'll take my oath I saw her vanish in a flash of fire."

"Nay, Cornelius," said his master, "your eyes have added to the mysterious circumstances of this extraordinary personage, who is certainly mysterious enough in herself, without any such flaming addition. But if we may judge of her by the seat she had chosen, she could not very well be a slave of the Devil, whose servants are supposed to flee at the very sign of the cross."

"Och, don't talk about that ould jontleman, dear master," cried O'Gollochar, crossing himself in good earnest; "sure it was my crossing myself afore, when I first seen the cratur, that got us rid of her so aisy; and now, if I might make so bould, I would advise you and the captain to get all three of us on board again, as fast as our trotters can carry us, for fear she might maybe come back again."

After puzzling themselves with unavailing conjectures, the gentlemen returned slowly to their boat. On ques-

tioning the sailors left in charge of it, who had observed nothing, they were satisfied of the impossibility of the figure having escaped along the Leach from the bottom of the ravine, the boat having been moored opposite to the very entrance of it. Their curiosity was sufficiently awakened, and they would have willingly renewed their search, but it was now so dark, that even the adjacent precipices began to be invisible, and all attempts to unravel the mystery were vain.

They were about to get into the boat, when their eyes were attracted by the sudden twinkle of a light on the shore, as if in the bend of the bay, about five or six hundred yards off. At first it seemed to glimmer like a candle or torch, appearing and disappearing alternately. But suddenly it flamed up with a broad blaze, to a great height, illuminating the ample mouth of a large cavern in the cliff, and throwing a red glare on its interior, whilst all around was rendered doubly obscure by its very splendour. The gleam shot across the water, and the tide, as it broke gently on the shore, flashed and sparkled under the influence of its reflection. Several figures were seen, like black shadows, occasionally crossing the light, and apparently employed in feeding the fire. A fervid imagination might have fancied them the demons who guard the damned spirits flitting across the threshold of the infernal regions.

The following is what the Flemish painters call a picture of *Interior*, in which *Teniers*, *Ostade*, and other artists of the low countries, particularly excel.

The house was chiefly composed of two large chambers, known in Scotland by the appellation of the *but* and the *ben*. The first of these, entering from the doorway, was used as the kitchen and hall. It had a large fire-place, with a chimney so much projected into the middle of the apartment, that a company of a dozen might have easily sat under it; and a couple of forms, placed one on each side, showed that it was frequently so occupied. The black smoky rafters were only here and there covered with bits of old boat-sails, stretched across, and bent downwards between the beams, as if laden with numerous articles of lumber thrown up there to be out of the way. In other places the eye was permitted to penetrate upwards through a net-work of cobwebs and dust, till arrested by the interior of the thatched roof. Two or three favourite hens, at roost in the sooty regions above, seemed to sleep perfectly uncon-

scious of the noise below. The walls of the apartment were lined with divers cupboards, and plate-racks of different altitudes, shapes, and patterns, containing a motley assemblage of pewter and stoneware, mingled with kitchen utensils, many of them broken, and all of them dirty. Amongst other things there were a number of truncated bottles, stalkless glasses, and many pieces of cracked tea-ware of very fine foreign China, and these were intermixed with horn-spoons, iron-skewers, and dirty pot-lids. Long strings of fish hung drying over the fire-place, and a number of mutton hams dangled from hooks fixed in the beams, some of them so low as to make it difficult for a tall person to steer his head through them. Several large antique-looking chests, having curious dark recesses between them, where the light could hardly penetrate; a dresser, a frail table, and half a dozen wooden chairs, in the same state, formed the major part of the furniture of this chamber.

This is strikingly graphical, and might afford the materials of a portrait, if the book were ever to be accompanied by a favourite adjunct of modern books, *engravings* of the persons and scenes which the author has only embodied in words. It unfortunately often happens, that instead of giving a juster or clearer idea of the person or place described, the delineation hinders, instead of aiding, the reader's conception of either, and destroys the picture which his imagination had drawn in his mind's eye, after that which the writing of the author had afforded.

No less graphical and striking is the description at page 167 of Vol. I. of a noble prospect afforded to *Amherst*, from a high point of ground which he had reached.

The point on which he stood was opposite to that end of the lake farthest from Sanderson Mains, and its waters, embracing the extremity of the rising ground, here retired behind it into a beautiful bay, where the banks, gently sloping towards it, were richly diversified with noble woods. A sprightly stream here escaped from the lake, and throwing itself soon afterwards over several ledges of rock, hastened to make its way towards the sea through a sequestered glen.

On a broad swelling promontory jutting into the lake stood a Gothic castle of great extent, and bearing all the appearance of having been calculated for power-

ful resistance, when artillery had as yet no share in the havoc of war. It consisted of a large internal court-yard, formed by surrounding masses of irregular buildings, strangely combined with swelling round towers of different magnitudes, some of them rising boldly from the ground, and having their tall thin necks surmounted by curiously-projected square tops of various architecture, and covered with high pitched roofs of grey slate. This inner court was entered through the deep shadow of a heavy Gothic gateway, and was again protected by an outer circumvallation of lower vaulted buildings, forming a strong wall of external defence. The entrance through this was by a gateway similar to that already mentioned, but strongly flanked by low loop-holed towers; and wherever the outer wall presented an angle, it was strengthened by a similar tower. A moat drawn across the neck of land cut off the peninsula transversely, and, when in a state of perfect repair, must have admitted the waters of the lake from either end of it, so as entirely to insulate the castle, and the point of the promontory it stood on. Over this an antique drawbridge gave access to the outer gateway. Some magnificent oaks and beeches, and a few gigantic and grotesquely-twisted fir-trees, almost coeval with the castle itself, rose in groups on that part of the peninsula connecting the castle with the land, and gave roost to a colony of rooks and daws that soared around the airy battlements, keeping up an incessant cawing.

The broad head jutting into the lake beyond the castle was laid out in old-fashioned terrace gardens and walks, with huge hedges of yew and holly, fruit-trees, fountains, and trimmed evergreens, and the centre was occupied by an ample bowling-green. These gardens were defended all round by a terrace wall, and seemed to be kept in order with scrupulous nicety; but the extensive grounds sloping to the margin of the bay, and sweeping downwards into the glen, and upwards over the brow of the surrounding elevations, bore all the appearance of an ancient and neglected park.

So also is the view he gives of the Castle of *Lord Eaglesholme*, which, however, the reader of *Waverley* will immediately refer to what he will suppose to be the original from which it is copied, in that admirable Novel.

The road soon brought him to an old, and somewhat dilapidated gateway, consisting of two gigantic square pillars,

which, from their magnitude, might have been those of Hercules. An enormous rusty iron gate stretched across the broad space between the pillars, over which were the fragments of an iron eagle, in a soaring attitude, with the motto, "*Ad solem tendo*." The gate was locked; but the remains of steps in the high wall enabled Amherst to scale it without difficulty, when he found himself in a labyrinth of wood, where trees of all kinds, but chiefly oaks and pines, of immense growth, produced an impervious leafy canopy overhead, whilst the ground between their stems was filled with almost impenetrable thickets of undergrowth. Even the avenue running from the old gate through this wilderness was considerably overgrown, but it was still sufficiently obvious to preclude the chance of his losing his way.

The ground to the right sloped gently towards the lake, and, as he proceeded, he began to have occasional peeps of it through glades of rough old pasture, opening widely in the woods. To the left these openings showed considerable sweeps of the neglected lawn, stretching up the side of the hill between masses of embowering trees. The whole wore the appearance of having been given up to the uncontested dominion of the wild animals. Herds of fallow-deer were seen feeding in the more open grounds; he disturbed hundreds of hares too; and his path through the thickets was frequently crossed by the roebuck, that stood to gaze at him for a moment before it plunged into the brake.

As he proceeded, the woods became thinner, and at length the trees began to straggle off into the park, forming fine foregrounds to the view of the interior of the bay, the peninsula, and the castle now appearing, backed by a grand amphitheatre of elevated grounds, rising in sloping pastures, richly, though irregularly diversified with groups and masses of trees. Amherst, who was an enthusiast in his admiration of scenery, stood for a moment enraptured; and, as he wandered on towards the neck of the peninsula, he was still more enchanted with all around him.

Having passed under the old trees of the rookery, he approached the worm-eaten draw-bridge, which he crossed to the first gateway. Here he was met by an old gate, formed of strong upright and transverse bars of iron, of immense proportions. A small iron chain hung dangling from a little slender turret over the arch of the gateway, where it communicated with a large bell, suspended under the open work of a surmounting cornet, very delicately carved in stone. Over the

gate way was sculptured the eagle in flight, with the motto as before, of "*Ad solem tendo*."

Of portraits, the same imitation will strike the reader in the description of a rough smuggler, at page 66 of Vol. I. *Captain Brandywyn*.

This was a tall, swaggering, sea-faring man, dressed in a tawdry anomalous sort of sea-uniform, of blue, faced with orange, ornamented with large brass buttons, and broad gold lace. On his head he wore an enormous cocked-hat, a huge cutlass was suspended at his side by a broad buff belt, whilst the butt ends of two brace of brass-mounted pistols were seen appearing from his girdle. His black curly hair, and his large whiskers and eyebrows, gave uncommon fierceness to features, naturally handsome, had they not been disfigured by an expression of libertinism, mingled with certain touches of depravity, appearing to argue a ready inclination to crime, and a fitness for executing it, but partially disguised by that look of careless freedom characterizing the hearty sailor on shore.

"Ah! Captain Brandwyn," exclaimed several voices at once. "What? are you come at last? how goes it with you? and what has become of you?"

"Ha, ha! my boys, all assembled I see!" cried he, as he leered around him. "What cheer, my hearty fellows? So I see you have broke bulk already—is't not prime Bourdeaux, eh?—I have thirty casks on board as good—never shipped better since I have been in the trade. I sent that sample ashore, when I was off the head at hap-hazard, just to let you know that I was on the coast, to give you a notion what sort of tippie I carried, and to wet your whistles a bit. I would ha' been here at the broaching of the barrel too, an I had not been afeard of the hawks to the eastward. But, sink them, they were on the look-out, and I was forced to push away and keep a decent offing; so, taking advantage of the wind, I ran over for the north coast, did a little business there in the meanwhile, and then came walloping back with the breeze that sprung up at sun-set. But just as I was about to take up my anchorage, I saw a suspicious-looking little vessel lying in my very birth, so I hauled my wind and stood off a bit; and though I did see your blaze, I thought it as well to come ashore in my boat, to know how the land might lay before I——"

Nor is the still-life of inanimate objects less accurately drawn, as in the following passage:

Nothing could be more wild and solitary than this romantic and secluded spot. The thick short grass rendered it a favourite haunt of the deer. But Amherst might have fancied it fairy land, nay, he might have supposed, that he and his fair companion were the first happy mortals whose favoured feet had ever been permitted to penetrate into it, had not the illusion been disturbed by the presence of a small Gothic chapel, standing on the low platform of rock, between them and the water-fall. The little building was seen in perspective, and the gable that looked towards them presented a large Gothic window, where the mullions and tracery still remained entire, intertwined with the tendrils of the ivy every where clothing the walls. Over this were the remains of a ruined belfry, where still hung the bell, though now silent, save when storms awakened its partial and unwilling tones.

A burying-ground occupied the rest of the natural terrace, and amongst the broken grave-stones an antique cross, of large dimensions, appeared leaning to one side, partly shaken from the ruined steps which propped its shaft. A stair, cut in the side of the rock, led up to the burying-ground, and to the chapel, that was entered by a door at the farther end.

The descriptions of the local scenery through which *Amherst* and his friend *Cleaver* passed are highly picturesque, and well drawn; so well, indeed, that we cannot help suspecting it to be the work of an amateur artist of uncommon accomplishment in landscape drawing; and if we were to give way to conjecture, we should be apt to suspect it to be taken from some very beautiful scenery not far from the residence of the gentleman to whom rumour has attributed this Novel.

Not less striking is the passage at page 49 of Vol. II.

They rode on together for an hour or two, without any material change taking place upon the face of nature, until, coming to the brow of a hill, down which the path wound, Amherst's eyes were gladdened by one of the most beautiful scenes fancy can well imagine. They had now arrived at the edge of those hills, bounding a wide part of the valley, through which the river flowed. The vale was here more than half a mile across, and it continued to present nearly the same breadth, for about a mile downwards, to where it was closed in a preci-

pitous pass by the approach of the hills to each other. The plain in the bottom was partly cultivated, and partly diversified with groves, and gently swelling knolls, covered with oaks, from amongst which a little cot was seen peeping out here and there. The river entering the valley at an abrupt angle, a view was thus obtained up the long vista of the glen it came from, where its wide stream was seen in spots, glistening from the depths of its wooded banks, the declining sun pouring a flood of yellow light down this part of its course.

The hills on the opposite side of the river were covered by an extensive natural forest of oak, pine, and birch, and the sides of those the travellers looked from were also wooded, though more partially. At the upper end of the valley, the large river was joined by another, issuing from a deep glen, whence it came sweeping round a high conical hill.

Another interior, of most accurate delineation, the reader will find at page 70 of Vol. II.

Amherst lay for some time awake. All was still, save only the muffled sound of the rushing river, and the deep breathing of the sleepers around him; or the drowsy tapping of the man stationed at the fire, as he poked together and arranged the half-burned fragments of wood with the end of a stake; or the smothered growl, or half-uttered whine, of the dogs, as they urged the fancied chase in dreams. At last he also yielded to the gentle influence, and, fatigued by his mental sufferings, his want of rest the night before, and the exercise he had undergone during the day, he dropt by degrees into profound oblivion.

Another, equally good, will be found at page 257 of Vol. II.

But the delicate and softening mists of evening, hanging between the various heights, relieved them from each other, and assisted in filling the mind with the magnitude and intricacy of the circumjacent solitude, and a knowledge of their real extent was gathered from observing that the giants of the forest were diminished to the eye by perspective, in proportion as they appeared climbing the different distances. Even upon the shaggy sides of the mountains, the pines were seen running up in long and scattered detachments, as if determined to take possession by assault, even of those bare summits towering far over every thing below and which were still clad in the sober

brown of their heathy covering. The skimming form of the eagle, seen dark amid the pure ether, and his shrill shriek, prolonged among the hollows of the mountains, were the only indications of animal life, except the light splash, and widening circle, now and then produced on the surface of the lake by the sportive trouts. These two were the only interruptions to the glassy stillness of the water, that reflected all above it, and even doubled the fair cup of the water-lily resting upon its bosom.

There is something not very well accounted for in the frequent appearances of the *Carline Dwarf*. She has not, like the Black Dwarf of the Author of *Waverley*, any local habitation, and she starts up so suddenly at places considerably distant from one another, that it is not easy to understand her powers of ubiquity, unless, like *Ariel* in the *Tempest*, she could "put a girdle round the earth in twenty minutes."

In connection with what I was about to call by rather an undignified name, the Herd of Novels, both ancient and modern, sudden friendships are formed, and sudden passion conceived, from unexpected deliverances from danger of persons whose gratitude and whose love are excited by the incident. This, if we rightly recollect, occurs more than once or twice in *Lochandhu*; rather too often for the patience of a fastidious reader. *Lochandhu* was saved from being drowned in the West Indies by *Amherst's* father, then a sea-captain, now an admiral. *Lord Eaglesholme* is saved from assassins by the ready valour of *Amherst*; and *Miss Malcolm* is saved by *Amherst* from being carried away by the mountain-stream, which she had tried to cross on stepping stones, one of which was worn so round and smooth as not to afford such a footing as was sufficient for the leap which she had made to reach it.

So much for an account, and we think an impartial one, of this new Novel. We now proceed to a less agreeable, but not less necessary part of our critical duty, namely, to point out some of what appear to us the leading defects of the work.

1st, One of which we of the old school have often to complain, the exuberance of words disproportionate

with the ideas they are intended to convey—an exuberance frequently destructive both of the clearness of narrative and force of impression. The Americans have invented a word for this defect, *lengthy*, to which we may join the old legitimate English adjective, *wordy*. It was a remark made to the writer of this article by President Blair, on the arguments of pleaders gifted with the power of words, that they made an unsparing use of them. Not only is this a prevailing fault in modern works in detail, but generally applies to the plan of a whole work of the present time, for which, however, we may perhaps blame the publishers of these works, who seem to consider three volumes as the necessary number for a successful Novel; whether from any superstitious attachment to the cabalistic number *three*, or rather (we do not say unfairly) to the preference of a guinea to 15s. in the price of a book, with which we are the less disposed to find fault, as we can bear witness to the disinterestedness of their dealings, and the liberality with which they treat a tribe of men, whom it was in old times thought fair for booksellers to neglect or oppress,—those authors by profession, who live, as the vulgar phrase is, on their wits, that is, by writing books,—a trade or profession now much more common than formerly.

2d, A fault connected with the first is a profusion of figures not always illustrative of the passage in which they are introduced, but, on the contrary, often obscure in themselves, and not at all appropriate to the matter on hand, but introduced merely in the waste of words, to shew the rich and inventive imagination of the writer; a waste of words, like the waste of money in very rich men, in order rather to shew their wealth, than for the use of those articles the money is meant to procure. Modern authors seem to us often to forget that the proper use of figures is to present a picture to the reader, which may shew the meaning of the author, or place in a strong light the character of the persons of his drama, or the vivid representation of peculiar incidents.

3d, There is, in some parts of the story, an accumulation of horrors

which may be termed *gratuitous*, as not tending to advance the progress of the story, or to mark the characters of the actors. The author seems not at all to spare his jests, the fair use of which is, in the words of *Macbeth*, afforded to those who "soup full of horrors," but loads his supper-table with them, rather to shew the power of his invention, than to contribute to the entertainment of his readers.

4th, The mystery is rather pushed too far (and beyond the patience of the reader) in the character and conduct of the little female dwarf, who wraps herself in the magic mist she has raised, sometimes, as it appears to us, unnecessarily, or unnaturally, and which mystery is not always clearly or satisfactorily developed in the subsequent progress of the story. Such is her long concealment of the atrocious deeds of *Lady Deborah*, and her execrable associate *Anthony*, who is made, we think, profligate and cruel (as are some others of the gang), beyond the bounds of probability, and rather to the painful disgust of the reader. The acts, as well as the principles, of those banditti do not properly belong to the period in which they are introduced: it is quite impossible to believe that, in the eighteenth century, the country was so devoid of all legal provision for the safety of persons and property, as to allow of such violations of oath as are practised with impunity by the associated banditti described in this work, as encouraged by *Lochandhu*, and headed by his brother. We are aware of an answer to this objection; that it is consonant to the actual fact, the very remarkable one, of an association in *Badenoch*, not forty years ago, organised by a gentleman of an ancient and influential family in that district, * who, like *Lochandhu*, escaped to America, and was believed to be killed there in a rencounter between the loyalists and the partisans of American independence, in whose ranks he had enlisted. This, however, is not quite a competent justification; an incident may, in the words of a great French critic, be true, and yet too improbable for the narrative of a work of fiction; *la vérité* not being always the *vraisemblable*.

A writer himself of some popular Novels has observed, in a critical paper on the subject of Novel-writing, that "one bad moral effect in that species of composition consists in a departure from Nature, from the duties and occupations of ordinary life, a substitution of sickly sentiment, instead of wholesome virtue; of the language, instead of the practice of benevolence and wisdom." In this respect, some passages of *Lochandhu* may be reckoned censurable. There is sometimes a display of principle, false in the theory, and of conduct false in the practice of sound sense and discretion,—a suddenness of impulse unweighed by prudence, and produced by inadequate means. This is the more dangerous, as such romantic feelings are congenial to the warm imaginations of the young, or the heated enthusiasm of persons estranged from, or strangers to, the world. *Lord Eaglesholme*, a most amiable and benevolent man, is frequently the sport of motives inadequate to the actions which they produce. In an opposite direction, the profligacy of *Lady Deborah* and her Italian associate are beyond the experience of ordinary villany, and tend to a mistaken notion of the evil disposition of the species.

Before concluding this article, we must add an observation on what may be called a mechanical contrivance in the titles of the chapters, consisting of scraps of poetry (often, certainly, very beautiful, as well as appropriate,) anticipating the contents of the chapter which they head. This must, we think, be very troublesome to the author, except he possesses what one might call a concordance of poetry, and it has a bad effect on the interest of the chapter, by forestalling the events which it is to disclose. *Mrs Radcliffe*, we believe, was the first Novel-writer who introduced this practice; the author of *Waverley* follows her example, and, * has gone, we believe, a little farther than she did, by writing texts himself, under the pretence of their being * extracts from *Old Plays*, very well imitated from the style of the olden drama, but still liable to the objection which we have stated.

On looking back to the general impression which the perusal of this

Novel has made on us, we may venture to recommend it to the Novel-reading public, now almost universal, as one from which they will derive very considerable pleasure. We anticipate a continuation of their entertainment from another work, announced in an advertisement subjoined to this as by the same author, called the *Wolf of Badenoch*, of which the scene, we presume, will be laid in that district, and may perhaps be a sort of portrait of the remarkable Highland character we have designated above. If that publication be not already too far ad-

vanced to allow any advantage in our suggestion, we will advise the author to adopt a caution too much neglected by some admired writers of the present time, of which the observance is of greater importance than they are apt to suppose, that of a careful, and we may allow sometimes, a painful revisal and correction of their works: we think that this would enhance their value, even to their present readers; we are sure it would mainly contribute to that proud pretension of authorship—the approbation of posterity.

TWO DAYS ON THE RHINE.

AFTER having enjoyed to satiety what was averred to be genuine Hock, mixed up into the most delightful cooling draught with Seltzer water, —having listened at the theatre to what struck the ear as very dull music, and a stage-pronunciation which was said to be the very essence of correct Hanoverian orthoepey,—forth I strolled, one dusty, broiling day, from Frankfort to Mayence, to pay my devotions to the waters, the scenery, and the vineyards of the Rhine. The road never recedes far from the course of the Main; and, throughout the few miles which the river has still to traverse below Frankfort, before losing itself in the Rhine, the regular beauty of the banks would not compensate for the tediousness of the passage by water, or for the smells and confinement of the *Marktschiff*. Luxuriant as the fertility of the whole district is, to have seen one mile of it is to have seen the whole, unless you leave the river, and dive southward into the vallies of the Taunus, and babble and drink the waters, and make love, and “take walk” at Wisbaden.

On the right bank of the Main, near the angle which it forms, at its mouth, with the Rhine, the vineyards of Hocheim cover a gentle acclivity, exposed entirely to the south. To this favourable site, and the toil-some and expensive cultivation bestowed on these few acres, the wine is indebted for the qualities which have rendered it so famous throughout Europe. Laid open to the south,

the grape of Hocheim drinks fire from the sun all day long, while the higher grounds, that rise behind, break the violence of every northerly blast. Accordingly, even of the vineyards which go under the general name of Hocheim, only a small track on the most sheltered part of the bank produces the genuine Hock. The number of vines is calculated at somewhere about thirty thousand, and the common tale of the country values them at half-a-guinea a-piece. The vineyards are traversed by artificial channels, along which, in years of dangerous drought, the waters of some small streams that descend the hill are conducted, for the purpose of irrigation. This is an expedient to which it is seldom necessary to have recourse, for the vine neither loves nor requires much moisture; its honours are more frequently blighted by continued rains or late frosts. Against the latter, Hocheim is more secure than most vineyards on the Rhine, for the valley is open; neither the morning nor the evening sun is excluded by cold and lofty summits, as it is on the Neckar and the Moselle. To guard against excessive moisture, the eminence is furnished with drains, which carry off the water into subterranean pipes. From an imprudent attention to a temporary saving, the pipes are of wood, perpetually rotting, and calling for perpetual repairs. The other vineyards in the neighbourhood of this favoured spot, which yield the greater part of the wine sold under

the name of Hock, are by no means so anxiously cultivated, and produce a far inferior liquor.

The whole produce is purchased by the wine-merchants of Frankfort ; for the wine-trade, the only branch of trade which that city can claim as its own, belongs to it exclusively. The small quantity and high character of Hock are strong temptations to its adulteration, and probably no other wine in Europe, except the lying Tokay, is so much falsified and abused. The absolute sourness of what is so often put off in this country under the name of Hock is, in degree, entirely foreign to the genuine wine of any age, and of any tolerable vintage ; for, in the vineyards of Germany, from the prator of Vienna to the walls of Treves, a good or a bad vintage makes just the difference between wine and vinegar. The genuine juice of Hocheim acknowledges no superior even among the wines of the Rhine, except the princely Johannisberger, and Johannisberger is within the reach only of princes, and that, too, favoured ones. Its transparency has introduced the well-known custom of drinking it only out of green glasses, which throw over it a soft, golden tinge ; but this, so far from being peculiar to Hock, is the standing rule of scientific drinkers for all the white wines of the Rhine. The glass is called a *Romer*, or a *Roman*, a term, however, which applies as much to the form as to the colour of the goblet,—a long, slender stalk, terminating in a large bowl. From time immemorial it has been received and preserved as the only legitimate goblet for Rhenish, but whence it derived its name nobody knows. Some will have it, that Lombard merchants, confounded, because they came from Italy, under the general name of Romans, first introduced into Germany the use of drinking-glasses, and the utensils received their name just as the town-house of Frankfort, where they used to deposit their wares, has done. But the students, whose heads the very sight of the Rhine never fails to set on fire at once with wine and patriotism, have given it a more poetical origin, by recording in their songs that Herman, at the head of their barbarous forefathers, celebra-

ted his victory over Varus, by quaffing what they had to quaff from the skulls of the slaughtered Romans, and that the national pride commemorated the contest in the form and the name of the national glass.

From the skulls of slain Romans our forefathers drank

To the freedom and fame they had won :
And whoever shall dare, be he Roman or Frank,

To chase freedom again from the hills of our Rhine,

May his skull, brimming over with Germany's wine,

Be the goblet of Germany's son.

The village of Cassel, which occupies the bank of the Rhine opposite to Mayence, has nothing to do with the house of Hesse, as its name would seem to import ; for though no trace of the ancient works has survived eighteen hundred centuries, the universally-received account makes it a corruption of the *Castellum*, with which the Romans fortified the bank, and made it a *tête de pont* to the bridge which united it with their *Magontiacum*. There is no doubt that they fortified Mayence, and built a bridge, and it was part of their military architecture to arm both approaches with works of defence. The French undoubtedly fortified Cassel with more skill than Germanicus, but nearly two thousand years have not been able to restore his bridge. There is no reason to believe it was entirely of stone, for convenience must have been the only object, without any view to ornament ; but it rested at least on stone piers ; and, in very dry summers, when the waters of the Rhine are lower than usual, the upper part of some of the piers is still visible. Once below water, they are safe from the most formidable enemy of all such works on this river ; for where the Rhine has attained so magnificent a breadth, it is the violence with which the ice descends in masses like meadows, that seems to forbid any structure, raised either on stone piers or wooden piles, to be lasting. Napoleon is said to have entertained the design of uniting Cassel with Mayence by a stone-bridge ; but the course of events prevented its execution, and the bridge of boats retains its place.

The cabinets of Mayence are full of coins, and legionary and funeral inscriptions, which carry back the antiquity of the city, as a military position, though no Colony, at least to Germanicus. The inner shell of the monument erected to Germanicus by his army has resisted time and bombardments, to survive as an indestructible specimen of the true, rude, legionary workmanship. As it fortunately did not stand in the way of fortifications, the prayer of the ancient epigram on his tomb has been allowed to save his monument :

Parce, hospes, tumulo ; Cæsar Germanicus hic sum :

Sæpe ctiām ignotis ipse dedi requiem.

The annotators, however, do not allow that this relique is the very monument which Suetonius tells us was erected to the memory of Germanicus, though Dio adds that it was close by the Rhine, *προς αὐτῆς τῆς Πηγῆς*. For Tacitus, in the *Annals*, speaks of the son having, many years afterwards, restored "*ara Druso sitam*" in the marshes and forests of Westphalia, on the spot where the legions of Varus had been annihilated ; and Lipsius, in general so acute, apparently taking it for granted that this altar is the same with the cenotaph mentioned by Suetonius and Dio, very justly concludes, that the monument at Mayence, from its geographical situation, can lay no claim to the honour. But the premises seem to be rashly adopted. One sees no ground for assuming the identity of the two monuments ; *ara Druso sita* may as well mean an altar erected by as to Drusus ; nor is it at all improbable, that Germanicus, while he raised the tomb over the bones of the unfortunate legions, should have reared an altar, and accompanied the pious act with religious ceremonies. Even holding it to mean an altar erected to Drusus, we are not a step nearer the conclusion, that this *ara* of Tacitus is the *tumulus* of Suetonius. It was surely much more natural that the Roman army should erect the monument of a commander whom they adored, in Mayence, a fortress founded by himself, and frequently the winter-quarters of the legions on the Rhine, than that they should bury it in solitudes

so difficult of access, and which even Roman veterans did not approach without apprehension. All the circumstances are in favour of the monument of Mayence, and are not to be hastily contradicted by an interminable dispute, whether a Latin word be in the dative or ablative.

Whatever Mayence may have been, when the seat of the most ancient electorate of the empire, ruled by archbishops, who delighted to give a sort of permanence to their temporary grandeur, by cherishing such men, and raising such memorials as the rudeness of the age knew to estimate and execute,—swarming with a priesthood which, as a body, has never been the enemy of luxury, and enriched by a population that knew to take advantage of its situation at the mouth of the Main, and on the banks of the Rhine, to draw to themselves great part of the commerce of both,—it now exhibits few traces of ancient splendour, and still fewer of modern improvement, to interest the stranger. Though the dissolution of the empire degraded it to the rank of a provincial town, it might still have continued to flourish, like its neighbour, Frankfurt, as a trading city ; but the misery and pillage of the revolutionary war had interrupted its industry, and now that it has been again restored to Germany, and incorporated with the Grand Duchy of Darmstadt, it seems reckoned a place of moment only on to be account of its fortifications. No city can long retain either its beauty or its prosperity, when a military age has discovered its value as a military station ; bastions and angles spoil the one, while an iron inquisitorial administration blights the other ; the severe control and vexatious punctilios of a military police are companions from whom mercantile and manufacturing industry willingly escapes. Except when enlivened by the passage of strangers and wares during the Frankfurt fair, Mayence is a lifeless and gloomy city. Its arts and activity have given way to Prussian and Austrian troops ; for, as commanding the passage of the Rhine, and the mouth of the Main, it was reckoned too important a point to be entrusted to the keeping of a prince so little warlike as the Grand Duke of Darm-

stadt, whose treasury, moreover, would have found the maintenance of a sufficient garrison intolerably burdensome. They have left him the taxes, and civil administration, and occupied the town with foreign troops. The Grand Duke, again, allows his loving people a yearly sum for the support of a theatre!

The cathedral, in the oldest turreted style of German architecture, dates, in its present form, from the end of the twelfth century. The numerous heavy towers sit on the building as if they would crush it to the ground; the whole pile looks out over the melancholy city with a sombre dignity, that seems to mourn in solitude its departed archiepiscopal splendour. Of the memorials of ancient art, which adorned the interior, many disappeared under the French, who, according to custom, converted the cathedral into a magazine; but the loss of such reliques falls more on the history, than on the progress, of art. Among the remaining monuments, the most ancient is averred to contain the ashes of the wife of Charlemagne. The spiritual electors often loved to collect around them the masters of the arts: the court of Mayence was a regular place of resort for the Minnesänger of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and one of them, whose lyre was as self-willed as Anacreon's, besides gaining the surname of the Praiser of Woman, was borne by females, according to tradition, to his sepulchre in the cathedral. The antiquated dialect in which these minstrels sung, renders their strains almost sealed books to a foreigner; a German would encounter less difficulty in Chaucer, than we would find in getting at the tenderness of Henry the Woman-praiser. He and his brethren, however, have a fulness of imagination, and strength of feeling, which still enrapture their descendants, and could scarcely be expected from those rude times, were it not that the romantic exploits and observances, and the enduring gallantry of chivalry, were better calculated to set the imagination at work, than perhaps any of the more prosaic states of European society which have existed since. As might be expected, in a city whose claims to the invention of

printing are just as good as those of Strasburgh or Holland, the public library, notwithstanding repeated plunderings, is crowded with the very *incunabula* of the art, and an old building is still pointed out to respect, as the house in which Gutenberg manufactured his first set of moveable types.

Outside of Mayence, every thing is delightful, for under its walls begins that long stretch of the Rhine which, running for nearly ninety miles, sometimes through the richest, sometimes through the wildest of countries, at once produces the best wines, and unfolds the most peculiar landscapes in Europe. Tourists and painters have overflowed the world with detailed descriptions, and series of views,—for, in the months of summer and autumn, every hillock swarms with the wandering tribes, but neither the one nor the other are much worth. The more delicate features of a beautiful landscape, as they appear in nature, are too fine to be clothed in words; even the gossamer mantle of poesy reveals them but indistinctly; and though painting may come nearer the truth, yet how many objects and connecting gradations disappear in the reduced scale of a drawing or a copperplate, which, in the reality, possess a virtue that is best appreciated by their absence in the imitation! A painter may choose a village from the banks, or one of the numberless ruins that hang on the cliffs of the Rhine, and make up a picture, which shall give form and figure so far as it goes; and if he confine himself properly, he may bring out “a view;” but if he attempt, as has so often been done, to copy the more ample and diversified prospects of the Rhine, he oversteps the limits of his art. Unless he construct a gigantic moving panorama, all the peculiarities of the perspective disappear. The multitude of decaying castles that lower upon the stream, in all their endless variety of attitude and outline,—the solitary cottage, the glittering village, the ever-varying projections and dark recesses of the precipice,—twindle down to uniform points, or vanish entirely from his narrow canvass, which exhibits only the broad stream, and the waved outline of its

ascending banks, loaded with masses of monotonous shade. Even where all striking objects are retained, but in diminutive size, the loss to the eye is immeasurable, for proportion is not enough; a landscape and a map are very different things. On the Rhine, as in Switzerland, he who sets down the names and distances of towns and villages, rivers and mountains, has done all that can be done for the traveller in the way of scenery; every thing else must be seen and felt.

The beauties that crowd upon each other, in descending the river, are indispensable to make one submit with patience to the slowness and inconvenience of the ordinary navigation. The "water stage-coach," as it is called, is a decked boat, long and narrow, without rigging, though a pole can be set up, and a blanket hoisted, when the wind is favourable enough to make it advisable. So far from aiming at any thing like elegance, it does not even pretend to convenience. The deck is just broad enough to admit two rows of passengers, arranged from stem to stern, with their backs to each other, so that every one has a full view of at least one half of the river. The seats are supplied by two rows of trunks and portmanteaus drawn up along the deck. The rest of the luggage, and generally the women and children, are stowed away in a low narrow hole, called a cabin, where, moreover; a withered hag serves out sour beer to the thirsty vulgar, the only restorative, except tobacco, which is allowed on board during the tedious voyage. The crew consists of five men, one of them is master and steersman; the other four relieve each other in rowing. Although an excellent track-path runs along the left bank, and every vessel is tracked up the river, and could be more rapidly tracked down, the "water

diligence" is merely propelled by a couple of oars, one at the very bow, the other at the very stern. It is carried down, indeed, with the current; but the Rhine, in its ordinary state, though broad and magnificent, is here by no means rapid; and, except when occasionally confined in a narrower channel between the mountains, becomes more sluggish the nearer it approaches to the flats of the Low Countries. Besides, with the exception of these few and inconsiderable rapids, the river from Mayence downwards forms, in fact, a succession of ample lakes. The wind, therefore, strongly affects the navigation; and if it happen to be fresh from the north, as I had the misfortune to find it, two unwieldy oars, so far from being able to give the heavy vessel, crowded with packages and passengers, any tolerable degree of speed, are often scarcely sufficient to prevent her from being put about, by the wind catching the bow at a turn in the river, and carrying her backwards*. Of course, it is still more difficult to ascend the river. I observed one small sloop pass dragged by twelve horses, though under sail before a favourable wind. No stream appears better fitted for steam navigation; the attempt has been made, but, from some inexplicable cause, the vessel, which had started from Holland, was not able, or was not permitted to ascend higher than Cologne. The reason commonly assigned, that such vessels require too much water for the dangerous passages, is a very unsatisfactory one; for trading vessels, drawing more water than any steam-boat, pass daily; and there is no part of the Rhine which, to a sober and practised pilot, deserves to be called dangerous. Where a ledge of rocks now and then shoots partly across the river from the left bank, a steam-boat could avoid it just as other vessels do, by keeping

* The distance from Mayence to Coblenz by water is reckoned to be forty English miles, and it is an uncommon occurrence if the voyage is performed in less than fourteen hours. Even with a wind sufficiently strong and favourable to enable sail to be hoisted, it is never made out under twelve; the ordinary time is sixteen hours. The only stoppage of any moment is at Bingen, for dinner, and it does not exceed an hour. Nay, though this "water stage-coach" leaves Mayence at six o'clock in the morning, it frequently happens that it cannot perform the forty miles within the day, and on the approach of midnight is compelled to put in at some of the villages, or romantic little towns, which fortunately are never out of sight.

to the right. Even where this danger occurs it is chiefly formidable to barks moved by a propelling power, so small in proportion to the body, or so little under the command of the mariners, that it is insufficient to counteract the current, if it sets in upon the sunken rocks ; but in both these respects, a steam-boat could safely set at defiance the mill-pond whirlpools of the Rhine, which romancing tourists, trusting the legends of the country in preference to their own eyes, are wont to depict with the horrors of Scylla and Charybdis. From the furious abuse with which the master of the water stage-coach assailed steam-boats, I was inclined to suspect they have rather been not permitted, than not practicable, for the *Wasserdiligence* is a sort of vested interest.

The famed scenery of the Rhine does not begin immediately on leaving Mayence. The broad stream is first divided by a succession of floating mills, and then by low islands entirely overgrown with willows. Both banks are low and tame, except that, on the right, the shaggy cliffs of the Taunus rise in the distance, and, as they run to the north-west, press down always closer and closer upon the river. A "Guide for Travellers" ordered the reader to admire the "transparent silver" of the stream ; but the stream was brown and muddy, bastardizing at once its German etymology*. On the right bank, a country palace of the princes of Nassau had been succeeded by a long train of orchards, and among the woods on the left were rising the remains of the favourite seat of Charlemagne, adorned with the spoils of Italy, and despoiled in its turn to

adorn the castle of Heidelberg, when the river, which had hitherto run northward, suddenly swept round flowing right to the west, and, the *Rheingan*, in nearly its whole extent, and in all its beauties, burst at once upon the dazzled eye. Though the prospect stretches along the river in a right line for about ten miles, to where, at the western extremity, it seems to be shut in by the dark precipices of Bingen, there is nothing formal or canal-looking in its channel, for the banks incessantly project and recede, forming innumerable bays and promontories. One forgets he is on a river ; the expanse of water, bounded by such varied shores, and embracing so many islands, has all the features of a noble lake.

The beauty lies on the right bank. There the gently-sloping hillocks have already left but a narrow space between their feet and the river : along this stripe, and generally at the opening of some deep valley dividing the eminences, are strewed the innumerable villages, which give so much life and beauty to a landscape, each surrounded by its shady alleys or luxuriant orchards. By some rare fortune, these villages seem to have thrown off, or never to have known, the gloom and squalidness, the aversion to light and air, which are so generally the attributes of German villages : their very aspect makes the spectator cheery ; they are so neatly built, externally cleanly, and the houses in general painted with some lively colour, rendered doubly brilliant by being relieved against the deep verdure behind. Such, at least, is their appearance from the river. The occasional residence of so many wealthy proprietors

* Neither the Greek derivation, nor the German one that refers to the purity of the stream, is very satisfactory. Another, which is founded on a custom of the ancient Germans, mentioned by Julian, if not more worthy of acceptance, is at least more amusing. *Rein* signifies, in German, pure ; and the Emperor Julian records, that in the Germany of his day, on the birth of a child, the father tied it to a shield of wicker-work, and set it afloat on the river, to assay the purity of its extraction, as we used to assay witches. If it sunk, it was only a bastard drowned, for this was an irrefragable proof that the mother had forgotten her conjugal duty ; if it floated, the honour of the wife and the paternity of the husband were equally indubitable. Hence the river derived its name of "the Purifier." It is unnecessary to add, that civilization has long since abolished a custom so troublesome to domestic tranquillity, and that the Emperor probably misconstrued a practice common at one time to many northern nations, of immersing their new-born infants in water, to harden them against cold from their very birth.

among them must have contributed much to give them these good qualities; for the Rheingau is to Germany what the Brenta was to the nobility of Venice. Princes have been proud to possess a residence in this enchanted garden; the wealth and aristocracy, not only of the neighbouring states, but from the sands of Prussia, and the tamer, though still lovely banks of the Danube, have studied the outskirts of the villages in the Rheingau, and the small intervals between them, with country houses so modest, and yet comfortable, so entirely of a piece with the surrounding scenery, that no spot on the continent can present a parallel, except it be the lake of Geneva, when viewed from the walnut groves of Douvaine or Thonon. With great good taste, these villas do not aim at any ostentation of architecture; they have observed the luxuriant, but simple and rural spirit of the scene. The palace of the Princes of Nassau, indeed, and the castle of Prince Metternich on the Johannisberg, are in a different style; but the former lies in a more open and uniform landscape, not even within the proper Gau; and the latter is entitled, from its lofty and unencumbered site, commanding, as it does, the whole scene, to assume more dignity than the humbler villas of less potent masters, on which it looks down.

Immediately behind this lively mixture of village and villa, crowded along the narrow stripe that intervenes between river and height, gentle eminences swell up to a moderate elevation, varying in altitude, but never deserving the name of hills. The southern slopes of these eminences are the vineyards that produce the famed wines of the Rhine, whose very names would fill a catalogue, and in whose praise, during a thousand years since Charlemagne first planted grapes from Orleans on the rocks of Rüdesheim, too much has been said and sung to require new eulogies from one who would rather quaff than describe them. The vine-clad hillocks, again, are overtopped by bare cliffs and natural woods, ascending above each other in a wildness and irregularity altogether Swiss—the savageness of Nature hand in hand with the most anxious and

valued labours of human industry. The left bank of the river has a much tamer character; it is neither so lofty nor so varied; from its position, it has no vineyards, no villas, and, what is still more important to the beauty of a landscape, no rich play of light and shade: Nature has bestowed all these advantages on its neighbour; but still the more sober fertility of the left bank has its own excellence, in contrast with the mingled luxuriance and grandeur of the opposite shore. In the distance, it is seen gradually increasing in height and boldness, and, bending round to the eastward behind Bingen, the remotest point in the view, appears to terminate the lake with a semicircle of precipices—for it is not till reaching the very foot of these cliffs that the abyss opens through which the Rhine has forced a passage. This is a very general outline of the Rheingau; its details vary at every hundred yards, till the eye is actually sated with a succession of landscapes from every one of which it is loth to turn. But not one of them do I intend to describe; I would as soon think of describing the Belvidere Apollo, or Raphael's Madonna. In this, the most varied, though not the wildest part of the scenery on the Rhine, there is nothing monotonous; yet, before arriving at Bingen, I felt something very like the listlessness which monotony of scenery produces. It is just this satiety of enjoyment, —one is cloyed with the continued richness of the scene.

The first impression is overpowering. The German passengers on board, even those who were not here for the first time, could not conceal their rapturous pride when we entered this palace of their native stream, and when they marked every eye paying homage to his own mighty waters, and the blooming paradise through which he rolls them. "Wo ist dann," exclaimed to me a gentleman, who turned out to be M. of Berlin, hurrying down from the sun-burned Mark to his vineyards on the Rhine; "Wo ist dann ihre Themse?" "What is your Thames to this?" I thought of Sir Walter Raleigh's—"The sun in heaven, and the Thames upon earth;" but it was unnecessary to reply for a French-

man instantly began to chatter forth the praises of the Garonne. There is something filial in the affection with which the Germans regard the Rhine. The mythology that made every river a god, seems to have become with them more than a poetical personification; they almost revere him as a sentient being, who, since the creation, has been watching over their freedom, or ministering to their enjoyments, and commanding, in their behoof, the respect of the world. During the last struggle against Napoleon, "to unfetter the good old Rhine" was a watch-word. Proud as an Englishman is of the Thames, neither his imagination nor his affections would lavish half the enthusiasm upon him with which the German youth embrace Father Rhine. As the boat crept slowly along, through the richest part of the scenery, some of the passengers, in the fulness of their hearts, began aloud a well-known song of Claudius; which every boy learns as soon as his palate can endure the wine. It is not worth translating, for the verses have not much poetical merit, and their spirit can be felt only by a German; but the very hills re-echoed, as, at the last stanza, the whole Germanic body of the water stage-coach, old and young, waving hats and hands in rapture towards the rising hills, that, far as the eye could reach, were bending beneath the weight of the vintage, burst forth into one choral roar,

On the Rhine, on the Rhine, is the home
of our grapes!

God bless him, the old German sire of
the vine!

There they blush on his bosom, they
bloom round his brow,

And the monarch of streams is the
monarch of wine!

As the whole extent of Strath-Rhein, if I may be allowed so to translate *Rheingau*, from a few miles below Mayence, to where it terminates at Bingen, runs right east and west; the right bank is exposed entirely to the sun; and the Taunus is an effectual screen against the north. Thus the first and the last light of day falls upon the clusters; the soil is light, dry, and strong; in many places, it has been formed by the de-

composition of the rock, in others it has been brought from a distance, and laboriously arranged on the bare stone. By far the greater part of the wines are white; the produce of the red grape has more fire, but likewise more harshness and less fragrance. It is remarkable in what a variety of gradations the wines of the different vineyards display similar qualities, though all, equally basking in the sun, sprung originally from plants of the same kind, and growing in the same soil. Markbrunner, like Rüdesheimer, is burning and intoxicating.—Geissenheimer, which grows close beside it, is mild, frequently approaching to sweetness,—Johannisberger unites all these qualities in a modified degree, which renders it the monarch of wines, and, at the same time, breathes out a fragrance which no other wine, not merely of the Rhine, but of Europe, can pretend to. The Johannisberg itself (John's mountain) is in the lower part of the Strath, and is the loftiest of the cultivated eminences. The vines stretch up from the river to the very doors of the old mansion which crowns the summit of the hill, covering an extent of about sixty acres; for, though the wines grown on other parts of the estate pass under the same name, they are sadly inferior in quality to the true Schloss Johannisberger. The whole belonged originally to a monastery. In wine countries, the cellars of monasteries always contained, as they do till this day in Austria, the best and oldest wines; the monks, with at least as good a palate as that of any marauding baron, both understood the cultivation of the vine better, and had more leisure to superintend it, than the quarrelsome vassals of the quarrelsome nobility. With them probably originated the toilsome and expensive culture which distinguishes the vineyards of the Johannisberg, no less than their produce. Unless hastened by the probable approach of untimely frosts, the vintage always takes place some weeks later than in the rest of the Gau; numbers of grapes necessarily drop off from over-ripeness, but they are carefully picked up, and, as at Tokay, form the choicest part of the vintage. The convent was abolished

at the Reformation, and the vineyards, now an object of desire to princes, passed through various hands, till, on the incorporation of the spiritual electorates and Rhenish provinces of Prussia with the French empire, the Johannisberg was given to Marshall Kellerman. When the Rhine was re-conquered by Germany, the Emperor of Austria made a present of the Johannisberg to Prince Metternich, who has thus the best wine, as well as the best office in Germany. This nectar is so costly, that it is within the reach only of a few. The vintage of the comet year (1811) is no longer to be found, except when, on some great occasion, a happy individual makes his bliss and generosity be talked of for half a year, by producing a solitary bottle after dinner.

Extremely little of this nectar finds its way into the market, especially in these latter days, when the diplomatic proprietor stands in such amicable relations with so many thirsty potentates. Even in Frankfurt, and certainly every where else, it may be safely taken as a general rule, which none but a connoisseur should violate, that the wine-merchant who pretends to sell you Johannisberger, is cheating you. The fire of the wine is so concealed in its fragrance, and apparent mildness, that it deceives the palate; it very soon, however, makes itself be felt in every vein; but, instead of producing heaviness or stupefaction, it only renders a man fitter for all sorts of

ridly occupations. Expensive as it is, it is said on the Rhine, that the produce of the vineyards, in ordinary years, is little more than sufficient to cover the cost of their cultivation. The Johannisberg has never been considered a source of gain. The cellars, freezing cold, are excavated in the rock, under the

vineyards themselves. I know not whether there be any truth in the common story that Hoche intended to have filled them with gunpowder, and blown the whole hill into the air; one can see no good end that was to be gained by such an anti-bacchanalian exploit; and Hoche is among the few leaders of Revolutionary France who did not give occasion to lay many acts of wanton mischief and deliberate malignity to their charge. The truth is, that the Germans entertain a most reasonable and proper hatred towards the French, and give a willing ear to every evil story concerning them. These current stories, that have generally some foundation in fact, however they may be exaggerated, are quite in the spirit with which the people regard the conquerors who brought them only misery and insult; but it is unnecessary to have recourse to doubtful tales, when every province can still produce so many indubitable reminiscences of public oppression, and private injustice.

At Bingen, a small town on the left bank, at the junction of the Nahe with the Rhine, the water stage-coach allows its passengers and mariners to prepare themselves, by good eating and drinking, to encounter the approaching dangers. It was originally one of the many fortresses with which the Romans lined this side of the river. The ruins on a hill behind the town are received as fragments of a strong-hold, built by Germanicus, whose name it still bears (Drususcastel); but, in later times, it was converted by the marauding nobility into a nest from which they issued to pillage the vessels that passed upon the river; and hence the name of the Klopp, borrowed from the Greek, by which it is more generally known in the country itself*. Of the ancient

* This etymology is generally received, but is nevertheless extremely doubtful.* Were the name thus derived referred to the ages in which the Romans were masters of the river, its Greek origin might be more admissible; though it be certain that great part of the names employed by Caesar and Tacitus, to designate the different nations of Germany, are of German origin, and were merely furnished by the Latin historians with Latin terminations. But this Klopp, or Kloppe, being no older than the tenth or eleventh century, when the barons began to bristle the Rhine with strong-holds, to facilitate their depredations on its infant commerce, it is not easy to see whence the classical appellation could be derived. Neither the plundering knights, nor the plundered peasantry and mariners, dealt in Greek etymologies.

bridge not a vestige remains except the square tower at *Rüdesheim*, on the opposite bank. In its present form, indeed, the tower is almost entirely a modern work, but tradition has always assigned to it a Roman origin. The urns and lachrymatories discovered in a subterraneous vault, and which have changed the rude apartments of the lower into a museum, seem to assert the truth of the legend, and it is concluded to have been the fort at the north entrance of the bridge which is supposed to have here crossed the Rhine.

This is the termination of what is properly called the Rheingau; the scene changes, as if at the word of an enchanter, from the most varied and voluptuous beauty, to a sombre and, in some degree, appalling grandeur. The river, instead of spreading out his ample and placid bosom to the sun, is compelled to contract his waters, and pour all their violence against the rocks which seek to hem him in; the chafed surface betrays the impatience with which he struggles against the obstacles below: instead of village and orchard reflected in his waters, there is scarcely space for a scanty path between the brink and the black rock; the hills no longer fall back in gradual waving slopes, from the verdant brink, but dark overhanging precipices rise direct from the waves, and throw a broad shadow across the stream, which, as if impatient of the confined and obstructed channel, wheels round suddenly to the north, and with tenfold impetuosity rushes through this magnificent portal, to seek an ampler bed, and a more tranquil course. Yet, even here, the faithful vine refuses to forsake him, and clings as fondly to these wild rocks as to the fat plains of Lombardy and Romagna. The vineyards from *Rüdesheim* to *Assmannshausen*, are, in this respect, the most singular on the Rhine. Even in their present artificial form, the rocks are so steep, that to cultivate them must be most toilsome, and so barren, that not a blade of grass would deign to cover their natural nakedness. Industry has overcome every obstacle. Partly by hewing the rock, partly by filling up

the inequalities with walls, the mountain has been formed into horizontal terraces; these have been covered with earth, formed by the decomposition of the rock, or brought hither from a distance; and the result of all is a wine, principally red, which, though it retains something of its French origin, ranks in value and reputation in the first class of Rhenish. It is among the harshest of them all to the palate, and the most intoxicating to the brain.

The narrow passage which the Rhine is here compelled to take between the precipices forms the *Bingenloch*, or Hole of Bingen, which exaggeration has rendered so terrible to travellers on the Rhine. There is no doubt, that, in former times, before artificial means had been used to clear the channel of the larger rocks, it must often have been attended by misfortune, especially as these dangerous cliffs were combined with an increased impetuosity in the current, which rendered the barks once caught in it in a great measure unmanageable. Even in the fourteenth century, it was reckoned a more prudent practice to land goods descending the river at Bingen, transport them a short way by land, and ship them again below the passage, than to venture with a heavy vessel into the dreaded "Hole." As often happens, the impression has remained long after every rational cause of alarm has been removed. The danger about to be encountered had formed the principal topic of conversation at the table d'hôte in Bingen; a thousand traditionary woes, from the times of old, and some better-authenticated mishaps of later times, had their usual influence. The effect of these tales, of the appalling colours in which the passage is painted in books, and the superstitious observances of the mariners themselves, was extremely visible on the passengers, when the vessel, having again left the shore, and pulled over close to the right bank, to avoid the more dangerous part of the sunken reef, began to feel the rising impetuosity of the stream, and enter the shadow of the precipices. The ladies had crowded below, and remained as dead still as the gentlemen above: the gentlemen, notwithstanding the plenti-

ful libations which had previously been poured out to propitiate the god of the river in the blood of his own grapes, caught a sympathetic gravity from the countenance of the steersman, who, muttering a prayer, ordered every body to sit close on the deck, and remain immovable. On the left, the river was dashing and boiling furiously on the concealed cliffs, of which, here and there, a solitary peak emerged from the foam; but for nearly one half of the whole breadth towards the right bank, the surface shewed no greater commotion than might be ascribed to the tumult in its neighbourhood, and the increasing rapidity of the current. The bark, caught in the thread of the unruly torrent, shot along more briskly; instead of one mariner, two manned each oar; the involuntary speed increased; of a sudden, the rowers doffed their bonnets, made the sign of the cross, hurried over a paternoster, and plied their oars with redoubled activity, not to give rapidity, but to keep the centre of the clear passage. These notes of preparation seemed to announce that more immediate peril was approaching; for hitherto there had not been a form of danger or terror. But nothing approached, except smooth and deep water, and the former slow current: the perilous strait was passed: this was the abused and dreaded "Hole of Bingen." The less notorious passages farther down are, nevertheless, painted in the same appalling colours, though they are infinitely more trifling. I was eagerly on the look-out for one whose terrible name—"Das Wilde Gefahrt," or, "The Wild Passage"—had struck me; but its wildness was so civilized, that those who wished to be prepared for its horrors, learned its existence only by being told by the pilot that it was already past, and by looking back to a spot where, far upon the left, there was something like a rippling of the water, on something like a stone.

From what has been said, it will easily be understood that the obstruc-

tion offered to the river, and the only source of danger to the navigators, arises from a ledge of rocks, stretching from the left bank half way across the river, while, at the same time, the current, confined within approaching precipices, increases in rapidity and commotion. In early times, the ledge stretched quite across the river, and the passage has been rendered practicable only in the course of sixteen centuries, by blowing the rock on both sides. If the Romans did not use it themselves for navigation, they led the way in rendering it navigable. But, though there be historical evidence, that even Emperors ventured to pass it in the ninth century, a proof that it was not esteemed very dangerous, it was only from the fourteenth that it became practicable for larger vessels. It followed the rising prosperity of Frankfort, and the extending trade in wine; as Frankfort became the great emporium of German commerce, its merchants, as well as the princes on the banks of the river, whose treasures were enriched by duties on the passage of wares, vied with each other to render the navigation safe. A few patches still remain above water; on an insulated point near the left bank frowns the mice-tower, in which, according to the well-known legend, a host of these insinuating quadrupeds executed the vengeance of heaven on a hard-hearted bishop. On the right and left, the passage is open; on the latter, however, it is narrow, turbulent, unequal, unadvisable; but, on the right, the opposing ledge has been so thoroughly conquered, that even in summer there is more water than is required for the vessels navigating the Rhine. Thus, nearly one half of the river affords a safe and open channel, and the greatest inconvenience is the resistance which the impetuosity of the stream opposes to vessels that are ascending the river. Their tow-lines, like the harness of their post-horses, are often execrably bad; if they give way before the vessel is fairly above the sweep of the current, it is very possible that the

* More grave antiquarians, however, derive the name from the tower having been erected for the convenience of an equally insinuating species of bipeds, *videlicet*, Ex-cisiceni; for the locality which forced every vessel to a temporary delay, before grappling with the "Hole," was favourable to the collection of imposts.

unmanageable bark is dashed against the rocks. The rocks themselves, dangerous as they would be to mariners unacquainted with the river, or careless enough to keep too far from the right bank, announce their approach by the turbulence of the water that breaks over them. Although they are only partially above water, even when the river is low, the roar and foam of the surface, marks out their precise extent; or if the river be so highly flooded, which seldom happens, that its surface remains untroubled even on the reef, there is, in that case, a sufficient depth of water to pass in safety. In descending, the strength of the current itself aids the attention of the pilot; it naturally turns from the opposing reef, and throws itself into the unencumbered channel; and a vessel brought into the line of this current, at a due distance above the entrance of the passage, cannot easily be carried out of it. The danger was greatest for those huge rafts of wood, which, till the end of the last century, used to be floated down the Rhine to Holland, from Switzerland, and the rivers that issue from the Black Forest. These floating villages, in addition to smaller ones that clung to their sides, used to be eight hundred feet long, and of a proportionable breadth; their depth was modified in some degree by the dryness or wetness of the season, and the probable depth of water in the difficult passages of the river, but they seldom drew less than eight or ten feet. They were covered with neat wooden huts, actually more comfortable than those which the mariners would have inhabited in their own villages on shore. They were manned with a crew of from five to six hundred men, including butchers and other menials, for they carried with them and killed their own meat, all of whom found full employment, and abundance of difficulty, in guiding the huge mass among the islands and through the windings of the river. Partly from their inconvenience for navigation, and partly from the trade in timber having passed into the hands of a multitude of speculators, no one of whom can risk the immense capital that was required to construct and transport such a raft, they have now

entirely disappeared from the river; those I saw pass had not more than one-third of the size of the former, but each carried its little wooden village, the hut of the master bearing a flag, like the *prætorium* of a Roman camp. To an unwieldy mass of the other sort, to pass the "Hole of Bingen," situated, unfortunately, just at a turn in the river, in the narrowest part of the Rhine between Switzerland and Holland, and leaving only one-half of the channel open to the pilot, was an awkward and dangerous adventure; and, accordingly, it is to such rafts that accidents have most frequently occurred, and been most fatal; again and again they have been dashed to pieces on the reef, and their population has gone to the bottom. The more manageable ones now in use pass with a great deal of caution, and very little danger: for the usual trading craft, if they have only a tolerable pilot, there really seems to be no danger at all. Yet it must be confessed, that the boatmen, no less than the tourists, on the Rhine, view the "Hole" in a very serious light, as is evident from the paternosters and ceremonies of the former on entering the passage, and while they are in it; and the boatmen, at least, should be good authority, were it not that the traditions of ancient mischances, the natural leaning to exaggeration, and a strong desire to heighten the importance of their own skill, explain much of the horrible which they lavish on the Bingenloch.

The formation of this channel for such a body of water, through the solid and stubborn rock, has been explained in the same way in which so many other scenes of a similar nature have been accounted for. The Rhine is supposed to have originally formed a lake including the whole territory of the present Duchy of Darmstadt, extending on the south to the foot of the mountains at Heidelberg, covering Mannheim, and terminated to the north by the yet-unbroken precipices of Bingen; and hence, it is said, the soil round Darmstadt is so much more sandy than above Heidelberg. It is farther supposed, that out of this lake the river threw itself over these precipices in a fall like that of Schaffhausen, but

that either in the course of ages, by the power of the water, or by one of those unknown natural convulsions, which, in the hands of a geological theorist, are the most omnipotent of instruments, the rocky barrier gave way, the lake was drained, and the Rhine gradually shrunk into his present channel.

But I have detained my reader too long in this "Hole."—Scarcely were the words down on the smooth Bath post, on which I love to write, when in bounces one of the blackest devils

imaginable, with a message, that if "copy" were detained any longer, the Editor would not be able to publish by the twentieth, and they, *i. e.* the Editor and the devil, would have to bear all the blame. Since, then, I must yield to the powers of hell, (the only case, let me be believed, in which I ever did, or ever will yield to the temptations of Satan,) why, worthy reader, it must just be "cut and come again,"—that is, if the dish be to your liking.

(*To be continued.*)

LA FAYETTE'S RECEPTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

For the Edinburgh Magazine.

THE following extract of a letter has been sent to us from a correspondent in the west country; and although the subject of it has often enough been described in the newspapers and fleeting journals of the day, we consider the letter as by no means undeserving of a place in this Miscellany. The distinguished individual to whom it relates has, to use the expressions of an eminent person among ourselves, till his late visit to America, "shared more in the toils than in the triumphs of liberty." It was only then that he received the honours due to his early exertions, in the thanks, and more substantial benefactions of that country which had occupied so great a share of his youthful aspirations. He went to America to behold the creation of a mighty empire, which had sprung forward into mature existence in a shorter period than suffices to conduct a human being from the cradle to the grave.

Such a reception as this, which is here recorded by an eye-witness, ought to disarm those contemptible feelings of jealousy and hostility expressed towards the rising power and influence of the United States, by some spurious sons of England. Every one who aspires to the character of a true-hearted Briton must feel a glow of patriotic enthusiasm, in contemplating the history of the man and of the nation, who have acted their parts in this great Trans-Atlantic drama. Let one of the

actors tell the effect which it had upon himself.

Washington, Feb. 1825.

I suppose you have seen in the papers an account of the reception of General La Fayette in America, and perhaps it will be unnecessary to say much concerning it; really it would be called *ingratitude* here, if it was even hinted that we could say too much of him. I know we have been ridiculed for our *enthusiasm*, on your side of the Atlantic, by some; but that was to be expected, for we know there still remain a *few* who will never forgive us for not sitting quietly under the *yoke*, and of course would not be pleased with *any* of the *noble* instruments of our freedom; but *all* Britons are not so illiberal, for I have seen some extracts from *your* papers, which spoke very handsomely of our gratitude towards this *great man*. We received him in Washington in pretty good style, I can assure you; and though, when he arrived in America, we had not a uniform company *here*, two months after, when he visited *us*, we had ten or eleven as handsome companies as you would wish to see; and what with those, and the military from Georgetown and Alexandria, we were enabled to make *some display*. It would be in vain for me to attempt to give any idea of the immense crowd that came into the city on that eventful morning, and which, I suppose, was nothing in comparison with what was witnessed in other places; the people seemed not to know where to go to get the best sight of the General; some went to the capitol, others went to the toll gates, but the most, particularly the ladies, stationed themselves at the windows, and I believe saw the hand-

some to part of the procession. I myself was too unwell to go out, and had to be contented with what I could see from the window. After Congress met, he called on all the members, and our little parlour had the honour of receiving our *distinguished guest*. The General is very lame, and, when getting out of his carriage, requires some assistance: as may be supposed, there are always plenty to do him that service, as it is considered the greatest honour to support his aged frame.

What a difference there is in our reception of La Fayette to what has been given in other countries to those who attempt to *command* the honours paid them! *as different as the merits of the individual so honoured*. He is not respected for birth, titles, or wealth; he visits us, old, lame, and even *poor*—so much so, that he required bondsmen before he could leave his country: and how is he received? there is not an American breast but meets him with grateful affection; he requires no *guard* but the love of the people, he might go from Maine to Louisiana without meeting an American that would not “*drain his dearest veins*” in his defence. What we admire him for is virtue; we look to the past, to those dark days that “*tried men's souls*,” and there view the dawning brightness of the character of La Fayette, —the time when poor America was struggling with *debt, poverty, and starvation*, for the sake of liberty. Then it was, he came, you may say, a guardian angel, to assist the Colonies; perfectly disinterested in his views, he risked all for the sacred cause in which he had enlisted; and though only a youth of nineteen, left titles, wealth, and affections, to aid America in her struggle for freedom. He clothed our naked soldiers,—he gave them food, money, and ammunition, and besides that, exerted all his influence at the court of Louis for the American interest. When some Americans, wishing not to deceive him, rather dissuaded him from joining the American army, as they supposed our cause, hopeless how did he

answer them? “That is the very reason I will go to assist them.” What remuneration did he expect? none. But what would please every virtuous breast,—the consciousness of following the dictates of an honest, upright mind.

We often read of eminent kings and heroes, but while we admire their greatness and talent, we detest their crimes; and even in modern history we read of great heroes and statesmen, whose private vices obscure the brilliancy of their public virtues; but the life of La Fayette, whether in public or private, will bear the strictest investigation; and, like Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, will be held up as an example to rising generations, when the names of many a crowned head and titled tyrant will be sunk into oblivion! How changed is the country since he was here last! Cities now flourish where were then thick woods! The wilderness has changed to cultivated farms, and the “*Poor Rebels*” have become a nation, “*great, mighty, and populous*.” And as a proof that Republics are not ungrateful, America has bestowed upon him what will enable him to pass the remainder of his noble life in plenty, not with the idea of repaying his services,—no; that is beyond the power of *man*. It has been said we would kill him with kindness; and it is strange he can endure so much fatigue. He spent the winter in Washington, and, I believe, rested more here than elsewhere; but he had to visit a great deal, and always excited the same interest.

I think I have nothing more to say, except that the great Mr Owen of New Lanark has been delivering some lectures in Washington, on what he considers the best mode of education: he lectured in the Representatives Hall, and had a very respectable audience, although he is by some considered an enthusiast, and his schemes rather visionary; yet they give him great credit for real goodness and honesty of heart. There has been considerable notice taken of him by the great men of the nation.

• ARIST.

BELL'S OBSERVATIONS ON ITALY.*

It is with pleasure that we find ourselves enabled to recommend this volume to our readers; and we do so in the conviction, that to every person of cultivated taste its perusal must be highly gratifying. We confess, however, that on the announcement of its publication we anticipated a work of a character somewhat different. Mr Bell's observations are chiefly confined to criticisms on painting and statuary. These criticisms, though very delightful to those who are conversant with the subjects of them,—those noble masterpieces of art, which are at once the admiration of the world and the most certain monuments of national refinement,—are unfortunately often almost unintelligible, at least comparatively devoid of interest, to the untraveller reader. The beautiful forms of sculpture, and the bright representations of painting, in order to be appreciated, require to be seen and studied. Description is inadequate to portray them in the glory with which they stand invested before the spectator. To a great portion of the reading community, therefore, this volume may seem stripped of that charm which appears so obvious to those who have examined the works which are the subjects of our author's observations. Considering the high talent by which he was distinguished,—his long residence in Italy,—his peculiar opportunities of observation, and his scientific habits, we expected a volume containing matter of a more comprehensive description. What he has presented, indeed, he has executed admirably. But we are disposed to entertain a conviction, that the notes which he has left behind him embrace a field of remark on multiplied and interesting topics, unconnected with the fine arts, but not on that account the less valuable.

A protracted and sullen period of war long denied us access to Italy,—a country which, in whatever view contemplated, has never ceased to attract our regard. Its grand and beau-

tiful scenery, its monuments of antiquity and splendid works of art, the changing history of its dynasties and governments,

“*Per servare sempre, o vincitrice civita,*”

the debasement of its actual condition compared with its ancient glories, the classical associations which the very soil excites,—all combine to render this country a subject of the liveliest interest to such as possess a taste for the beautiful and grand in nature and in art, or sympathise with the condition of nations “fallen from their high estate.” The peace of the continent at length terminated the stern exclusions of war, and the details of battles and sieges were exchanged for information of a more gratifying character. When Eustace's *Tour* first appeared, the avidity with which it was read proved, not only the long suspension of intercourse with Italy, but the comparative degree of ignorance which prevailed among us regarding that country. That Eustace was a man of amiable feeling and upright intention all will agree, and his book does not want indications of correct taste and discrimination. But those who have had occasion to try his remarks by the test of experience, must admit that it contains much exaggerated description, and is deficient in candour. Since the publication of that author's *Tour*, we have no reason to complain of a dearth of observations on Italy, as, of late, they have poured in upon us from every quarter and of every quality, in number sufficient to deter us from attempting even their enumeration. Forsyth, unlike Eustace, is accurate in all he observed, and original in every view which he takes of his subjects. But the inadequate and desultory notices with which he favoured the public only serve to excite our regret that an author of such spirit and talent, and so admirably qualified to execute the task of delineating Italy, did not put forth a work of greater length and more systematic character. The “*Cor-*

* Observations on Italy; by the late John Bell, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh, &c. William Blackwood, Edinburgh. 1825.

rinna" of Madame de Staël, though generally appreciated as belonging to the tribe of novels, is in every respect a masterly production, and entitled to be classed with the most venacious works regarding that country. It cannot be too highly praised for its faithful portraiture of Italian character, and its interesting descriptions. The reflections of the accomplished author, on contemplating the sublime monuments of antiquity, are just and strikingly beautiful, and inspire feelings in purest unison with those emotions which the objects themselves excite in a mind of sensibility and taste. Among the numerous other authors who have published their remarks on the objects of interest and curiosity with which Italy abounds, may be mentioned Matthews, whose "Diary of an Invalid" is excellent. There is another small work, entitled "Sketches of Italy," written with much spirit, and shewing considerable talent, which has been characterised by the author of a still more recent production, as an invaluable guide to Italy. The production to which we allude is from the pen of a lady; and though its title of "Rome in the Nineteenth Century" would indicate a limitation of attention to that city, yet the field of remark into which she has entered is amply extended, embracing, besides a complete account of the ruins of the ancient city, and of the remains of the middle ages and monuments of later times, much judicious observation on the fine arts, and on the state of society, manners, and customs of the modern Romans. We incline to regard this publication as one of the most satisfactory which we have seen on the subject. Our limits forbid us to extend our notice to many other authors, whose works merit attention. But we must not omit the name of Miladi Morgan, who would never forgive us for passing unmentioned her couple of splendid quarto tomes. As we said a good deal, on a former occasion, respecting her ladyship's "great work" on "Italy," we may dispense with repeating a lengthened opinion of it at present. Her vanity and vain-gloriousness, her spurious taste in matters of art, her petty prejudices, and, above all, as bearing more directly on her proposed

object of delineating the national condition of the Italians, her partialities and party-feelings in politics, disqualified her peculiarly for the execution of the task which she undertook. In a small brochure, published lately in Edinburgh, and bearing the title of "Le Morganième," the author, an Italian, successfully exposes the unsound quality of the stuff which Miladi had manufactured in Milan and the neighbourhood, leaving it to the residents in other quarters of the country to contradict, in like manner, such relations inconsistent with truth as might affect themselves.

But notwithstanding the works of these and of other authors, we still felt a want which they appeared not to supply. A volume of discoveries, certainly, we did not look for from a country so often explored. At the same time, we apprehended, that to the scientific traveller much remained worthy of observation. The moral and intellectual condition of the Italians, the natural history of the country, its statistics, the modification which the manners and opinions of its population must have undergone during the existence of a foreign regime, and the occurrence of events still fresh in our recollection,—these, and various other topics of equal value, present a rich field of remark to those who are adequately qualified to enter upon its investigation. The political aspect of Italy is alone sufficient to excite our most intense regard; and our regret for the degradation of the people is heightened by the thought, that a region of the earth, at once the fairest and the most abounding with the marks of ancient greatness, should now be the seat of national imbecility, the most debased portion of that quarter of the globe distinguished for cultivation and refinement. On these subjects, the morals, politics, and statistics of the country, and on the state of science, religion, and literature, we hoped to extend our knowledge, by the accession of Mr Bell's Observations on Italy. But though disappointed in these respects, we regard the work in a very favourable light. It presents many bright pictures of Italian scenery, and contains much exquisite criticism on those masterpieces of ancient genius, which may

justly be regarded as the most permanent memorials of the former refinement and splendour of Italy.

Criticisms on painting and statuary are the leading object of the volume, and, to judge by its execution, the author was eminently qualified for the task. His writings shew him to have been sensitively alive to the beauties of nature and of art, and indicate the most amiable feelings, and a highly-cultivated taste. His great abilities were every where acknowledged,—they were such as to impart value to his remarks on subjects unconnected with those pursuits which had previously formed the principal object of his attention. His correct knowledge of the human form invested his criticisms with the accuracy of science. He enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with Canova, Thorwaldson, and other distinguished artists, and profited, of course, in their society, by considerable opportunities of forming and polishing his taste according to the purest models.

Our readers are probably aware, that the author visited Italy in the hope of recovering some portion of lost health. The notes which he was in the habit of taking he did not originally intend for the press. Subsequent circumstances alone led him to entertain the view of arranging them for publication. They were “almost wholly written in pencil, and generally taken down at the moment as he sat at the foot of a statue, on a stair, or on the height of a tower, from whence he contemplated the face of Nature. He had hoped to live to arrange those notes, and to write a little treatise on the Moorish and German architecture; but frequent and severe attacks of illness brought on embarrassments that depressed his mind. Disappointments of another nature encreased his sorrows, and at last bore down a sinking frame.” “The author’s journey” forms the most connected portion of his notes, as he daily committed his observations to paper. Criticisms on the arts, slight historical memoranda, arising from associations and the recollections which his well-stored me-

mory presented on visiting the scenes of which he had read, compose the desultory subjects of the sketches which are now presented in their original state. The author, during his residence abroad, had many opportunities of judging of the difficulties encountered by young travellers in forming their taste and opinions. Guide-books and Custodi, generally adopting but one language, describe every object as exquisite. He hoped, therefore, that some few observations, founded on principle, and pointing out the objects most worthy of notice, might render his work not only useful as a book of reference to the inexperienced, but also prove the means of shortening the labours of the amateur whose leisure did not admit of long investigation. These considerations, combined with the object of giving specimens of the author’s various studies, will, the Editor hopes, offer a sufficient apology for this publication; nor will the feeling reader be unwilling to remember the melancholy circumstances under which they were written, by one suffering from the approaches of a fatal disorder, whose life has been devoted to severe studies, and whose discoveries and useful labours have formed an epoch in his profession. These recollections may so influence his mind as to lead him to trace, in these sketches, the promise of what they would have been, had the author survived to prepare them for the press †.”

The account which Mr Bell gives of his journey is limited to his route from Lyons to Florence. He there suspends his journal, confining himself chiefly, throughout the rest of his pages, to isolated examinations of works of art, in painting, sculpture, and architecture. Nearly one half of the volume is occupied with the narrative of his tour till his arrival in Florence; and this portion of it, in addition to his criticisms, is richly embellished with a beautiful description of the face of the country through which he travelled. The remainder is almost entirely taken up with critical remarks on the masterpieces of art with which that city

abounds; and a very few pages, at its close, are devoted to a selection from the author's extensive notes on Rome.

On leaving Lyons, a city of which the author is particular in his description, as claiming attention on many accounts, he proceeded by the passage of Echelles; and at night-fall of a day full of interest, by the grand and varied scenery which had marked his progress, descended upon Chamberry, the capital of Savoy, and the ancient residence of her sovereigns. The picturesque vale of Arco then conducted him to Lans-le-bourg, where we are satisfied he did not imitate Lalande and the Abbé Coyer, who, if the author of the *Morganiche* be veracious, "quando movevano per visitare l'Italia, deponevano a Lans-le-bourg il loro buon senso." The passage of Mont Cenis has been described to satiety. Although, therefore, it gives opportunity to Mr Bell to record his impressions on first beholding the grandeur and magnificence of the scenery, yet we are unwilling to give quotations, confining ourselves to the following reflections on descending from the Alps to Suza:

In passing vast boundaries, seemingly planted by Nature as barriers between nations, the mind is powerfully awakened to expectation. Every object in a new country, whether in the scenery, or in the customs and manners of the people, excites fresh animation in the traveller. The eye wanders abroad, eager in search of novelty; and the excitement of the mind gives additional charms to the surrounding objects, and new zeal to the spirit of inquiry. We did not therefore enter Suza without experiencing such emotion; we were treading, for the first time, on Italian ground, and were prepared to behold every object with feelings of curiosity and interest. The first view of the inhabitants of this little city gave us the impression of an amiable and gentle people. It was evening; and the citizens, priests, and soldiers, were sauntering through the dusty streets, in little friendly groups, looking upon the strangers, not with the stare of stupid curiosity, or the smile of self-complacency, but with a modest, kind, and benignant aspect; all ranks usually touching, or taking off their hats, in reply to the slightest symptom of courtesy.

In Turin, Mr B. by accident wit-

nessed the execution of a criminal convicted of assassination. A scene of this kind our readers may think foreign from the usual tone of the *vo-lumé*; yet we dare say they will concur with us, in considering the beautiful and graphic manner in which it is given as strong inducements to its introduction here:

Before I write anything of this charming little city, I cannot refrain from unburdening my mind, by writing down a few notes of the melancholy scene I witnessed this morning. I had heard, the night of my arrival, that an unhappy wretch was to be beheaded,—I little imagined, broke on the wheel. In my morning walk, I read on the corners of the streets the affiche, stating his accusation, conviction, and sentence, accompanied with a most useful warning to the people; a call to mark the justice of his execution, and a notice of the place in which he was to be put to death. He was one of those hardened villains who had watched his victim to the turning of a street, and suddenly stabbed him with a stiletto. One feels little compassion for a wretch who, not content with robbing, strikes from behind, and pillages the victim while weltering in his blood. I thought I could bring myself to witness the execution of so hardened a villain, and continued to walk along the great street which leads directly to the square, still undecided and hesitating; when, all at once, I found myself in the midst of a tumultuous crowd, by which I was carried along, without the power of resistance. The streets of Turin are intersected at right angles, and are almost all equally broad and straight. On a sudden, the crossings were filled with a prodigious mob, hurrying from every quarter,—sounds of deep and solemn music were heard; and I beheld the flags and insignia of a procession which I imagined to be purely religious; when, to my surprise and horror, I found myself exactly opposite to the distracted criminal, whom they were conducting to execution, in all the agonies of terror and despair. He was seated in a black car, preceded by arquebusiers on horseback, carrying their carbines pointed forward. These were followed by a band of priests, clothed in long black robes, singing, in deep and solemn tones, a slow mournful dirge, part of the service for the dead. A hot burning sun shone with a flood of light; and though it was mid-day, such was the silence, and such the power and effect of this solemn chant, that its sound was echoed from every distant street. The

brothers of the Misericordia, clothed in black, and masked, walked by the side of the car, and joined in the chant. On the steps of the car sat a man bearing a flag, on which death was represented in the usual forms, and on which was inscribed in Latin, (if I read it rightly,) "Death has touched me with his fingers;" or, "Death has laid his hands on me." On each side of the car, the officiating priests were seated, and in the centre sat the criminal himself. It was impossible to witness the condition of this unhappy wretch without terror, and yet, as if impelled by some strange infatuation, it was equally impossible not to gaze upon an object so wild, so full of horror. He seemed about thirty-five years of age; of large and muscular form; his countenance marked by strong and savage features, half-naked, pale as death, agonized with terror, every limb strained in anguish, his hands clenched convulsively, the sweat breaking out on his bent and contracted brow, he kissed incessantly the figure of our Saviour, painted on the flag which was suspended before him; but with an agony of wildness and despair, of which nothing ever exhibited on the stage can give the slightest conception. I could not refrain from moralizing upon the scene here presented. The horror that the priest had excited in the soul of this savage was greater than the fear of the most cruel death could ever have produced. But the terrors thus raised were the superstitions of an ignorant and bewildered mind, bereft of animal courage, and impressed with some confused belief, that eternal safety was to be instantly secured by external marks of homage to the image. There was here none of the composed, conscious, awful penitence of a Christian; and it was evident, that the priest was anxious only to produce a being in the near prospect of death, whose condition should alarm all that looked on him. The attempt was successful. But I could not help feeling, that this procession, so like an auto-da-fé, had more the character of revenge than of the salutary justice of the law. The inscription over the bloody hand painted on the flag, should have been one to teach the people, that murder was doomed to meet with an awful retribution—"Whosoever sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed."

The procession, winding through deep and narrow streets under a burning sun, while every avenue became more and more choked by an increasing crowd, moved slowly on to the place of execution, which was situated in a solitary piece of waste ground behind the great

church. The punishment had been mitigated at the earnest solicitation of the brothers of the Misericordia. The *coup de grace* was immediately inflicted, and the head of the criminal nearly severed from his body at one stroke. When the execution was over, the body was thrown carelessly over the wheel, (seemingly a common chariot wheel,) and a priest, in an impressive manner, addressed the mob from the scaffold, and then retired. The body continued thus exposed for some hours. I could not help feeling, that if the sentence had been carried into full effect, it would have been too sanguinary to suit the ends of public justice. Although it must be confessed, that if cruelty in punishment could ever be justified, it would be so when its object was to prevent the dreadful crime of assassination.

From Turin Mr Bell went to Milan, where his short stay circumscribed his notices of the latter city. He vividly describes his delight on beholding, for the first time, its cathedral, a singular and beautiful building. In his descriptions he is invariably striking, especially when the subject on which he is occupied, either intrinsically or by association, is calculated to give scope to thought and feeling. Splendid as the cathedral of Milan is, we cannot bring ourselves to admire it so passionately as our author. Its fret-work and fantastic pinnacles, about 4000 in number, destroy the broad effect which its dimensions would otherwise give. Leonardo da Vinci's celebrated painting of the Last Supper Mr Bell characterises as a poor, washy-looking thing. "I impartially declare," says he, "that I should hardly have discovered its beauties, and was forced to bring to recollection Morghen's superb engraving, not without some wonder in what state the painting could then have been, what copies he consulted, or by what means he made good his design." This fine fresco has, unfortunately, been exposed to many accidents, some of them occurring at a period shortly after its execution. Considering its history, it is surprising that it remains so entire, and retains such marks of excellence. It has been more than once retouched; and it suffered much injustice at the unhallowed hands of the French, who converted the apartment in which it

is painted into a barrack, or stable. Not satisfied with this, the soldiers amused themselves with shooting at the figures in the piece. Traces of the perforation of the bullets are yet visible. Still, in spite of the injuries it has received, on examining it more recently than Mr Bell did, its beauties appeared to us strikingly obvious.

Our author did not tarry long in Pavia,—a city once the seat of learning, and distinguished for her population and courtly revelries—now mean, desolate, and comparatively uninteresting, though still boasting structures of considerable grandeur. He proceeded to Parma and Bologna, by way of Placentia, in which last city he takes occasion to remark, that among the excellencies of which fresco painting is peculiarly susceptible, it presents the facilities of giving an easy flow, a freedom of hand, and a roundness of contour. We dissent from this opinion, having been always taught to consider this mode of painting as attended with peculiar difficulties. In Parma and Bologna, the numerous works of art which embellish these cities are the subject of many excellent observations. But as the whole book may be regarded as having criticism on these arts for its leading object, we shall not, at present, detain the readers with any remarks upon them. We shall afterwards lay before them such specimens as may serve to impress them with an idea of the author's classical taste as a critic, and of the manner in which he handles his subject. His powers, as these are manifested throughout the volume, appear to have been of a very superior order.

On arriving at the far-famed and beautiful city of Florence, our author discontinues his journal, and confines himself almost exclusively to a description of the master-pieces of art collected in that city. Florence has many claims upon the classical traveller. In this city, the dawn of science first penetrated the gloom of the middle ages, and burst forth with a mid-day splendour over the face of Europe. Science and literature, taste and genius, painting, sculpture, and architecture, were here regenerated; and hence they

shed, over neighbouring nations; a humanising influence, of which we are now enjoying the beneficial effects. Independently of these claims upon our attention, there is much in the aspect of the city itself, and in the appearance and manners of the inhabitants, which solicits our favourable regard. It does not fall within our plan to give a description of the city. We are satisfied to repeat the merited epithet coupled with its name, Firenze la *Bella*. Of the Tuscans, even in the lower grades, an author of reputation has remarked, "C'est une jouissance véritable que d'entendre les Toscans; leurs expressions, pleines d'imagination, et d'élégance, donnent l'idée du plaisir qu'on devait goûter dans la ville d'Athènes, quand le peuple parlait ce grec harmonieux qui était comme une musique continue. C'est une sensation très singulière de se croire au milieu d'une nation dont tous les individus seraient également cultives, et paraîtraient tous de la classe supérieure: c'est du moins l'illusion que fait, pour quelques momens, la pureté du langage." The most pleasing recollections attach us to this "Athens of Italy"—while we retrace in memory its palaces and towers, its squares, its churches and porticos, its monuments of art, and the beauty of its surrounding scenery, and recal to mind many other endearments of that attractive city, which, though waned by time, still lives in our recollection.

Mr Bell begins his observations on Florence with a brief view of its general architecture, followed by a more detailed description of its public edifices, palaces and churches; and concludes them with an examination of the principal statues and pictures in the celebrated Medicean Gallery. These observations, with an additional chapter, devoted to the Vatican, and a few other objects of interest at Rome, exhaust the volume.

We coincide with him in his remarks on the general architecture of Florence, its style being grand and glowing beyond that of the other cities of Italy. In his more detailed description of the various public edi-

fices, the author is remarkably happy. He seems to have received intense delight in contemplating architectural works of grandeur. In the *Introduction*, we have seen that he meditated the composition of a treatise on the Moorish and German architecture, of which untoward circumstances prevented the execution. But we turn from the consideration of these objects to statuary and painting. While travelling from Lyons to Florence, a considerable proportion of the author's observations are composed of criticism on these arts, and notices of these productions. In particular, Parma and Bologna presented a rich field of study to his ardent mind; and he amply availed himself of the treasures which these cities contain.

The height of excellence which the ancients attained in sculpture is to be explained chiefly in the manners of the people. The rites observed at their public ceremonies and games offered continual opportunities of improvement, by presenting the finest models for imitation. Their artists also were held in great honour. As merit was sure of reward, emulation was excited, and the noblest productions thus issued from their hands, the offspring of confidence, energy, and genius. The heathen mythology conspired with these causes to add lustre to Grecian sculpture. The religion of the Greeks delighted in glory and triumph; and, in relation to the dogma of the apotheosis of man, *beauty* may be said to have become a religious principle, of indispensable exhibition, in commemorating the transmuted mortal form; but these explanations of themselves would appear to be inadequate. Whatever be the cause, moral or physical, the fact is indisputable, that the mild regions of the south produce forms of greater beauty than the cold latitudes of the north. And to this cause is to be traced, we think, the superiority of Grecian sculpture. The statuary, where all was lovely, could scarcely fail of success, if he imitated faithfully. Mr Bell is of opinion, that imitation of the living models placed before them was the chief, if not the sole study of the ancients. On a long debated point, he inclines to

the opinion, that they did not consider a knowledge of anatomy indispensable; correctly remarking, that, had the case been otherwise, it would not have remained a matter of speculation. He adds, "it is evident, that, in these public opportunities, the ancients possessed advantages for which the profoundest knowledge of anatomy, even when combined with taste and judgment, can never be a substitute." His remarks on this question, as to the importance of a knowledge of anatomy to the student, appear to us to be judicious. He leads to the conclusion, that "this science should never be brought into evidence in a statue," however much the sculptor may avail himself of it, to give a natural air to his figures.

With this conviction on his mind, it is somewhat inconsistent, besides being foreign from the author's good taste, to find him not unfrequently indulging in a strain of criticism, remarkable for the application of science to his subject, and abounding in anatomical phraseology. His remarks on the Dancing Fawn in the Tribune, for example, have a considerable tinge of this kind in that part of them which relates to the exterior execution of the statue. The view, in other respects, which the author takes of this inimitable figure, appears to us to be original; and we therefore extract the passage descriptive of the statue; premising, however, that we do not agree with him on the opinion, that "it represents a drunken old fawn, balancing with inebriety, rather than dancing with glee." We incline, notwithstanding Mr Bell's remarks, to regard this Fawn as a young, roguish, funny character, dancing with delight. According to the author of "*Rome in the Nineteenth Century*," this statue "is all life and animation, and his jocund face expresses so much delight in his own performance, that it is impossible not to sympathize in his mirth, and scarcely possible to refrain from beginning to caper about with him." This seems to us more characteristic of the statue than Mr Bell's account, which we now present:

The ancients seldom, I believe, chose ludicrous subjects; or only inferior ar-

tists in brass or metal were accustomed to this lower style, the grotesque. But the Dancing Fawn does not come under this description: it is allied with their mythology, similar to their basso-relievos of fawns, satyrs, and bacchantes, and is rather to be designated by the word sportive, than ludicrous. This statue is perhaps the most exquisite piece of art of all that remains of the ancients. The torso is the finest that can be imagined, the serrated muscle upon the ribs, the pectoral muscle of the breast, the bulk of the shoulder, the swell of the bended chest, the setting on of the trunk upon the flank, the swell of the abdominal muscle above the haunch-bone, the forms of the thigh and the manner in which its tendons meet the knee, the flatness and nakedness of the rotula and the fine forms of the head of the tibia, the simple and perfect forms of the legs, the fine joinings of the ankle-bones, and the exquisite finish of the tendons of the feet, and flat points of the toes, make this a perfect and perpetual study. But there is that in it which might spoil an artist's conceptions. It is all true, but all too much. If it were used as a study, it would serve to correct and purify; suiting well as an anatomical figure, to ascertain the forms, or suggest them; and a good artist, even from this little, dancing, drunken fawn, little and curious as it is, might draw a warrior's limbs in a grand and noble style; the anatomy of the parts would help him to individual forms, if studied judiciously, although, without care and taste, it would obstruct all high conceptions of genius. It is adventurous indeed to differ from so great a master as Michael Angelo, who, when he restored it, must have studied the subject well, and who is even said to have taken the idea of the head and arms from an antique gem. He has given round and fleshy forms to a shrunk and somewhat aged figure, evidently intended for the caricature of drunkenness and folly; having mistaken the design, which is assuredly that of a drunken old fawn, balancing with inebriety, rather than dancing with glee. The limbs are all in a strained and staggering attitude. The action rises not from the exertion of dancing, but from the loss of balance, and a desire to preserve it. The whole body inclines forward in a reeling posture; and there must have been a proportioned bend backwards of the head, to counterbalance the inclination of the trunk. The hands, dangling forwards, the chin protruded, the head thrown back, and the tongue lolling

out, in drollery or drunkenness, would have rendered the expression corresponding with the general character of the figure. Buonarrotti has given too fresh and full a face for this shrunk, meagre, and dried-up body, which being without a particle of fat, or any covering of skin, is almost an anatomical figure. We find in it nothing of the round, well-nourished limbs, nor of the blood or fleshiness of youth, nor any aptitude for dancing. Instead of the dancing, it should be the drunken fawn. The ancients give many dancing figures, especially in basso-relievos; but the forms are always long in limb, yet full of flesh, and round, to show the supple and limber form of youth combined with all the vigorous bending and elastic spring of the body.

Of the Venus de Medici the author says almost nothing. And, in truth, it is impossible to say any thing about this statue, except that it is exquisite. The author contrasts it with Canova's Venus. "In comparing the impressions excited in viewing the rival goddesses of Florence, I should say that the Medicean Venus displays, in her whole deportment, a mild repose, a tranquil dignity, that leads the mind to forget her situation; while the modest, though captivating timidity betrayed by Canova's Venus, awakens the attention, and excites something of uneasiness, by compelling you to share her alarm." Repose was the great principle of the Grecian artists, a principle to which they pertinaciously adhered, sacrificing every incompatible excellence.

In a note by the Editor, at this part of the volume, we are informed, "the difficulties encountered in travelling caused the loss of some of the MSS. belonging to this work, among which were those relating to the paintings in the Palazzo Pitti." It is very remarkable, that of these paintings there is no published account of the least value. From the author of a work which we have already quoted*, we expected some information on the subject. But she dismisses it with the brief remark, that the "Palazzo Pitti contains one of the finest collections of painting that Italy can boast, but we had no leisure to examine them."

We certainly were not prepared for Mr Bell's remarks on Laocoon, the Priest of Apollo. "This work," he observes, "to my feelings, is a caricature representation of a subject in itself equally unpleasing and shocking. It is as if an artist should undertake to represent, as a public spectacle, the tortures of the Inquisition. I can never contemplate this group without something of horror, mingled with disgust; and I also think that much of the interest that it might command is destroyed, from the forms of the two youths, whose countenances and make, instead of exhibiting the charm and helplessness so touching in childhood, resemble only diminutive men." Of this celebrated group, we believe only one opinion prevailed, until the publication of Mr Bell's impressions. We cannot help expressing surprise, that he should have made the cast in the Florentine Gallery the object of his remarks, instead of waiting to consult the original in the Vatican. Casts invariably fall far short of the beauty of their originals. With regard to the shocking and unpleasing nature of the subject, it is to be remembered, that it closely imitates the representation of Virgil; and therefore the poet ought to be equally obnoxious to censure with the sculptor. Yet who would wish to delete Virgil's fine description from the *Æneid*? The poet is not even so refined in his representation as the author of this group, who, in conformity with the rule of art already noticed, has abated the howling agony, and consequent contortion of feature, of the brother of Anchises, and presented a more dignified picture of suffering. In treating of the Laocoon, our author has also fallen into what we have observed to be a very general error, at least so we opine, of writers on the three statues which compose the group. He censures the appearance of manliness in the sons. If, however, Mr Bell, and those who coincide with him in this censure, had regarded attentively the children in Italy, they must have remarked, that the fostering climate of the country conduces to a comparatively early maturity of appearance in the human form. We have often been struck by this fact; and on seeing

groups of boys, the idea always occurred to us, of a world of little gentlemen, veritable pignies, perfect in all their parts. It is only to our northern eyes that the youths appear faulty; and yet who is there among us, who would resign their matchless figures for the substitution of a pair of urchins of unshapen forms and chubby cheeks? In sculpture, the imagination must be consulted, as well as the realities of life. The artist, in this group, accommodates himself to both.

We gladly turn from the author's impressions on viewing the Laocoon, to indulge our readers, before we close our remarks, in one or two other extracts from his work. We hope to go over his ground again at some future period, and to descend into a more minute examination of his criticisms on those finer productions of which he has recorded his opinions. In the mean time, we direct our attention to a very noble statue—the Dying Gladiator.

A most beautiful and precious work, and of peculiar interest, as bringing so forcibly into evidence the power which the art of statuary may possess of touching the heart. I have gone daily to view this fine statue, and still behold it with renewed feelings of admiration and sadness. There is a curling up of the lips, as if the languor and sickness of expiring nature had confused the sensations, and convulsed the features, and that almost suggests the idea of paleness. He has fallen, he raises himself upon his right hand, not for vengeance,—not to resume his now useless weapon,—not to appeal to the people. No; he looks not beyond himself; he feels that the wound is mortal; he raises himself for a moment on his yet powerful arm, to try his strength; but his limbs have the trailing, bending form, of dying languor; he looks down upon his now useless weapon, and blood-stained shield; he is wounded, his limbs have failed, he has staggered and fallen down, and has raised himself for a moment to fall down again and die. It is a most tragical and touching representation, and no one can meditate upon it without the most melancholy feelings. Of all proofs, this is the surtest of the effect produced by art. He was a slave, he had no family, no friends, he was bought with money, and trained and devoted to death. It is then all the singleness of death and despair that you are to feel. No picture of tra-

gic effort is presented, it is one impression; and if any artist has ever given that one impression, it is the author of the *Dying Gladiator*. The design is, in this sense, finer than any thing in statuary I have ever seen, and given with wonderful simplicity. It is a statue which, like those of Michael Angelo, should be placed in a vault, or darkened chamber, for the impression it makes is that of melancholy. Although not colossal, the proportions are beyond life; perhaps seven feet, and yet from its symmetry it does not appear larger than life. The forms are full, round, and manly; the visage mournful, the lip yielding to the effect of pain, the eye deepened by despair, the skin of the forehead a little wrinkled, the hair clotted in thick, sharp-pointed locks, as if from the sweat of fight and exhausted strength. The body large, the shoulders square, the balance well preserved by the hand on which he rests, the limbs finely rounded, a full fleshy skin covers all the body, the joints alone are slender and fine. No affectation of anatomy here, not a muscle to be distinguished, yet the general forms perfect as if they were expressed. The only anatomical feature discernible is that of full and turgid veins, yet not ostentatiously obtruded, but seen slightly along the front of the arms and ancles, giving, like the clotted hair, proof of violent exertion. The forms of the *Dying Gladiator* are not ideal, or exquisite, like the *Apollo*; it is all nature, all feeling. In short, in this beautiful and touching production, for powerful effect and mournful expressions, the languid posture, the whole form of the bleeding and dying gladiator is executed with all the modesty of nature; never came there from the hands of the artist a truer or more pathetic representation.

This natural and melancholy picture is like a ballad chanted in its own simple melody, which makes a truer impression on the heart than the highest strain of epic song, or heroic conception of the artist.

The singular art of the artist is particularly to be discerned in the extended leg; by a less skilful hand this posture might have appeared constrained; but here, true to nature, the limbs are seen gently yielding, bending from languor, the knee sinking from weakness, and the thigh and ancle-joint pushed out to support it. The gouts of blood are large and flat, hardly attracting attention, and do not spoil the figure. If the attitude had been studied, and the posture represented as an appeal to the passions, or if he had been made to die as gladiators

were then taught to die, for effect, the statue would have been spoiled: had he been raised so as to look up in a beseeching attitude to the people, or to the victor, it would have been but a poor and common statue.

The following is a brief, but faithful account, of the service at St. Peter's, on Easter Sunday:

The service on Easter Sunday is grand and most imposing, insensibly raising the feelings to a true accord with the scene. There, under the superb dome built by Michael Angelo, the solemn mass is sung in deep silence, amidst the assembly of priests and princes. The morning was serene and lovely, the sun shone clear and bright through the edifice, giving to its imposing dimensions, and noble architecture, a more than usual splendour. At the end of the great cross, terminating in the grand altar, the Pope is seated, supported on either side by his cardinals and bishops, with their attendant priests, presenting a numerous and gorgeous array. The marble balustrade encircling the altar is lined within by the guards, and spreading out at the further ends, galleries are extended, destined for royal visitors, princes, and ambassadors, on the one hand, and on the other for strangers of all classes. The vast height of the dome, rising superbly overhead,—the magnificent lower altar of fine bronze, relieved by a beautiful railing of white marble, and lighted by lamps which burn continually,—the fine effect produced by the gigantic statues lessening in the distant vista, as the eye traverses along the immense space of this noble structure, form a coup d'œil very striking, and singularly fine. At the conclusion of the service, the Pope, advancing to kneel at the lower altar, recited the *Pater-noster*, and then proceeded from the church to the balcony in front of St. Peter's, to perform the benediction. The sacred character of this ceremony receives an added dignity from the fine and commanding aspect of the surrounding scenery. The approach to St. Peter's is very grand, the space within the court immense, and the columns and colonnades most magnificent, while the noble and high buildings of the Vatican are seen towering on the right hand in a broad style of irregular but fine architecture. Large flat steps, ascending to the wide-spreading gates of the church, run to the whole length of the edifice, producing, from their vast extent, one of its most striking features; while over the low, square-roofed, and not unpicu-

re-que buildings; in front of St. Peter's, the eye wanders abroad to the distant prospect, to the blue hills, and far-seen glaciers, the effect being altogether solemn and fine beyond imagination.

The ample steps of St. Peter's were peopled by thousands of the peasantry, who crowded from every distant part of the Campagna, mingling with citizens of the lower ranks; those of the higher classes, forming rich and showy groups, were seen on each side, covering the fine flat-roofed colonnades. Below, on the level ground, the whole body of the Papal guards was drawn out in array. Beyond, stood, like a deep dark phalanx, the carriages and innumerable equipages, the vivid tints of the brilliant mid-day-sun giving every variety of colour, by deepened shade or added brightness. In the central balcony of the church, awaiting the approach of the Pope, were seated a rich, gorgeous throng of cardinals and prelates, overlooking the countless numbers in the space below, covered without spot or interval as with one mass of living beings. Expectation prevailed throughout till his holiness approached, when, in a moment, all was still; every eye turned from the gay and sunny scene to the dark front of St. Peter's, lying deep in shade, from its massive columns; not a breath, not a sound reached the ear. The deep silence that reigned amid such a concourse was most impressive; the whole scene excited feelings of the deepest interest, as we contemplated the pale, benign, mild countenance, and venerable aspect, of him who was now bending forward with anxious zeal to bless the surrounding multitude. The rich, deep-toned bell of St. Peter's announced the conclusion of the benediction—solemn sounds, which were instantly answered by the loud pealing cannon of Castle St. Angelo, as likewise by the voices of the musicians, and clamorous rejoicings of the people.

When night approaches, and the dome of this magnificent temple is hung with lights, all the grandeur of its architecture is displayed. Each frieze and cornice, arch, and gate, and pillar, is enriched with lines of splendid fires; and every steeple, tower, and bulky dome, glittering with light, seems to hang in a firmament of its own, high in the clear, dark sky. The long sweeping colonnade forms, as it were, a golden circle, enclosing the dark mass of people below, filling the spacious basin of the court, while the waters of the superb fountains, sparkling in the partial gleams of light, are heard dashing amid the hum and murmur of the busy throng;

when suddenly, in an instant, the form is changed, the red distinct stars are involved in one blaze of splendid flame, as if the vast machine were turned by the hand of some master spirit.

From this object, the spectator is next hurried to view the splendid fire-works of Castle St. Angelo, esteemed the finest in the world, and which, for general aspect and effect, are perhaps unequalled. All at first was dark, the deep dense mass of the populace filled the squares and streets, while the carriages, each with its lights reflected from the dark flood of the Tyber, swung slowly and heavily across the bridge. No place or city affords so magnificent a scene, for exhibiting the alternate effects of brilliant illumination and sudden darkness, of utter silence and overwhelming sounds. The vast round tower of the castle rises over the scene, with its bulky cornice and flanking bastions; the bridge, of fine and level form, leads direct to the gate; while the statue of St. Michael, big and black, with broad expanded wings, hangs over the tower, and the Tyber, walled in with an amphitheatre of antique houses on the father shore, sweeps round the castle in deep and eddying pools; and in the distance, as if hung in the air, the vast dome of St. Peter's is seen from afar, striped and adorned with its many thousand lamps, and crowned with rich circles of fire.

All is dark and silent, when the first gun from St. Angelo booms along the river, and shakes the ground. Again a stiller silence prevails, when vast flames burst from the centre of the circular tower with an explosion truly magnificent, filling the air with various-coloured fires, which shoot upwards and athwart, with hurried and impetuous motion, involving the whole fabric in clouds and darkness; then all at once, within the dark clouds, appears, in pale and silvery light, the structure, long spread out with glittering columns, frieze, and cornice. The river, gate, and bridge, involved meanwhile in redder fires, when again all is dark and silent. After each pause the guns announce new explosions, while the sound rolls through the city, emptied of its inhabitants, and solitary as the surrounding hills, which again reverberate the sound.

Nor can any thing, perhaps, be more striking than the revulsion of feelings caused by the sudden cessation of sound; the change from the most dazzling, and almost fearful light, to utter darkness; from sounds the most astounding to perfect stillness. At the last tremendous explosion, the whole edifice was enve-

leped in a rush of fire, while the broad brooding statue of St. Michael on its pinnacle hung black and ominous, apparently suspended in the air, and floating on a vast mass of flame. Then again all was still, and deep obscurity prevailed. The moonlight shone faint upon the distant landscape, and the river reflected the solitary and sullen lamps in a degree to give darkness effect, and show imperfectly the forms of the bridge, and the mass of the slow-retiring crowd. During this wonderful exhibition, altogether peculiar to this city, and not unworthy of the occasion, no confusion, no bustle ensued, no noise or clamour; each individual, satisfied with the wonders he had seen, returned quietly to his own abode. This splendid display closes, as with one flash of magnificence, the ceremonies of the Holy Week, and the stranger retiring slowly from the scene, feels as if he had witnessed, not the trivial show of an hour, but some signal phenomenon in the natural world.

As we have trespassed long on the attention of our readers, we shall now close, for the present, this excellent and instructive work. We have observed, that it chiefly consists of criticisms on the fine arts, though other topics are occasionally introduced. The manner in which the author executes these criticisms, our readers must have remarked, is deserving of high praise. They are equally conspicuous for candour, taste, and discrimination. They indicate, also, a confidence in his own judgment, absolutely necessary for the independence of remark required in the critic. In his observations on Laocoon, on the Duomo of Milan, and on many other subjects, he fearlessly dissents from the whole world of connoisseurs, faithfully recording his own impressions, uninfluenced by

the general voice of preceding writers. The volume breathes throughout a spirit of enthusiasm for the arts, tempered by the just conceptions of science. Mr Bell appears to have been wholly engrossed with the monuments of art which were everywhere presented to his view. To him, Italy seems to have been a country of marble and of canvas. There is not, in the whole volume, a word even of music, though so nearly a-kin to those arts which receive so great a share of the author's attention. We must except a few incidental notices, naturally given on his hearing the *Miserere* chanted in the Sistine chapel. But we are not surprised at his silence in this respect, even in the knowledge, as we are, that he was addicted to musical enjoyments. Notwithstanding a prevalent contrary belief, music is in a sorry state in Italy, and the science of it is comparatively neglected. Of politics, we are not favoured with one scrap; and of the manners and domestic institutions of Italian society, and of their tone of thought and feeling, we have just as little. We regret this, as the author was well fitted to delineate the condition of society, and enjoyed, from his professional avocations, advantages in gaining admission to its circles, which travellers rarely command. But in fixing on these or other topics, which do not enter into the composition of this volume, we altogether forget that the Introduction informs us, that it has been made up from a mass of Notes; left by the author, which are unpublished. In these, we are persuaded, much remains worthy of seeing the light, comprehending information of a different, but not less interesting kind.

MARGINAL NOTES, &c.

SHAKESPEARE.

TEMPEST.—*Ariel*.—Anacreon Moore esteems *Ariel* a more delightful creation than the whole heathen mythology put together.

MUCH ADU ABOUT NOTHING.—Claudio's conduct, in this play, under the impression of Hero's disgrace, is unnatural and inconsistent. Even after he had been convinced of her

innocence, he is made to exhibit no true or deep grief. The portraiture of this part is undoubtedly (speaking with reverence) *bad*. Why, he comes to the *second* bridal in a merry, jesting humour, immediately after paying his devoirs at (as he supposed) the grave of Hero. In fact, this part is grossly unnatural. The poet, knowing that all was to turn out well,

forgets that Claudio was at first ignorant of the issue. Nothing can be worse. This *mourning* Claudio jests with Benedick—

I think he thinks upon the savage bull :—
Tush, fear not, man ; we'll tip thy horns
with gold,
And all Europa shall rejoice at thee ;
As once Europa did at lusty Jove,
When he would play the noble beast in
love.

And, on hearing Benedick's last reply, quoth the *mourning* Claudio again :—

For this I owe you : here come other reckonings.
Which is the lady I must seize upon ?
—Sweet, let me see your face.

Is this light and heartless conduct worthy of Claudio's *original* character? (*servetur ad inum*, &c.) or is a character of this stamp worthy of Hero?

POPE.

PASTORALS.—'Though written by the author at sixteen, they are, I really think, equal in point of execution to those of Virgil. The delicacy and propriety of sentiment and imagery, the felicitous economy of expression to the harmony of numbers which they exhibit, are certainly unsurpassed. When the age of the poet is taken into account, they are altogether surprising.

WINDSOR FOREST.—The pictures of the dying pheasant, and of the courses, are those of a master. What a pity it is that they should be associated in the same poem with the speechifying of Father Thames! I dislike also the affected modesty of the concluding paragraph. But it is very sweetly expressed, and ought not to have been finished with the pastoral cant exhibited in the final couplet :—

Enough for me, that, to the listening swains, &c.

Eloisa.—I have not yet forgot myself to stone.

See Milton's *Il Penseroso* :—
Forget thyself to marble.

TEMPLE OF FAME.—Parts very fine ; but I do not much like it as a whole. Many of the descriptions are splendid in decoration, but some are

poor and common-place. Amongst the eminently illustrious in the Temple, the poet has not mentioned *any* of our own worthies, but has confined himself, with puerile pedantry, to two or three ancients. In fact, with the single exception of that redeeming part relative to *Rumour*, the whole poem is propt on common-places.

EPISITLE TO ARBUTHNOT, &c.—The *prologue* is exquisitely keen and spirited : but the last couplet should have been omitted ; the *two* last would indeed be well spared.

In the *Satire* following, I dislike the allusions to Lady M. W. Montague, which are spiteful and nasty.

COLLINS.

ODE TO LIBERTY—

The youths, whose locks divinely spreading, like vernal hyacinths, &c.

See the *Giaour* :—
Her hair in hyacinthine flow, &c.

ODE TO EVENING :—

If aught of oaten stop or pastoral song.

See Milton's *Comus* :—
Or sound of pastoral reed with oaten stops.

GRAY.

HYMN TO IGNORANCE, (Fragment.)

If any spark of wit's delusive ray
Break out, and flash a momentary day.

See Pope's *Dunciad* :—
Wit shoots in vain its momentary fires,
The meteor drops, and in a flash expires.

STANZAS TO BENTLEY :—

The *energy* of Pope they might efface,
And Dryden's *harmony* submit to mine.

Should not these characteristics be *reversed*, according to the popular opinion?

The *harmony* of Pope, &c.
And Dryden's *energy*, &c.

Pope's *numbers* are always emphatically mentioned ; and the "*energy divine*" of Dryden is celebrated by Pope.

ODE ON THE SPRING :—

Lo, where the *rosy-bosom'd hours*.

See Milton's *Comus*.

Disclose the long-expected flows,
And wake the purple year !

See *Lycidas* :—
And purple all the ground with vernal flowers.

The attic warbler *pours her throat*.

See Pope's *Essay on Man*, Ess. III.

Is it for thee the linnet *pours his throat*?
—the *honied Spring*

Dr Johnson, in his criticism on this Ode, remarks:—"There has of late arisen a practice of giving to adjectives derived from substantives the termination of participles; such as the *cultured plain*, the *divined bank*; but I was sorry to see, in the lines of a scholar like Gray, the *honied spring*." The Doctor forgot that Milton has the expression in his *Lycidas*, "*honied showers*," and in his *Il Penseroso*, "*honey'd thigh*."

ETON COLLEGE.—"*Fairy Passions*."—See Pope's *Essay on Man*.

TO ADVERSITY:—

And melancholy, silent maid,
With leaden eye, that loves the ground.

So Milton, addressing the "pensive nun," Melancholy, says—(speaking of her eyes)—

Forget thyself to marble, till
With a sad, leaden, downward cast,
Thou fix them on the earth as fast.

PROGRESS OF POESY:—

Temper'd to thy warbled lay.

See *Lycidas*:—

Temper'd to the oaten flute.

ELEGY.

Animated bust.

See Pope's *Temple of Fame*:—

Animated marble.
—the living lyre.

See Pope's *Windsor Forest*:—

Living harp.

Similar examples of *coincidences* might be multiplied to a bulk equal, perhaps, to that occupied by the poems themselves.

Matthæw estimates the genius of Gray "second to none;" and Dr Currie pronounces it "equal to the loftiest attempts of the epic muse." But who does not see that these opinions are blindly extravagant? This *ultraism* of praise on one side has necessarily led to depreciation on the other; and thus Gray's greatest admirers have done him the greatest harm.

His poetry is by some styled "mosaic work." Nor is the expression inapplicable to the *works* themselves;

though it involves a seeming misconception of the genius that produced them. Gray was not a common plagiarist. Even Dr Johnson^s never charged him as one. His fine spirit was retentive of the quintessence of expression and thought; and the gems that were not originally his own he poured forth and appropriated in the unconscious fervour of enthusiasm. Besides, what he has of his own is always equal to what he borrows.

It must, however, after all, be confessed, that *some* of his borrowed images are so important that he ought to have expunged them on recollection. Such, for instance, as the "sleet of arrowy shower."

It is worthy of remark and of admiration, that Gray, with all his borrowings, is an *original* writer. His *manner* is his own.

Of his productions, the *Elegy* is the sweetest and the most affecting; the *Fatal Sisters*, perhaps, the most spirited, striking, and energetic. The *impetus*, in the opening of that ode, is very fine,—preferable, I think, to that of the *Bard*.

BURNS.

The family name of Burns was originally spelt *Burnes*, or *Burness*; as the name of Robert Bruce was anciently spelt *Brusse*.

In the *General Correspondence* of Burns (as published by Dr Currie) there is too much appearance of elaborate effort at composition, quite unsuited to the proper and chaste simplicity of the epistolary style. This is not so much the case in his letters to Mr Thomson. The poet, however, had unquestionably a *false* taste in prose. He saw no beauties in Addison. He generally laboured after an *inflated* style.

Frequently his composition runs into verse. The following lines are extracted at random from his *prose*:

O, how the glorious triumph swells my heart! No. I.

Could feel so strongly, and describe so well;

The last, the meanest of the Muses' train.

Taught him in rustic measures to complain. No. II.

At times, as now, draw forth the swelling tear. No. XVIII.

Among the ignoble dead unnoticed and unknown. No. XIX.

The hungry worshippers of fame are breathless,

Clambering, hanging between heaven and hell. No. LXXI.

Letter XIV.—In Dr Blacklock, whom I see very often, I have found a clear head and an excellent heart.

So *Pope*, speaking of his early patron *Walsh*—

The clearest head, and the sincerest heart.

Letter XLIX.—I own I am disappointed in the *Æneid*. Correctness may please, and does highly please, the lettered critic, &c.

Burns took up this high-flown notion of Virgil from that poet's character in the *original*. Surely he found not faultless correctness in Dryden's translation!

Same Letter.—I could parallel many passages where Virgil has evidently copied, but by no means improved, Homer.

More probably it was *Pope* copying *Dryden*.

Letter LVI.—Who make poor will do, wait upon, I should.

This seems to be imitated from Shakespeare. See *Macbeth*, Act I. scene vii.—

Letting I dare not, wait upon I would,
Like the poor cat i' the adage.

Letter LXXIX.—That heavy virtue which is the negative consequence of steady dulness.

—Stupidly good.—*Milton*.

DEDICATION OF POEMS.—May corruption shrink at your kindling, indignant glance!

So *Byron*, alluding to *Grafton*:

Corruption shrank scorched from the glance of his mind.

The VISION—

Stringin blethers up in rhyme
For fools to sing.

Composing songs for fools to get by heart. *Pope*.

The VISION—

His eyes e'en turn'd on empty space,
Beamed keen with honour.

See *Milton's Arcadis* :—

I see bright honour sparkle through your eyes.

THE VISION.—*Duan II.*—Burns might, I think, take the idea of his "light aerial bands" from *Pope's* sylphs in the *Rape of the Lock*.

I saw thee seek the sounding shore.

See *Lycidas* :—

The shores and sounding seas.

Hence musing onward to the sounding shore.—*Beattie*.

I saw thy pulse's maddening play.

Byron has used this expression in his *Corsair*, canto I.

See *Lycidas* :—

Yet all beneath th' unrivalled rose

The lowly daisy sweetly blows;

Though large the forest's monarch throws

His armed shade,

Yet green the juicy hawthorn grows,

Adown the glade.

What a simple natural illustration of the "Non si priores Mæonius tenet" of *Horace*!

TO A MOUSE—

The present only toucheth thee.

Thus *Southey* :—

This now is all that toucheth thee.

EPISTLE TO DAVIE—

I tent less, and want less,

Their roomy fire-side,

But hanker and canker

To see their cursed pride.

Burns was too partial to this sort of close rhyme in lines of six syllables. *Exempla passim*.

DESPONDENCY.—Gray finely enlarges on the topic of the last stanza in his ode on the distant prospect of *Eton College*.

Verses, &c.—Life's rough ocean.

Shakespeare :—A sea of troubles.

EPISTLE TO R. GRAHAM, ESQ.—

The luckless rhyming trade.

No man ever made it less a trade than our bard. But he was far too fond of the expression, both in his poems and correspondence.

EPISTLE TO R. GRAHAM, ESQ.—

A thing unteachable in world's skill.

Surely *world's* should have been altered by the editor to *worldly*. Burns always used the words *world* and *fire* as dissyllables. Besides, in this place, the above peculiar use of

the genitive of the substantive *world* is too vulgar a provincialism for the style of Epistle, at which the poet aimed.

THE INVENTORY—

For men, I've three mischievous boys.
This sounds like an Hibernicism.

See the *Prologue* to *Pride* shall
have a *Fall* :—

The first man I met was a boy in the
Strand.

No. XI—(Correspondence with Mr
Thomson.)

And still to her charms she alone is a
stranger.

See *Bride of Abydos* :—

The nameless charms unmark'd by her
alone.

No. XXVII. (*Ditto*).—The heroine of the foregoing is Miss M. I have not painted her in the rank which she holds in life, but in the dress and character of a cottager.

In point of fact, there is no particular description of Jeanie's beauty in the ballad. The fact might be warned by the loveliness of Miss M. to a song of chaste passion ; but he cannot be said to have " painted her," as no point of beauty or character (excepting the general one of modesty) is depicted. The song, however, is delightfully sweet and tender.

SONG.—(*Ac fond kiss, &c.*)

But to see her was to love her.

So *Byron* :—

Whom but to see is to admire,
And—oh forgive the word—to love !

A certain *wild strength* (whether in flights of imagination or in strokes of humour) and *simple pathos*, are, I think, the characteristics of the genius of *Burns*.

IVANHOE.

It is certainly altogether a noble romance ; but I cannot help feeling the conclusion unsatisfactory, as indeed most conclusions are. Besides, the hero's risk, when he encountered Bois Guilbert for Rebecca, was absurd. Unless the Templar had at the moment fallen in apoplexy (by the visitation of God, through the agency of his overwrought and conflicting passions) Ivanhoe must necessarily have been vanquished, owing to his infirm state of health, and want of a proper war-horse.

If indeed the hero could not procure another champion for Rebecca, it was highly gallant and becoming in him to come forward as he did at his own sure peril ; but if he could have excited another champion, in a fitter state of body, he (in the prospect) only risked, or rather confirmed, the fate of the poor Jewess by his interference.

A Character.

CAPRICCIO is a preacher of renown ;
His zeal and eloquence inflame the town.
When in the crowded church his periods
flow,
Young ladies' hearts with pious fervours
glow.
The whine and whimper pierce each wait-
ing soul,
And felon Reason bows to their control.
Capriccio, though intent on things
above,
Feels in his flesh the war of carnal
love.

A distant fair by post he warmly wooes,
In language too irreverent for the muse,
Where lust and piety inspire by turns,
And now the saint, and now the lover,
burns.

The lady hearkens ; mutual vows are
pass'd—

Each warm profession warmer than the
last.

Fix'd is the wedding-day ; the ring is
bought.

Go to ! Capriccio cuts the business short.
'Turn'd cool, he shuffles—the connection
breaks—

Quotes Scripture to his love—and then
forsakes !

Yet still this saint, (oh, much abused
name !)

This saint makes Heav'n a partner in his
shame.

Yes ! when he breaks love's, honour's
sacred laws,

It is—" the voice of Providence cries
pause !"

So, doubtless, when the burglar's ripe for
crime,

'Tis Providence that whispers—" Now's
your time !"

So, when the virgin can resist no more,
The whisper is—" Give foolish prudery
o'er."

LETTERS OF A SOUTH-AMERICAN SEAMAN.

(Continued.)

H. M. S. D—,
Roads of Pernambuco, Sept. 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AFTER a long voyage, of about 42 days from England, we are at last arrived safe on the shores of South-America. I shall now have an opportunity of contemplating this Land of Promise, of Patriotism, of Liberty, and of Slavery. I have not yet had an opportunity of setting my foot on shore, as all hands are busy mooring the frigate, &c., but I shall take the opportunity of the first boat that leaves the ship; and if I catch any thing of the spirit of patriotism, by breathing the pure air of this atmosphere of liberty, I shall let you know of course. The town is still in the possession of the Portuguese, and I have seen nothing of the patriots as yet, except two or three of their horsemen, who came on board as soon as we anchored, to see whether we were going to be patriots or royalists; but as the Captain told them that we belonged to neither party, but that we were come out solely for the protection of the English, and the interests of the British trade, they went away without giving any further annoyance. Their camp lay at some distance, among the woods; and their dusty regimentals, their foul linen, and dirty boots, seemed to indicate that they had either ridden a good way, or been employed on very active service. Although they were rather shabbily dressed, their appearance was not the less interesting, for their dark and dusky countenances bore the marks of much fatigue and night-watching. Their heavy horsemen's sabres dangling by their sides, their boots and rusty spurs bespattered with mud, bespoke characters much more accustomed to the camp than the court; they had, nevertheless, the manners and the address of gentlemen, and all the ease and politeness in their carriage which we expect to meet in military officers; and the general impression left on my mind, by this first specimen of the South-American patriots,

is, that, so far from being effeminate, they are as hardy as Scotch Highlanders—inured to fatigue, and determined to brave every hardship, and sacrifice every comfort—to fast—to sleep in the woods—and to pass long nights without sleep, in watching and weariness—to sacrifice home, happiness, and life itself, in defence of their country's liberty.

In the appearance of the town of Pernambuco itself I am much disappointed. It does not seem longer than Dumfries, or perhaps Greenock, to look at it from the sea. How different the appearance of a South-American town from those we see in Scotland or England! I have passed about two hours on the toffril of the frigate, looking at it through a perspective glass. There is one advantage it has for being *seen*, and I suppose it must be the case with all the cities in a tropical climate—scarcely one curling wreath of smoke obscures a single building. I fancy the inhabitants use no fires, or at least very few. But here are no streets like Prince's-Street, with elegant buildings of bright brown free-stone. Here are no beautiful roofs of blue slate,—no white-washed walls shining in the sun,—no casements of glittering glass, nor green Venetian blinds. The white walls of Funchal, in the island of Madeira, seen in the dusk of the evening, were so bright and dazzling, that they seemed like large masses of chalk-rock, something like the white cliffs of Dover, scattered on the base of the mountain; and when the morning sun broke upon them, what appeared to be white rocks seen through the twilight's darkness, we discovered to be irregular rows of beautiful white walls, rising terrace above terrace, forming a fantastic amphitheatre of streets, and churches, and vineyards, all intermingled. But the town of Pernambuco, seen from the sea, even from the most favourable point of view, presents nothing but a dead mass of heavy-looking buildings, irregular rows of dirty walls, wooden windows without glass, and dingy church spires rising

above the dusty roofs of red tile. And so low does the town lie on the edge of the sea, that a stranger would almost fancy a high spring-tide would overwhelm it. A very heavy tide does sometimes set in, and there is always a heavy swell, but the waves are broken before they reach the wharfs, by one of the finest natural reef of rocks that can be imagined. This reef extends like a dike along the front of the town. There is a light-house built on the northern extremity, and between the reef and the wharf there is sufficient water for the merchants' ships to lie and load and discharge their cargoes with perfect safety. The entrance into this natural port of security is but narrow, and it is guarded by a small fort, raised on the shore opposite the light-house. All men-of-war lie outside the reef; the water is too shallow for them inside; and though even outside the reef their cannon might be brought within range of the town, yet, on account of sand-banks, it is dangerous for them to come so near. The safest anchorage for men-of-war is about three miles outside the reef. This makes it very fatiguing for boats' crews from a northern climate to pull so far under the rays of a tropical sun. It is easy to sail on shore for provisions in the cool of the morning, but there is no possibility of sailing back again; and there is scarcely a harder duty can devolve on a seaman, in time of peace, than being obliged to pull against such a heavy swell, in bringing off either water or provisions to the men-of-war anchorage. One of our boats has been on shore for the first time, and the crew are so fatigued, that some of them have been obliged to go on the sick list, struck, as the surgeon supposes, with a "coup de soleil."

The only curiosity that I have yet seen here is the *kutymarands*, which the people around this part of the coast use instead of boats, not only in fishing, but also in carrying considerable cargoes from one place to another. There are some dozens of them always to be seen around the roads, and very often with only one man to manage them. One of them just came alongside a few minutes since, and I had the opportunity of

seeing it. It is not like our English boats, in danger of sinking, or springing a leak, for the principal part of the machine is always under water; there is also little danger of its being upset, for, with the exception of the mast, it matters very little what side of it be uppermost. It is composed of five or six pieces of wood, each of them perhaps five or six inches square, about the length of an ordinary boat, and fastened together, by some contrivance, like a *raft*. So far as I have yet seen, they use neither oar nor paddle, but they have got a sort of helm and rudder, and one mast, to which they attach a sort of triangular sail, which they shift and move by the wind in whatever direction it chances to blow. Between this sail and the stern there is a sort of seat erected, sufficiently high for sitting above the water and managing the helm, for there is no chance of setting down one's foot any where on the bottom without being up to the mid-leg in salt water. In this simple machine one or two black fellows go a-fishing, and they manage it in a rough sea, apparently with more ease than a regular English boat's crew can manage their boat. They are not afraid to trust themselves to it in the stormiest weather, for though it may upset with them, it will never sink. It may plunge them into the sea, but then they are like water-dogs, they swim and catch hold of it again, and it is as good as ever. One of them presents a very strange and alarming appearance at sea in the time of a storm, for you can see nothing amidst the dashing of the waves except the mast and the white triangular sail, and the upper part of the man's body who is managing it. If we were to suppose it was a regular-built boat, we could not expect it to live three minutes; but when we know it to be a *raft*, firmly bound together, we know that all the danger the fellow is in is merely of a good ducking, and he is always prepared for this when he sets out. It is very pleasant to look at them in a fresh breeze, they sail so easily and so beautifully. The black fellow, seated on his chair behind, rides away over the billows with the helm in his hand, managing it with as much ap-

parent case, his single self, as a-practised rider on a smooth plain could manage his pony: and after he has spent the day in fishing, he returns at eve, with his spoils hanging at the mast, seated high above the water on his chair of state, drying his wet clothes in the tropical sun.

I have also been rather disappointed at my first view of the South-American continent. The country in the neighbourhood of Pernambuco lies remarkably low; and though there is a slight elevation in the north towards Olinda, there are no mountains of any consequence. As far as the eye can reach in the direction of the country, the horizon is bounded by wood; and the gloomy waving of the trees, overshadowed by dark clouds in a rainy evening, makes the landscape to me remarkably dreary. However, the phantoms of gloom with which my pensive imagination peoples these pathless forests, may perhaps be dispelled upon a more intimate acquaintance with the nature of their inhabitants. The coast, on our approach, was shrouded in a thick fog, and we have since had some heavy tropical showers, accompanied with thunder; and when I look on the sombre aspect of those dark forests, to whose extent my fancy can fix no limits, they awaken in my mind all the gloomy associations connected with the pine-tree forests of Scotland, my dear, but far distant country, when dark and dripping with wet, in a stormy day towards the end of Autumn or the beginning of Winter. You see my natural associations are all from the hills of my youth, yet I cannot help contrasting the low and melancholy aspect of the landscape before me with the bold and cheerful landscapes of the green Island of Madeira, and the stupendous Peak of Teneriffe. In Madeira, there were mountains, and glens, and peaks,—vineyards, and orchards, and woods, and waterfalls, and every variety of grandeur and beauty that the traveller's eye could wish to rest upon, when sick of the unvarying uniformity of the blue sea. In Teneriffe, the scenery was not beautiful, but the hill-sides, though brown, and apparently as bleak and barren as the corn-fields of Scotland after the

harvest is gathered into the barnyards, were rich with terraces covered with vineyards; and though there were few green leaves, yet the brown sand was richly shaded with creeping tendrils bending beneath the bunches of bushy grapes; and far above the vineyards, the higher parts of the island were covered with mist and clouds; and far above the mist and the clouds arose the stupendous Peak, like one of the grey-cairned mountains of Scotland, severed from the lower world, and flung up to Heaven, to find its resting-place on the white clouds of the middle sky. After looking on scenery such as this, I feel much disappointed at my first view of the South-American coast, it lies so low here, and there is so little to be seen. The Portuguese, on first discovering this place, called it "*Olinha*," the exclamation in their language for "O beautiful!" I must get into better humour with it before I pay it any such compliment. The gloomy aspect of the scenery has thrown me into the blue devils. I shall go on shore and get rid of them, and if I see any thing worth my notice, I will tell you in my next letter.—Adieu.

Letter III.

H. S. M. D—,

Roads of Pernambuco, Sept. 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I AM just returned from a cruise on shore. I have been rambling through the town—riding in the country—dining with the English merchants, and sleeping in hotels, till I am perfectly glad to get on board again. Of course, you expect me to tell you all the new things I have seen; but foreign impressions are mixed in my mind in such a chaos of confusion, that I know not where to begin. I think no impression remains more deeply imprinted on my mind, than the melancholy sight of the hundreds, indeed I may say the thousands, of black slaves that I have seen in the town and the neighbourhood. You cannot move in any direction, but slavery, with all its multiplied miseries, arrests your attention. If you walk in the streets, you meet them, every hour of the day, in hundreds, groaning and

sweating beneath their burdens, and wearing out their miserable lives in the performance of those heavy labours that are done by the horses in Scotland and England. I have not seen any of them drawing the plough, for I have not seen a plough in the country, but I have seen them performing the greater part of the labour that belongs to cart-horses. Is a large tree to be removed from one place to another, which even a horse could hardly draw, four, or perhaps six of them, contrive to place it on their naked shoulders, two or three of them at each end, on *opposite* sides of the tree, *shoulder to shoulder*, to prevent it from falling, and in this manner they bear it along, their whole bodies perfectly naked, except a pair of tattered canvas trowsers, reaching, perhaps, half-way down their thighs, and many of them only with a tattered rag tied round their middle. Beasts of burden I have been accustomed to see shod, to prevent their feet from being injured on hard roads; but the poor slaves, with their heavy loads, have to walk the best of their way over burning sands and flinty pavements, always with naked, and very often with bleeding feet. I have been accustomed to see saddle-cloths put on the backs of horses, to prevent them from being hurt, but here you may see a dozen slaves bearing along a large mast, or a large tree, upon their naked shoulders, many of them lacerated by the sharp angles and knotty protuberances of the hard wood. In this manner they bear along large casks of spirits and barrels of sugar; they place a rope round the middle of the cask, and then the cask is suspended by the rope to the centre of a long pole, of sufficient strength to bear a ton weight, perhaps; each end of the pole is placed on the shoulders of a number of slaves, who groan beneath it, and *push* shoulder to shoulder, and cheer one another on, by all joining in the yell of some wild chorus, to which they keep pace. I suppose it to be some of the songs of their country. It has some resemblance to the *yo-heave-ho* of the sailors in merchant-ships, when they are turning the windlass to heave up the anchor. It is a pitiable thing to see them going up a hill with their

burdens, for they are in general so heavy, that they make their *legs shake*, as you may have seen a country fellow's, for the sake of shewing his strength, when carrying a *load of meal* up two or three pair of stairs. Yes, it is very pitiable to see their trembling limbs, and the big drops of sweat distilling from every pore of their naked bodies, their fatigue still more increased by being exposed to the burning rays of a vertical sun—the wild chorus by which they cheer one another, and to which they keep pace, still broken as they pant for breath, and raise many an anxious look to the top of the hill where they may lay down their load. One does not feel so much for the young fellows, who are strong, and able “to bear the burden and heat of the day;” but it is a melancholy spectacle to behold the old and the grey-haired subjected to such hard labour as this; and many old ones, I saw, some of them lame. In them there remains no hope of a close to their miseries till death do it in mercy. I have seen several of this description sitting about the corners of the streets, asking charity—their hairs grey, their frames shattered—not so much by age as by hard labour. In a land of liberty, there is still a prospect that hard labour and industry in the early part of life will secure a competence to support declining years, and make the evening of life comfortable, though its noon-day may have been spent in toil—here that hope is cut off, in a great measure. Some few there are, I am told, who fall into the hands of kind masters, who allow them spare hours and holidays to earn a little money for themselves; and sometimes they will earn so much as to be able to purchase their liberty; but I believe, for one who is able to do this, there are a hundred, the latter part of whose life is passed in misery, and even starvation. When a slave falls into the hands of an unfeeling master, he treats him with as little mercy as he would treat an old horse, when he becomes unable to work, and he is glad of any pretence to get quit of him. There are few people of any feeling who would not afford a faithful old animal a comfortable shelter and subsistence, so long as life could be desirable to

it, after its strength had been spent in their service; but I have seen many slaves sitting about the streets, asking from the passing stranger a single victim, for the love of God, to keep them from absolute starvation, after their life and strength had been spent in filling the coffers of hard-hearted masters, who rewarded their faithful services by giving them their liberty when they were unable to do any thing but go forth and beg, and perhaps die in the streets.

The general impression of slavery, and its miserable victims, meeting the eye in every direction, destroys a great deal of the pleasure a stranger would otherwise enjoy in this fine country. I did not like the appearance of the dark forests from the sea, but since I have had a ride among them, I am quite charmed with the luxuriant fertility and beauty bursting forth on every side. I cannot tell you the names of one tenth part of the trees, and shrubs, and plants, and flowers; they are rich, and luxurious, and delightful, but the most of them are foreign and strange to me. The pine-apple, esteemed such a delicious dessert at home, is here in great abundance, springing up in almost every field where there is any cultivation, as common as a Scotch thistle at home. I have had great pleasure, when warm, and wearied, and thirsty, in tying my horse to a tree, and cutting one up like a turnip, to quench my thirst. The water-melon is also very plentiful, and on all sides of the roads into the country are trees loaded with cocoa-nuts, and oranges, and bananas. There is nothing so pleasant, when one is very warm, as to take down from the tree a large green cocoa-nut, dash the shell in pieces against a stone, and drink the luscious, cool, milky beverage, from the green^{ish} husk. I remember you used to rave about the poetical beauty of the "banana's green embrace," which you found in some of Moore's lays. I wish you were here to see it just as it is; if you were to live a week in this country, you would never think of introducing the *banana* into poetry. It is as *unpoetical*, and connected with as many kitchen associations, as a carrot or a *potatoc* would be in Scotland. I have eaten them at table raw, and roasted, and boiled; I like

them best raw; they are very rich and very light, and I begin to squeeze them out of their tattered yellow skins with as much gusto as an Irishman would shake a very dry, boiled mealy *potatoc* out of its tattered jacket. They grow in bunches, and you may see them dangling from their bough not unlike a bunch of yellow gloves; indeed they are much larger than the fingers of gloves; they resemble more a bunch of very large carrots, tied together by the tails; and you have no more to do but just take down a ripe one from the tree, and squeeze the mealy substance out of its yellow bark, to quench your hunger. The slaves make nice messes of them. I have seen them sitting in the street, making a sort of banana porridge, I think, on a small fire of wood, after the labours of the day were over. They used no spoons in eating them, but each put in his black fingers, and brought out his handful of yellow porridge; and after he had supped, went soundly to sleep, with a log of wood for his pillow, by the side of the street.

The English merchants here are remarkably hospitable. We have had several invitations to dinner, some of which I have accepted. Their houses are in general at some distance from the town, situated in some sweet spot in the country; but as very few of them have wives, and their servants are all slaves, their domestic establishments, however expensive, are seldom distinguished either for taste or elegance of arrangement. They spare no expense, however, in the entertainment of their friends; and in giving dinner-parties to naval officers, the great principle of emulation among Per-nambuco merchants seems to be who shall be most extravagant, and who shall have his table covered with the greatest variety of the richest and most expensive wines. They are devils, too, for deep drinking; and there is no end to their abundance of loyal toasts, and their "*hip, hip, hip, hur-ras*," till once the president, and the most determined of his supporters, be just laid "*glorious*" under the table, which seldom happens till some time in the midning watch. My dinners have as yet been spoiled by seeing the table served with black slaves. I

shall perhaps get used to this by-and-by, but I have hitherto felt it not only disagreeable, but even disgusting. When a merchant wishes to *show off* his hospitality in the eyes of strangers, there is nothing so requisite as servants and cooks, the promptitude of whose obedience proceeds from a principle of love,—servants who feel their own advantage in taking an interest in all in which their master takes an interest, and who are ambitious to have every thing done nicely, so as to meet his wishes at every point. Instead of this cheerful facility of obedience, there is nothing so common as to see the black slaves, who attend table, going about their duty with a sulky, sour expression of countenance, and doing a hundred things in such a careless, slovenly manner, that it would require a great deal of philosophy indeed, even in the best-natured master, to keep his temper. The consequence is, that it is not an uncommon thing to see a master get into a row with his slaves in the time of dinner, and the language he uses towards them is what he naturally uses to a beast, and not to a human being. And it frequently appears, that a passionate, hot-headed fellow, will leave his guests in the midst of dinner, to superintend the flogging of his refractory slaves, and then the howlings of the miserable victims under the lash are enough to spoil a dinner to any one who professes to have the feelings of an Englishman. Nothing so bad as this has actually fallen under my own eyes; but I have often heard of such things, and from what I have really seen, I see them to be the most likely things in the world; they are the natural consequences of slavery, and this I am sickened with, even in its mildest administration.

Letter IV.

H. M. S. D—,

Pernambuco Roads, Sept. 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I THINK I said nothing in my last letter of the general appearance of the town when you are actually in it. It far exceeded the expectation I had formed, when I first viewed its dusky-looking buildings from the sea. I was quite astonished, as I passed along the streets, to meet so

many well-dressed, respectable-looking people, and such a rich display of valuable goods, gaudy dresses, fine furniture, and a great variety of elegant household accommodations, in the numerous shops that met my eye in all directions. Though I have not yet had much opportunity of seeing the insides of these houses, yet even a stranger may form a faint idea of the tastes of the people, and of their civilization, by casting a glance over the shops and market-places, whence all their wants and wishes are daily supplied. The places of public sale displayed abundance of fine clothing, and all the luxuries of eating and drinking, that we would naturally expect to meet with in a tropical climate; but I looked in vain for any thing like food for the mind. I went from one end of the high street to the other, expecting to find some bookseller's shop where I might lounge in for half an hour, and turn over the new publications, and listen to the literary discussions of the day. But it was all to no purpose; here were doctors' shops full of mugs and jars, full of the most abominable physic, (indeed I thought there was a superabundance of apothecaries' labelled bottles); here were shop-doors filled outside and inside with blue cloth, and green cloth, and grey cloth; there were windows hung round with shawls, and silks, and French laces, and *Scotch tartans*, and bonnets of South-Sea tur, with belts of golden embroidery; there were tailors' shops, filled with dozens of black slaves, some shaping, some sewing, and some taking the measure of their customers; there were black shoemakers, without either shoes or stockings on their feet; there were goldsmiths, and gunsmiths, and tin-smiths, the last of whom, hammering out their various articles of tinkling manufacture, made a noise like the confusion of Babel;—but there was no John Murray, Albemarle Street,—no C. Knight, Pall-Mall,—no Constable, Prince's Street; there was no reading-room, where you could step in and lay your hand on the last-published Newspapers and Magazines. The only books to be found were a few Roman Catholic prayer-books, and some small pamphlets, hawked through the streets, written

by some of the more zealous of the Priesthood, to establish the miracles of some favourite saint. There is in the town a printing-office, where there is a sort of Newspaper printed at irregular intervals; but the paper admits no political discussion, as the press is completely under the control of the Portuguese Government. It is generally filled with advertisements, and silly tirades against the patriots who have dared to think for themselves. However, I am informed, that though the greater body of the people have been hitherto prevented from expressing their opinions in print, there is an eager spirit for political discussion among them: but as they are in a great measure destitute of general knowledge, few of them having books to read, except such as the Catholic priests put into their hands, their politicians want materials for their minds to work upon, except the plain principles of common sense. However, common sense, even without books, has generated a deep-rooted hatred against the existing Government, among the greater part of the inhabitants; and I have heard that the governor of the place, Luis de Rego, was shot at the other night, and slightly wounded, while walking with a party of pleasure. He is generally allowed to be a gallant soldier, * (I think I have heard it said that he distinguished himself under Wellington in Spain,) but as a civil governor, he is in this place considered an absolute tyrant; and his harsh measures have irritated the people so much, that one part of them have hoisted the standard of actual rebellion, and the remainder, it is generally believed, are in the fair way of following their example. He dined on board our frigate the other day, in full uniform. I think he is about fifty years of age, and, with all his orders and honours dazzling on his breast, he had a fine military appearance, and is a most interesting person to look at. I fancy he would be glad to get honourably quit of his situation here, for he begins to find the people very unruly. He says he is much fonder of military command than civil authority, and, from his officer-like appearance, I suspect him to be much better qualified for it. I am sorry we are going

to leave this place so soon, for the spirit of the people seems to promise a thorough revolution ere long, and it would be very interesting to remain here and see them successful in the struggle for their liberty, at least their independence of the Portuguese Government. I am not sure, however, that even though they were free of the sort of military despotism by which they are governed at present, they are well qualified for taking the reins into their own hands. Considering the low state of education among all ranks, so far as enlightened government is concerned, they are all so nearly on a level, that there is likely to be abundance of quarrelling for the pre-eminence. In one thing, however, I think, so far as I can learn, they are likely to be unanimous, in a firm determination to unite, and strike off all dependence on Portugal, for they seem all to have learnt, from sad experience, however ill qualified they may be to govern themselves, they have nothing to lose, and the prospect of all to gain, by the experiment, for there is scarcely a possibility of their being worse governed than they have hitherto been, under the yoke of Portugal.

You will be surprised, perhaps, that I have said nothing at all about the ladies I have seen since I left England: to tell you the truth, I have been so much disappointed in my expectations about them, that they are to me subjects of very little interest; and I will just frankly confess, that I have not seen a pretty girl since I left home. Remember, I do not set up *my taste* as the standard by which female beauty is to be estimated; I only say, that I have seen none who had very strong attractions for me. You will be telling me, of course, that I have left my heart at home among the broomie braes of Scotland, and that my eyes are blind to every beauty, unless it be seen beneath the shadow of a tartan plaid, in some green glen, bespangled with white daisies, in the sweet silence of an evening in June. I have not the slightest objection that you should tax me with all this. I wish it were all true, though you need not believe one single syllable more of it than you have proof positive for. There is one thing very certain, that

a seaman's heart would be much safer locked up in the custody of a lovely Scotch lassie, than in running the risk of being shipwrecked on a tropical shore, and exposed to all the temptations of sun-burnt beauties, with voluptuous eyes, and unveiled bosoms, and gold-laced gules, and * * * to say nothing at all of the intense heat of the climate, by which it is in continual danger of being melted and dissolved into a dew; had it not been that mine is in *safer keeping*, or of a very cool, philosophical temperament, like Hume's, for instance, it had been gone long ago. But I begin to get quite accustomed to the queer sights that are to be seen in this country, and when a half-dressed brown beauty presents herself, I survey her with great coolness, and philosophical composure, from head to foot. To a stranger, however, from the hills of Caledonia, where our female manners are very pure, and our morality as cold as very "snow-broth," there is something exceedingly indelicate, and often disgusting, in the openness with which Brazilian ladies expose themselves in the balconies to the eyes of the passing stranger. There is a general appearance of softness, and indolence, and laziness, and voluptuousness, about them, which I don't like at all. Instead of making themselves attractive, by exposing *a little* to kindle imagination, and make it picture out the ideal loveliness still concealed, they expose so *much*, that imagination has nothing to dwell on at all, or at least almost nothing; and instead of being attractive, they become repulsive to a mind of any delicacy. They have a very pretty custom, which has often amused me, of throwing flowers at strangers as they pass under their windows. They probably mean nothing by it; but if a Scotch or English lady were to do such a thing, it would be construed into as glaring an attack as that made by widow Wadman on my uncle Toby; and a foreigner would consider himself justified in laying siege to a fortress firing guns in token of defiance, just as much as to say, "Come if you dare."

Unless in the way of intrigue, it is not easy for strangers to get admission into much female society.

It does not strike me, from what I have seen, that there is much general intercourse kept up between the English of this place and the Brazilians, in the way of visiting, at one another's houses. The Brazilian merchant meets the English one, on terms of great goodwill, in the counting-house, to transact business; but he is afraid of asking him into the society of his wife and daughters; if he has occasion to ask him to his house, it is seldom, I am told, that they make their appearance. Whether this originates in the husband's want of faith in the frail virtue of his wife and daughters, or a suspicion of the English character, it is not for me to determine. I am afraid, from the accounts that some of the English give of themselves, that there is but too good reason for the Brazilian husbands to be very cautious how they yield them admission into their domestic circle. Not many of them whom I have met are married—it may be, perhaps, from the want of English ladies in the place; and for this reason it would be, I think, a good speculation, for those whose charms begin to wear out of repute at home, to ship themselves across the Atlantic, and fix a branch of their establishment in Pernambuco, by the way of carrying on trade. There are many rich English merchants there, and a very ordinary-looking English woman would be quite astonished to find herself considered such an invaluable treasure among them, after the indifference with which she may have been treated at home. I seriously believe many of them would marry, if they could find respectable ladies to make companions of, but few of them are willing to marry Brazilians, on account of their ignorance. The greater part of them leave England while they are very young men, in the capacity of clerks, before they have formed any rational and lasting attachment at home; and by the time that their apprenticeship is over, and they are all able to form a domestic establishment, by getting into business on their own account, all their school-day attachments are forgotten, or at least broken off, and the consequence is, that they must either marry such as are

found conveniently, or keep Bachelor's Hall ; for few of them can find time, from their business, to come

home to England, with the express purpose of seeking a wife, if they have not had her commissioned beforehand.

THE GREEK CAUSE.

"MANY have wondered whence all this stirring sympathy in a nation's interest, for, in every generous mind, it has invariably been found even more powerful than the common sympathy of fellow-man towards fellow-man. It cannot be, that individual sympathy has increased by the aggregate numbers which compose a state, because these individually, if they were not so united, would, in many instances, remain unknown to us ; so that such a feeling could then have no existence, or be, at most, casual and enfeebled. It is because they are a community, a kind of living and active agent, that they claim an interest in our feelings. Their conduct and actions, as a portion of civilized society, are what exalt and depress our feelings towards them. Hence it is we have ever seen, that, in proportion as a people have immortalized themselves, and brought all their institutions to the highest perfection, our admiration has been the more intense while they were in their glory,—our sympathy and regret the more uncontrolled in their adversity. Nay, even for ages after their splendour hath passed away, have we continued the fond remembrance of what they once were ; and many there are who have mourned over the tomb of nations, as a mother weeps over the urn which contains the ashes of her only child*."

These are the reflections of an illustrious historian, a son of Greece. Little, perhaps, did he dream, when he wrote them, that a day would come, when his own land, then "the fairest of the fair, and bravest of the brave," should be a living and mournful example to others of their justness. But even so it is ; Greece has fallen from her fame, and long years of bloodshed and oppression have spread their ravages over her plains, since he wrote, and gloried in her pride. Yet, amid all the vascillations of her fortune, she has not been

without her sympathy ; nor has she ever lost that hold on the minds of men which her might, and fame, and brightness, had secured to her in her better days.

The age of Homer, of Euripides, of Æschylus, of Pindar, of Anacreon, has been swept away, and numbered in the fate of other years. Demosthenes, Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, have mingled their dust with the dust of Greece. Thermopylæ was still embosomed in her mountains, and her ear listened to the waves on the rocks of Salamis ; but the blood which Freedom poured forth as a libation was no longer there, and for centuries it had never warmed in the hearts of modern Greeks. Yet, though the mere moving, living, acting, and animal part of ancient Greece had gone, her spirit still hovered over the land, and wafted her fame to other regions, which had, in modern times, nearly risen to emulate her former self. The idolatry which all paid to her sires and sages of old would have sufficiently, in every true feeling mind, secured her well-earned immortality. Not, however, with these times did Greece cease to be Greece, but in name.

In her early struggles against the fate which finally overwhelmed her, we may trace some assimilation to her ancient spirit—dwarfed, it is true, it then necessarily was. Dexippus, Cleodemus, and Theodore, are, to the dark age of Greece, what Godfrey, Charlemagne, and our Richard the First, are to the gloomy period of European history, known under the same designation. The respect Germanicus and Julian manifested towards the city and the land of Pericles has some resemblance to the veneration and allegiance which the Knights of the Cross poured forth over the sepulchre of the Holy Land. In still later times, too, in our own day, we have seen her sword unsheathed, and heard the startling

Thucydides.

notes of her war-horn pealed over her whole land, to reinstate her in her liberty, and break the shackles of a long-enduring bondage. She has begun the work of revolution and reformation,—a new prospect, brighter or darker than the scene she has left is now opening before her. Many may condemn the judgment which at first assented to, and has since directed her operations; but the spirit in which they have originated all must allow to be noble and unchallengeable. With this revolution, a name has been connected which has superadded to it a double lustre in our eyes, and more deeply engaged our interest in its final success.

Now that minds have had full time to cool, from the feverish excitement into which they had been thrown by the suddenness, and, at first, apparent energy of the Greek revolution, and the subsequent intimacy it bore with the name of Byron, we may safely glance at the prospects before that country. As to the spirit which incited it we have already given our opinion, and, we trust, the opinion of every right-thinking man. We give all due admiration to the enthusiasm which, brooking no delay, burst forth at once, and boldly, in this daring enterprise. Unfortunately, however, for the cause of Greece, in all human affairs of great moment, be they of public or private life, there is something more than the mere impetus of the moment, the mere outflashing of feeling, however high-lifted and disinterested, required, to make success in the end a certainty. It is in the neglect of this, the calm consideration of the means and time how these were capable of effecting the end proposed, that we conceive the Greeks, in commencing their revolution when they did, have failed, and failed egregiously. They have hurried on an event without having within themselves the means that might afford the likelihood of its happy consummation.

That the present prospects of Greece supply but little cause for exultation, even to her fondest admirers, is a saddening reality, which, we fear, will come home to every one who casts even the most superficial look over her past efforts, and present condition. Whether the gloomy

and ominous cloud, now stretched over her land, may, in the long-run, be dispelled, and a lovelier and more animating day arise, to gladden the sight and hearts of her population, and lead them on exulting to the high aim they have in view, though all may look with ardent expectation to the east for its dawn, the instability of human fortune and human affairs renders it difficult to say at present. We can only judge from what we know, and conclude from what is before our eyes. Reasoning upon these, and reflecting on the slow progress, or rather retrograde movement, Greece has made, since the first ebullition of her awakening freedom has partly subsided, and partly evaporated, we should be led to say, that a fit and glorious termination to her present contest is even more than problematical. In whatever way it may end, we are sure there can be but one feeling on the subject within British hearts—which is, that Greece may again successfully assert her rights; appearing henceforth among the nations, not in the shadowed reflection of a fame which has long left her, but in a light her own, and unborrowed, of present greatness and glory.

The apparent apathy which has for some time past been spreading over Britain towards the Greeks, and the cause of their independence, is, we are convinced, of short and momentary duration. We will not give up the belief that there still exists at bottom a deep and stirring interest throughout our land in all the affairs of this much-injured people; an interest which not even the whole weight of their own crime and folly, or the aspersions and calumnies of their enemies, ever will, or can utterly obliterate. We have been tempted, partly from this, and partly also from our own private feelings on the subject, to lay before the reader a few unbiassed observations on what the prospects of Greece, at present, appear to us really to be. Already we have had occasion to state, that we conceive them to be far from flattering; and we repeat it, for there is no necessity to conceal the truth when the truth ought to be told. In bringing the more pleasing and lively colours into the foreground, and throwing a veil over the darker and more

prominent shades, we only delude our own judgment and that of others, as to what is truly and rightly the merit of the object before us. We wish to shew Greece just as Greece is now, and was before the present revolution,—“*ut sit, erit.*”

Let any man look upon the present internal state of that country, and we venture to say, it is almost impossible for him to conceive a more pitiable and miserable picture than it now exhibits. Let him recollect that Greece is now a land struggling for independence—that, to secure success, her whole population should go forth to the enterprise hand and heart—that, in her situation, private feuds should give way to public weal—that unanimity should guide her deliberations—that her Government should be nerved to cheer on her armies to the contest—and that every effort on her part should be made, by conciliation, or a proper exertion of her power, to check each display of turbulent spirit—to win and bind more closely the affections of her people to her cause. Let him recollect all this—then let him turn to the aspect Greece now presents to his view. To whatever side he turns, he can only see her enthusiasm, which had at first been strung to its uttermost bend, gradually relaxing, till it has nearly sunk into a total and fearful apathy—her Government torn with internal disunion—the only men in whom her trust lay giving up to paltry, private enmity, and still more paltry and vile selfishness, the efforts their country has a right to demand—her resources exhausted—her troops unpaid, and in open mutiny—her countrymen caballing with her enemies without one feeling of communion between themselves, except a common feeling of hatred towards the Turkish yoke—her people, to a man, dispirited and jaded, while, to add to the horrors of her situation, a fearful disease is sweeping off hundreds in the very places which have done most, and farthest advanced in the march of freedom. Such is the picture he will have to turn from with disgust to whatever side he reverts. They who, within these few months, have known the men and the country, can recognise its truth, and feel that it is not overdrawn.

In fact, the exertions Greece is now making are far beyond her strength and years. She was far too weak, in nerve and fibre, to support the convulsions which the reaction of liberal feeling against illiberal tyranny always must occasion. Her constitution had been weakened, chilled, benumbed by misfortune, not hardened,—she was degraded, but not strengthened in desperate resolution,—she was humiliated, and her oppression had taken from her the power of action. In this relaxed, tottering, infant state, she has made a daring grasp at freedom; how far she may be able to attain it, and secure it to herself after attainment, remains yet to be seen. Trouble, and toil, and blood, it must cost her, and would have cost her, even had her condition, physical and intellectual, been far more exalted than it now is; with this difference, however, that she must now fight in uncertainty, and with the almost unavoidable necessity, that the fruit of her successes will turn in her hands, like the apples of the Dead Sea, to ashes, whereas, had she entered upon the present revolution improved and ameliorated in her condition, it would then have been a task of less difficulty, at least of much more certainty. Her want of knowledge, and her comparative inferiority as a nation on the eve of her revolution, is that to which we mainly attribute the little progress she has made hitherto. On this part of our subject we would wish to say a few words. Let any candid mind be turned to the estimation of the worth and strength of Greek society as it existed at that period: we put it to him as a man of plain common sense, whether, judging from what he there sees, her future prospects could have been other or more unclouded than they now are: we ask him, whether she was then sufficiently armed at all points to throw down the gauntlet to a nation at least far her superior in mere *brute* strength, if even lower than herself in intellectual improvement, and which at all events had this advantage over her, a prescriptive and firm-bound oppression over her land? and we will farther ask, whether, as probably may be the

case, she did succeed in throwing off the burden of Turkish despotism, she was capable of turning to any real good to herself the advantages which such an emancipation necessarily would put in her power? These are questions to which the man who knows any thing of the matter can have but one answer, and that must go to impugn the wisdom and consideration of the people of Greece.

In candour, however, it must not be omitted, that there is a principle in human nature which leads men to grasp at the faintest shadow of a present hope, rather than continue in misfortune till circumstances may render that which is little better than a mockery, certain. The Greeks certainly were not without a hope, for there long had been alternations of light and darkness over their land; yet it was but as a feeble and flickering light, hid in the damps and night of a dreary dungeon, which a single motion may extinguish, but which might have continued silently burning on, till a purer air should have fanned it into a brighter flame, and then the prisoner could have walked safely and undisturbed to his escape, instead of groping in darkness, rendered more gloomy by the very light which shewed it. In such a situation, however, a prisoner would have followed the dictates of human nature, and caught at the first glimpse of hope which presented itself. The conduct of Greece has been the same. Her enthusiasm, or whatever other cause, has accelerated her attempt, and undoubtedly it will retard her escape.

To give our opinion on a subject which possibly many would rather avoid, we should say, that the Greek revolution has been begot in rashness, and nurtured in imbecility. Out of the first, the questions naturally arise, What was the condition of Greece, and what her relations with other countries, at its commencement? To this part of our speculations we will now address ourselves.

We have no need to dive deep into the tide of history for the proof of our assertions, when we allude to the misery and desolation which overtook Greece after she had utterly fallen under the rod of contending

barbarism. It was one continued and unvaried scene of darkness to her. Whether other powers for a season shook the established despotism of the Turk, or he, by more galling oppression, knit still firmer the bonds of her slavery; each alternative of her fate found and left Greece still in the same path of debasement and degradation. Fearful and melancholy indeed is the political picture she has presented since the middle of the fifteenth century, when Mahomet the Second fully established over her the power of the Crescent. Then, blotted out from the number of communities, the beggared dependent of a beggarly dynasty, every year brought to her a new accession of evil, and sunk her still deeper in the scale of misfortune. The men of genius and of feeling, whom curiosity, and the fond memory of ancient Greece, led in those days to visit her in her desolation, turn from what she then was, to indulge in a melancholy train of reflection on what she had been. "*Civitas olim*," says Nicolas Gerbel, a traveller of the sixteenth century, speaking of Athens, "*munis navali-bus, ædificiis, armis, opibus, viris, prudentia atque omni sapientia florentissima in opidulum seu potius vicum redacta est. Olim libera et suis legibus vivens nunc immanissimis belluis servitutis jugo obstricta. Proficiscere Athenas et pro magnificentissimis operibus videto lamentabiles ruinas?*" To the same purpose we find Laurenberg, who visited the same city a few years later, emphatically bewailing its wretched condition. "*Fuit quondam Græcia*," says this author; "*fuere Athenæ nunc neque in Græcia Athenæ, neque in ipsa Græcia Græcia est!*"

Her political degradation, which the writers of these times have drawn, is rendered, if possible, more deplorable, by the glowing descriptions they have given of her natural resources. Blessed with a climate under which Nature smiled in the days of her glory, and still continued to vegetate through the years of her fall,—happy in a soil which requires but little labour, and repays it in usury, while at every step they take she presents to the patriot's and the poet's eye a land of imagination and of freedom, we scarcely can bring

ourselves to believe that nearly four centuries have passed away, and every century has brought along with it a new and heavier load of misery in a land of such capabilities. Yet so it has been, and would to God there were no probability that hereafter the same still may be! Not a single effort do we find the people of Greece making of themselves to better their condition—not one revulsion on their part to shake the established and withering domination of the Mahometan, till about the close of the last century, when an ill-concerted and worse-conducted attempt to recover their liberties was made by the people of the Peloponnesus, at the instigation of Catherine II. of Russia. On its termination, they again reverted to their former dependency. Several years then elapsed, when a new and more widely spread spirit of revolution diffused itself among the Greeks, out of which latterly has sprung those scenes we now see going forward amongst them, scenes which have called them to act a more prominent part than hitherto they have done on the stage of European politics.

During this period, the individual disorganization of Greek society kept pace with her political degradation. Private life partook of the same character, and was swept away in the same torrent which bore down the bulwarks of her liberty and spirit as a state. The hamlets of the poor were the dens of robbers, or the hiding-places of squalid, and miserable, and abject slavery; and the homes of the higher ranks served as so many opportunities for the lowest Turk to display Turkish insolence and Grecian debasement, or to shew the senseless oppression of Greek over Greek. This much, at least, of Grecian character we may gather from the writers of those times, whose curiosity led them to visit her classic shores, although they seem rather to have delighted in calling up to memory the Greece of Pericles and Demosthenes, than the Greece before their eyes—the slave of the Ottoman Porte. From them it is evident, that the dark and repelling colours which obscured her society as a mass, were but little relieved by the brighter hues of individual character.

If, however, we are somewhat in the dark as to the actual habits and feelings of the great body of the people, down to the year 1770, when Greece, in following the councils and instigations of the Russian Cabinet, worked such disastrous consequences to herself, from that period, downward, we are supplied with absolute and sufficient matter of fact on which we may ground a just estimation. In forming any opinion at all on this question, such an estimation is absolutely indispensable. Revolutions, or momentous changes in the civil constitution of society, must always greatly depend for their successful consummation on the tone of mind, and manners, and habits, which pervades the more numerous body of the community. A leading spirit or two cannot call forth, or turn to good account, the latent and torpid energies of a people who are not prepared to understand and appreciate the objects towards which they are to be directed. No discipline can at once, and at a single step, lead on a mind to the acquisition of that for which it is not, or has not been prepared; and no presiding power can, with a single nod or word, transport a body of men from the humblest grade of civilized society, to the enjoyment of freedom, and an adequate appreciation of their rights as men and freemen. Man, physically and morally debased, must first learn to understand the invaluable boon which liberty confers, before he can be brought to exert his powers and faculties in its attainment, or reap real and substantial advantage from its possession.

A few sentences will serve to shew what the situation and character of the Greeks actually were on the eve of the revolution. It is proper to keep in mind, that what progressive advance in improvement there then was had merely begun, was feeble and indifferent, and that the repugnant hues which stained it arose, not from a momentary change for the worse, which Grecian society had at that time assumed; but then it existed as it had existed long before—not darkened by new and fleeting shadows, but engrained in the deep dye of centuries.

Considering the natural degrada-

tion of the Greeks, and the benumbing and freezing despotism which the Turks long had swayed over them, it would have been a rare sight indeed did their society exhibit any of those powers, intellectual or political, which have their birth, and growth, and strength, in liberty alone. Accordingly, it is a truth mournful, yet true and unavoidable, that their proficiency in the useful arts had sunk with the depression of their civil and national rights, and both were at the lowest ebb. Excepting the industry their commercial relations with other countries, limited as these were, elicited and fostered, there was no such thing as activity or energy among the people. The miserable state of their agriculture, on which a great portion of a people such as the Greeks, if they are to be really powerful and prosperous, must depend, demonstrates this much, that they had relapsed into the mere first tillage of the soil. The labour the husbandman bestowed on agriculture was small; the produce he received never did or could repay him. This was not, it is true, the effect solely of their own indolence and inactivity, but the necessary consequence of the chilling tyranny which had so long existed over the people and the land. Incitements to industry, in the security of his property, and the fit remuneration of his labours, the Greek husbandman had none. His land he was obliged to hold and cultivate more in the capacity of a menial, than as one who could reckon on his own resources, or trust to his own advancement in the advancement of his art. It mattered not what the produce of his labour was. With its increase, the exactions of the Government and the proprietor kept pace. This system, which goes to destroy at the root the very cultivation of the soil, besides impoverishing the nation, excited in many instances a more baneful influence, in unbinding the morals of the people, and in dilapidating what of a community the Greeks still retained. Rendered indifferent to success, scourged to the last farthing by public and private oppression, and unable, with the utmost exertion on his part, to advance his fortune, or to reap, on ac-

count of his short possession of the land, the fruits of improvements, if he chose to make them, the agriculturist naturally and necessarily relaxed into habits of idleness. What little means of honest subsistence he had were squandered. Thus, in a manner, rendered an outcast from society, it was but one short step more to sever himself entirely from it,—become a robber, and exist on plunder and depredation. Such is the life many a Greek husbandman is now leading, actually forced to it by the miserable and wretched condition of his country, together with the private and territorial imposts on his industry. Instead of following his own peaceful avocations, he has been driven to rank himself under the banners of the numerous Capitani, which have long infested, and have had no slight share in disorganizing Greece. Now connected with a new community, who thrive most in the absence of all law and order, he is thus one other unit added to the already innumerable causes of denationalization.

A system, such as we have been describing, has existed in Greece, and been more or less working her destruction for centuries. Nor has it exclusively been confined to those parts of the land which have bowed most beneath the yoke of the Mahometan. The inhabitants of the other districts, who, in the recesses and retreats of their native mountains, have all along retained some vigour of mind, and a comparatively tolerable share of independence, have been alike retarded in civil improvement. Where the sway of the Turk was not so severely felt as in other parts, their own national disunion, together with the dilapidated state of their internal polity, sped equally to the same end. The desolation which the followers of Mahomet spread over the Morea was perpetuated, as to the generality of the people, over the mountains of Albania, by the lawless character of their own inhabitants. While squeezing tyranny wrung almost to the last drop the productions of industry from the one, a firmly-organized banditti rendered futile and insecure the labours of the other.

But even more, as if the demons of destruction were not satisfied with

the causes of desolation which the Turkish power brought along with it, and spread over this illustrious and fallen people, religion stepped forward to perfect, through bigotry and superstition, what else might have been left undone. If the despotism of the Mussulman has done much to lower the Greeks in the scale of nations, the Greek church has not done less to sink, and depress, and relax their mental energies. Enthusiastic in her tenets, despotic in her principles, and superstitious in her observances, her devotion soon merged into senseless bigotry, and her devotees into opinionless bigots. Beyond the pale even of religious duty, their conduct has always been marked with the worst stains of distempered superstition. They have carried this with them into the world, and before it, their spirit, as men and citizens, have shrunk and given way. Slavery has served to wither up and dispel the national energy of the Greeks,—to enfeeble and obliterate their national government; religion has sunk and degraded their intelligence in the domination under which it has reduced them. Instead of infusing a living hope and strength into the breasts of its followers, the object of the Greek Church has always been to render her influence paramount over their minds and thoughts,—to form out of the population blind and submissive, but believing enthusiasts, and to sway with her own impulses the national intellect. In this she has succeeded.

In such a situation of things, without law, or any executive control whatever, further than the caprice of capricious masters,—without any inducement to industry and well-doing, and with every inducement to idleness and vice,—bigotted,—superstitious,—and under the influence of a most influential priesthood, and while religion had degenerated, in their own minds, from a safe guide to action, to a demon usurping the direction of their imagination, and distorting and defiling its current, we cannot wonder, nor can we blame the population of Greece, that they have become what we now know them to be.

Though it be by no means a necessary consequence, that the intellect of a people shall always be regulated

by their political perfection or imperfection, yet it will be found, that the elements of their national constitution, the links and safeguards of their Government, its vigour and its freshness, are improved or deteriorated, according as the national mind is refined or depraved. Unless the minds of the people be adequate to sustain their Government, if perfect, in perfection, the condition and nature of that Government will soon fall to the level of this regulating power. So, if the national institutions be far below the national mind, circumstances, it is true, may for a time retard the change, but sooner or later the one will come up to and square with the other. Yet though Government be always intimately connected with, and dependent upon the general intellect of the community, it may, and does often happen, that the latter shall be strongly influenced, nay, even modelled by the former. The corruption of their internal and civil constitution MAY, AND DOES, hurry along with it the decline and fall of their intellectual condition, even although itself, generally dependent upon the Government, MAY, AND DOES, form the national mind; and this influence is the more powerful and the more conspicuous when that Government is of evil, and the direction of its power is to deteriorate. Considering, then, the agency and the peculiar circumstances the Greeks have been exposed to, it cannot be said that there has been effected in them any unexpected or extraordinary result. What else could we expect from a people whose whole life was passed in one continued round of insecurity, with whom every attempt to better their situation served only to plunge them deeper into the gulph which had swallowed up the spirit and the energies of their fathers, and with whom servility and an abject prostration of soul was the only sure footing on which the greater part of the population could rest the casual and uncertain existence of life and property? What, we repeat, can we expect from all this, than that the mind of the people should strongly partake of, and be modelled by, the vile condition of their despicable government?

In some cases it is doubtless true, the spirit of a nation has far outstripped their national institutions and resources, rising superior to *themselves* in spite of all their political imperfections and difficulties. But such has generally been the spirit of a youthful and vigorous people. Of a like exaltation of mental energy over civil feebleness, Rome, and Greece herself, in the earlier periods of their history, are powerful examples; so also are many of the free Governments which have started into existence, and taken their place among modern nations. With a people, however, who have again to ascend the precipice down which they have been hurled from their former eminence, the case is different. Their descent has not been the movement of a moment, day, or year, but has been effected in the slow and sure step of centuries. The ground on which they formerly stood has been undermined gradually, and they have not at once been precipitated to the bottom. There has been many a resting-place. Each new descent has showered upon them, as they fell, a new accumulation of rubbish. Additional accessions have bowed them to the dust, and almost buried them beneath their aggregated burden. In other words, the Greeks now bear on their character the accumulated weight of successive centuries of evil, every one of which has brought along with it a thousand causes of individual and political enervation. The Greeks have been bent into their present decrepitude by their Government. Between it and them there never has existed any re-acting force. Its influence has all along continued paramount, bearing away with it, in one resistless and unresisted current, the intellectual condition of the people, steeping and swallowing it up in its own darkness, till the one has become inseparable from the other. That condition cannot be improved till the Greeks shall have burst asunder the manacles and fetters by which it is continued. The agency which they have to overcome is the agency by which they have been subdued. In themselves they can only look for the powers and the resources which are to contribute to this end. They must rise superior

to the confirmed withering and wintry influence of their Government. They must themselves come to act upon it, before they can do away with the established action which it exerts over them. They must have a power established within themselves, to enable them to put in play this action before they can renovate their strength. Slow, but sure, measures are best suited to them,—no longer wielding the nerve and vigorous arm of untried youth, but standing as a worn-out champion, in whom every nerve and muscle has been relaxed, and who must gain a new strength before he can resume the combat. This strength they can only regain by the gradual removal of the causes which have been steadily and securely working their depression, and which, it is unnecessary to add, can now only be removed by the amelioration of their condition. Unless they be intellectually invigorated, it is vain for them to look forward to their future emancipation from the Court of Constantinople, as bringing along with it any lasting and substantial advantage to themselves.

In any former attempts the Greeks have made to re-assure their liberties, we have seen the weakness and ineffectuality which has attended their efforts. Their courage and enthusiasm have decayed the moment they have been put to the trial, for they had no internal resources to contribute to their support. Since that time these resources have been increasing, and this is what has given the present revolution a longer existence, and greater appearance of eventual success. Their emancipation from the Turkish yoke, though questionable enough, is not now, perhaps, a matter of so much doubt as formerly; but the probability of their raising on its ruins a secure national establishment, or indeed of even bettering one iota their former situation, is as far removed as ever. A few years' procrastination, while they were every day improving their condition, and the Ottoman power was every day diminishing, would have placed their liberties within their reach, and the security of them beyond a doubt. "Yet another century," says an intelligent writer, "and that people, the most naturally enlightened un-

der heaven, would have snatched such glimpses of knowledge through the obscurity of despotism, as would have rendered their tardiest efforts at once unanimous and irresistible; from the streets of the Fanal, to the valleys of Cyprus, one triumphant acclamation would have attended the march of independence. That was the moment intended by Nature for the Greek revolution; then indeed would its birth have taken place without convulsion; its growth would have been erect and regular, and its hands unstained by crimes."

In this country there has been no small degree of misapprehension, as to the actual feelings and condition of the people of Greece. The man who, at the present moment, visits that land, his mind teeming with the glowing descriptions of heroic devotedness to the cause—of patriotic enthusiasm, deep felt and universal—and of noble-stirring and wide-spread aspiration after freedom, visits it but to have his fond anticipations blasted—to see that the reflected shadow of their spirit is but a splendid mockery of the reality—and to look upon Greece when the cloak of her romance is rent asunder in the naked deformity of spiritless poverty and wretchedness. The minds of her population are by no means so firmly attached to it as to suffer the pains of martyrdom in the cause of freedom. Many, very many there are, it cannot be denied, sincerely and devoutly affected towards the revolution; men who have proved their zeal and devotedness, by disinterested and gallant enterprise; but it is equally answerable to truth, that there still are many, and by far the greater part of the people, who have taken up the cause of their country from other motives, and with indifference—without appreciating, or attempting to appreciate, the great object it has in view. This is but the effect of the great active power which has rendered hitherto ineffectual, and ever must render ineffectual—so long as they continue in their present condition—the efforts of the Greeks; viz. their moral and political degradation. It is needless to say, as some have said, that any sudden attempt, on their part, can as suddenly do away with,

and counteract this impediment. Even were it possible to conceive, that by one violent convulsion they could shake themselves free, could they stand as freemen? Should even the tottering and crazy dynasty which holds its despotism over them be swept away in the attack—should they emancipate themselves, could they retain their emancipation? It is needless to say that a people can rise at once above their degradation, when no attempt has been made to obliterate the control in which it holds them; and it is vain to hope, that, in their present condition, the curse of that condition will not cling to every attempt they make. We cannot delude ourselves into the belief, that a people, disorganized, relaxed, fallen, and degraded, can at once rise free and unincumbered from beneath the load which long years have bound firmly upon them, and engrained deeply into their character, henceforth to act and conduct themselves like men who have known no such subjugation. We say it again and again, it is morally and physically impossible.

No doubt, we do meet in history with revolutions which have been effected by nations seemingly labouring under all possible disadvantages. Examine what has preceded or followed their success. Withdraw the veil, and look upon their situation previously; descend into their story, and learn what was their condition afterwards. On this experimental test we venture to hazard the fate of the assertion we have made—that the moral degradation of a people does, and necessarily will retard the improvement of their condition, so long as its sway over them continues unassailed. Look to America, the most successful instance of modern revolution. What was the condition of her population? Simply this, the greater part were in that state of moral and intellectual vigour on which they could trust for support within themselves. The subjects of the colonies were equal to the task they undertook of modelling a Government for their own use. They had not to combat against the long-enduring vices of centuries,—they were disencumbered, and ready girt

for the contest, and they had only to exert their young and nerved vigour; yet mark the difficulty with which they secured their end, and think of the very slight and superadded vigour which would have been sufficient to have disappointed it. The then condition of North America was different from what is the present state of Greece, and probably there is no fair room for comparison between the two. Still the history of the American revolution, and the perilous chance by which she secured her purpose, goes, at least to shew, that the end of revolutions—the secure establishment of civil rights, is an object which cannot now-a-days be obtained by the mere effervescence of popular and uncontrolled enthusiasm. Nay, more, it serves to shew the immense difficulty with which even a people, morally and politically fitted for revolt, have to surpass before they can fully establish their liberties under a new Government on a sure basis.

On the other hand, look to a revolution which has been begun and carried on under much the same circumstances, and with much the same spirit as the one we are now considering. Look to the late insurrection in Spain. Here one portion of the nation was only pitted against the other, and so far, it may be said, there is no comparison existing between the two. Though we have ourselves seen, in Greece, Greek rising against Greek, and have witnessed civil discord, far more powerful than civil union, we will even allow that here the comparison fails. Nevertheless, the object in both countries was the same. The insurgents in either land had the same war-word, LIBERTY. The deep-muttered curse on oppression, and the wild frantic call to freedom, were as loudly pealed forth, and echoed back among the mountains of Castile and Arragon, as they had ever been in the Morea, or the isles of Greece. Yet mark the nothingness into which this ebullition resolves itself—mark the feebleness of its powers, and lament; if you will, that its premature existence melted away, like an unsubstantial shadow, into forgetfulness, without so much as one violent struggle—one desperate resolu-

tion, the death-throw of expiring freedom. Mark all this, and compare the condition of the two countries. The inhabitants of Spain were not a whit lower—nay, were not so low as the Greeks in the grade of civilization. The result of their revolution is written in fearful characters, with the blood of the Liberals, on the blocks of Madrid; the misery and the desolation of its end you may read in the haggard looks, the poverty, and the dejection of the refugees, who have sought shelter in Britain from the storm they have awakened but for their own destruction. Many may argue that they are indebted for their overthrow to the interference and arms of a foreign power. True; this was the cause they were so soon crushed; but is it not equally true, that it is the apathy of the power they are contending against which has protracted to this time the revolution of the Greeks? Besides, it may be asked, have they nothing to apprehend from foreign interference? Is not the intriguing and self-aggrandizing cabinet of Russia close by? Can the Greeks expect that all her ministers shall be *Capo d'Istria*? Is not the power of despotic Austria within hearing? And will the potentates of the Holy Alliance stand, and look on with indifference, while successful revolution is striking down its roots, and spreading its branches almost within the very district of her rankest and most overgrown legitimacy? These are apprehensions not without their weight, and Heaven forbid they ever should be realized!

Allowing, then, that the Spaniards did entirely owe the disappointment of their hopes to foreign interference, was this sufficient, when they did attempt to withstand it, to have dried up all decision, courage, and vigour in action, within the breasts of men who professed to be actuated by all the courage and vigour of most disinterested patriotism? Can we ascribe to this that their insurrection dissolved into worse than nothing, and this without one strong or well-conducted effort, in spite of possessing, attached to itself, experienced and warlike leaders? Surely not; a more easy solution is at hand, when we look to the condition of

the great mass of the people who took part in the late insurrection. For the most part, wild, uneducated, lawless mountaineers, they knew not the value of the boon they sought. Beyond their leaders, it had no charms which could induce them to stake, with earnestness, their lives, for its prospective and unappreciated benefits. The state of feeling is much the same among the Greeks. The notorious indifference towards the revolution, which has already evidenced itself over a great part of her community, is strong enough confirmation of the fact. Indeed, we had no right to expect, that a people who have been born and trained up under a Government whose usurpations have stolen gradually upon them, and with the very worst features of which they have been habituated from infancy, shall at once be roused into an opposition against it, and that this opposition shall depend for its continuance and efficiency on the hatred out of which it has originated. In all actions which call for arduous and suffering exertion, there must be something more to keep up that exertion unabated than mere antipathy or jealousy, however deep rooted. There must be anticipations of after reward in view—anticipations which shall lead on those who engage in them steadily and undeviatingly in the prosecution of their object, and which they must be able to understand and rightly appreciate. Now, we do not mean to deny, that anticipations of future and glorious independence had a great share in originating the Greek revolution; but we question much if the Greeks understood what rational independence was, or if their appreciation of it were such as to have sustained them till it should have been realised.

When we speak of the Greeks, and their utter want of education, our remarks apply, of course, only to the great body of the people. In the higher ranks there is a considerable portion of education and intelligence. For several years, many of those who possess the means have been in the habit of resorting to different parts of the continent, and some even to Britain, in the laudable pursuit of knowledge. Mavrocordato himself

was studying at Pisa when the breaking out of the present revolution called him to Greece, to act the important part he has since done in the affairs of his country. Knowledge, however, is, and has all along been, confined solely to this class. There never has been, nor is there yet, any effectual diffusion of education among the lower orders. Accordingly, they have entered upon their present attempt without one single advantage they might have derived from education, and with all the disadvantages of their moral and political debasement.

Independent even of their entire want of means, in a moral and intellectual point of view, by which to train and educate their new-fledged patriotism, their deficiency in mere animal strength rendered it unwise in the Greeks to commence their revolution when they did. What resources, may we ask, had they within themselves in men, arms, or money? what were the appliances with which they begun, and hoped to terminate this contest? in truth, they had none whatever. Their chiefs, for the most part, were intriguing politicians,—not the magnanimous and able leaders of a nation awakened by oppression to a sense of her wrongs, and fighting for the prize of independence. What has Colcotroni done, but injured one hundred fold, by his vile jealousy and dishonesty, the cause which he had espoused? (for though opposed to the philhellenic party, at first he made common cause with them against the Turk). What has Odysseus done, but attempted to raise an independent power for himself in Attica? In short, their leaders, with a single exception or two, of which Mavrocordato is the chief, were either double-dealing men of politics, from the court of Constantinople, or uncultivated and barbarian robbers from the mountains. Yet, repugnant as their characters seem, they were far more fit to conduct the enterprise than the bands who followed them were to execute it. These were neither organized, nor were they armed; nor, to supply the want of order and regularity, were they enthusiasts in the cause.

Without superabundant resources, undoubtedly a people may do much

in the way of revolution, if they start upon their enterprize in strong affection, and with hearts firmly attached to their anticipated independence. But these feelings must be strong enough to dissipate from their union all regard for self or party. The Greeks neither have resources, nor have they this enthusiastic affection towards their cause. It is scarcely within belief, that a nation, already entered on the career of independence, originating in, and depending entirely on themselves and their own resources, should have been so utterly devoid of all necessities and means, as the Greeks actually were when Lord Byron arrived among them. One can hardly imagine, unless he were convinced that a powerful and zealous feeling pervaded their whole land, how any people, under a Government whose resources did not equal the private donations of a not very opulent British nobleman, could look for a happy consummation to so arduous a struggle as the Greeks had commenced. Yet such was the actual condition of the people at Missolonghi, where it may be remarked, the spirit of freedom was as powerful, and certainly more unalloyed, than in any other part of Greece, and where, also, their resources equalled those of the patriots in any other district. What conclusion are we to come to, when we are told such truths as these, that "Lord Byron contributed more from his own purse than the whole Government put together," or that "the poverty of the Government and of the town became daily more apparent. They could not furnish the soldiers' rations, nor pay their arrears, nor was there forthcoming a single farthing of the 1500 dollars which they had agreed to furnish for the fortifications. Thus the whole charge fell upon Lord Byron." What conclusion can we draw from these, and similar facts might be adduced to any extent, than that which we have repeatedly stated, viz. that the Greeks are involved in a revolution which they have not the means of supporting in their present condition? An irregular and inefficiently acting force was the natural consequence of their deficiency in monied resources. This was the crying evil which

obtruded itself at once on Byron's attention, and which he immediately set himself about remedying. The progress he made serves but to shew the progress the Greeks themselves would have made, had they been at all previously prepared for the task they had entered upon. He succeeded in forming, at Missolonghi, an inconsiderable, yet, what might have been, an effective force. Since his death, it has been almost wholly dissipated, having been, for the most part, composed of foreigners and adventurers, who, having no very strong self-interest at stake in the question of Greek independence, gradually relaxed their discipline, or retired altogether from the scene of action, when the sources of their support were dried up on his death.

The unmanageable and outrageous conduct of the Suliotes, by far the bravest set of men in the Greek soldiery, is only another confirmation of how unripe the Greeks were for revolt. The frequent disputes between them and the towns-people of Missolonghi is in itself sufficiency of proof, that the idea of their independence, and necessity of union, had gained no ascendancy whatever over the private and despicable feelings which have all along guided their conduct and actions. The future prospects of the revolution, in the breasts of a greater part of the Greeks, never have exerted more than a secondary influence. In their private character, the modern Greeks have ever been incapable of trust. In their patriotic efforts, this imputation, with some trivial exceptions, has not been done away. There cannot be a more cutting satire upon any set of men acting in the part of patriots, than is conveyed in the words of Lord Byron himself, their fondest friend and supporter. When the attack on Lepanto was in agitation, Captain Yorke proposed bringing a brig off the town, to give refuge to the fugitives, whether Greeks or Turks. "For Heaven's sake," replied Byron, "don't come, for if they are sure of a place of safety, all my troops will run away."

The opinions of such a man as Lord Byron must always be of the utmost importance, more especially important when given, as in this instance, candidly, of a people to whose

country and cause he was sincerely devoted. We therefore take the liberty of transcribing two passages, in which he speaks of them as soldiers and men. Speaking of them in their military capacity, "he owned he had no great confidence in his troops, and yet he must make use of them, as he had no better; and in order to make them better, he had no other way than to obtain their confidence by shewing that he had confidence in them. Above all," he added, "these SEMI-BARBARIANS should never entertain the least suspicion of your personal courage." In allusion to their private character, "I begin to fear," he said, "that I have done nothing but lose my time, money, and health; but I was prepared for it. I knew that ours was not a path of roses, and that I ought to make up my mind to meet with deception, and calumny, and ingratitude."

These are the recorded opinions of the patriot poet and the friend of Greece. We leave them without any comment of ours—they must have their weight—and proceed to bring under the notice of our readers the disunion and party-spirit which has all along distracted the councils, and paralyzed the efforts of the Greeks. This we shall accomplish most easily, by selecting a passage or two from Count Gamba's work, which we do the more willingly, on account of that author's known prepossession and bias towards the cause of Greek independence.

Adverting to the dissensions in the Morea, between the legislative and executive bodies, and which had induced the latter to resort to violence, "It was melancholy indeed," says Count Gamba, "that the fond hopes of the Christian world should be thus frustrated in such a favourable juncture, by the petty dissensions and selfish views of a few chiefs, and after so many heroic exertions." So also, when talking of Lord Byron's arrival in Greece: "As soon as it was known that an English nobleman of great fame, and—what acted not less powerfully on the imagination of the Greeks—of great wealth, exaggerated, notwithstanding his efforts to undeceive them, was at Cephalonia, it is easier to conceive than relate the various means employed

to engage him in one faction or other; letters, messengers, intrigues, and recriminations—nay, each faction had its agents, exerting every art to degrade its opponent." To take another example: "It was added that Colotroni was stronger than the Government, and that the Greeks were more intent in persecuting and calumniating each other, than in securing the independence of their country. Fortunately they were not seriously menaced from any quarter by the enemy. There was more to be feared from their own dissensions than from the Turks."

Extreme as was their disunion and party-discords at the commencement of the revolution, it is a circumstance of fearful aspect, that these have increased as their cause has advanced. It was after the affairs of Thermopylae, Ipsara, and Samos, that Colotroni became the renegade to his country's liberty, and displayed the dark and dismal villany which his conduct within these few months back has exhibited. What, then, are we to expect from a people, not only ignorant and incapable of action, but headed by a set of men in whom vile and abominable selfishness have assumed the direction of their conduct? What but ruin to their cause?

Nor must we overlook the influence which the character of the modern Greeks—strongly featured as it is—will necessarily have over their exertions. In modern times, the Greeks never have possessed any steady equality of temper; from whatever cause, they have always displayed the extremes of mental temperament. Sanguine enthusiasts to-day, depressed and melancholy on the morrow,—haughty, impetuous,—daring at one time, at another cringing, dispirited, cast down. No people have ever shewn themselves less able than they are of keeping up any high and fixed determination, when their circumstances have rendered it absolutely indispensable that it should be maintained; and no people, in spite of all their natural gaiety of temper, have shewn themselves more subject to casual depression from inadequate causes.

Now what must be the consequences to a people with whom the most important and arduous concerns are

to be directed by habitudes of mind such as these? They live, and move, and act, in a land of hallucination; the slaves of, imagination and momentary feeling, their conduct necessarily must be wavering and indecisive. Their judgment, at the present moment, is unripe and feeble—at best a species of natural cunning—and they have had no education to foster and strengthen it. No doubt, the Greeks have often evidenced, in their character, a quick susceptibility to instantaneous and strong excitation. Their two revolutions (if they may be so called) towards the end of the last century, shew how ready they are, under the impression of the moment, to rush blindfold into the midst of great and evident danger; but then they also shew how easily the current of their high-wrought feeling is stemmed, and how inconsiderable the obstacles required to dash even their proudest aspirations.

This peculiar character of the uneducated Greeks—the variability and susceptibility of their temper—will prejudice their cause, be it successful or not; but tenfold will it injure the future bettering the condition of Greece, if her present attempt, be frustrated. Her population will then sink into a state of wishlessness, from which long years may elapse before any of her latent energies again start into action, or the recollection of her unsuccess be effaced from her memory. Greece ought first, therefore, to have disincumbered herself—and there was in her power a possibility to have done so to a certain extent—of the influence which the natural character of her people must exert over her cause, before she had put it to so severe a trial as she has now done. A few years would have completed it, for the means were already in operation. Knowledge had been begun to be diffused amongst them, and a system of education might easily have been contrived to diffuse it still more. By educating the judgment, this last would then unavoidably, and at once, have asserted its true place, and restrained and checked the natural impetuosity of the national character. As it now is, their whole conduct has been guided by a want of forethought and

consideration; the affections which they ought to have devoted exclusively to their country have been forgot, in the changeableness, variety, or strength, of private feeling,—in the bitterness of vile, paltry, party-spirit,—and in the gratification of petty individual enmity.

Outbreakings of irregular and disorderly temper we must expect to find among every people, more or less, whatever may be the cause in which they are connected. But when carried to the extent we have seen them in Greece, and allowed to commingle with, and direct their most serious concerns, their influence must injure the eventual success of the Greek cause. It is impossible not to regret, that the very source and root of this bane—their ignorance—should have been allowed to remain unmolested in its long-established strength. It might have been done away with to no unavailable extent, we repeat it again, had the minds of the Greeks been cleared of the mists of prejudice and uncultivation, before they had entered on any revolution; for they are a people not without capabilities—nay, of the very highest natural capabilities; but then they are a people who require years of education to obliterate the deep canker which has reduced them to the very brink of dissolution, and to place them again before the world in their full, brilliant, and reiterated glory.

In conclusion of the civil and moral condition of the Greeks, we gather these undenied and undeniable facts—that they were at the commencement of the revolution, and are still, in a state of extreme moral degradation,—that they have not now, nor ever have had, any important resources in men or money,—that what resources they have are disorganized, irregular, and inefficient—that disunion and jealousy, for the most part, are the great moving principles of their conduct;—in short, that they have little patriotism amongst them, and what of it they do possess, is neutralized in its effects by their debasement.

Under what greater disadvantages could it have been possible for a people to begin the arduous task of national reformation? The Greeks

have started with all these, and with other impediments to boot, impediments which originated in the relations existing between the different communities of Europe, and their own relations with their more immediate neighbours. To say the least of it, it was imprudent to risk an attempt of this nature at a time when every kingdom and potentate of Europe were in jealous vigil over the equalization of power which the last peace had established, and when all were anxious and ready to crush at the very outset the remotest attempt to disturb the scale. To say the least of it, it discovered a want of foresight and a rashness in the Greeks to have raised the banner of independence, before first attempting to correct the known disunion and disseverance of their own component parts. The Albanians and Walachians were men who should have been induced to make, and would have made common cause with the Greeks, had the latter but delayed for a few years, until the former had entirely completed within themselves the dislike and contempt of the Porte with which the revolt of Ali Pacha had inspired them, until, in short, all Greece had been trained and disciplined for the enterprize.

The Moslem power, besides, was every year wasting in a slow but sure decay, while education and commerce were spreading not imperceptibly among the Greeks. Left undisturbed, the former would have given up, unconscious to itself, every strong restriction it possessed over the people; while the latter would have been securely unloosening every tie the other might still, in its death-grasp, have retained over them. As it has been, what must be the consequences of this premature essay? In the first place, it will awaken the Turks to a consideration of the actual state of their dominion over Greece. Their attention being thus directed towards what it ought to have been the interest of the Greeks to have kept them in unsuspecting ignorance of, they cannot fail to perceive at once the attenuated remnant, and really visionary existence of their former political power over that land. Aroused to such a consciousness, their energies, crazy and torpid as they are, may be

called forth into unusual exertion. And considering how much the limits of independence have been contracted in Eastern Greece, Crete, and the Morca, since 1822, and how little, if any thing, extended since that time in the islands or elsewhere, it is far from a distempered apprehension, if we should fear that the Greeks may again tremble beneath the Crescent waved over their land, imbrued in still deeper dyes of blood and fearful tyranny than they have yet beheld it. But even should the contrary be the result, and Turkey, by remaining in her present inertness and apathy, allow the Greeks to wrest from her, one by one, every hold she has over them, until she shall retain not one foot of land, and not one word of power, over the whole extent of their country, it seems to us, indeed, a matter of extreme doubt how far even this liberation will better their condition.

Some have said that any change were preferable to Greece, than that she should longer continue under the established tyranny of Turkey. We allow in full, that the despotism and inhumanity of this power has withered up within the Greeks every native energy, and left scarce "a last and lingering look" of their former spirit throughout the whole of that unhappy people;—we allow in full, that it would be difficult to conceive a situation in which the faculties of the human mind have less room to expand into a self-consciousness of their own power, than when placed under the blind, severe, and uncontrolled policy of the court of Constantinople;—we allow in full, that, in their day, the Greeks have had too melancholy reason to curse the domination she has lorded over them; but we say, that her domination was mitigated, and was every day becoming less and less bitterly felt; and we cannot admit that the Greeks, were they utterly, to-morrow, to break asunder and cast off every tie with which she has bound them, would add one single mite to their future independence, or security, or happiness.

As they are at present, they have neither the power nor the knowledge within themselves to secure their freedom, when it is in their possession,

on any firm basis, unless they can secure the full advantage of every step they gain, by making it a vantage-ground on which they can firmly bottom their liberties; they make no advances whatever in establishing their after glory, nay even their future safety. Should ever the thralldom of the Turk be thrown down, what will hinder Greece from becoming the prey of any Government, base enough to step forward and avail itself of her internal confusion? Heaven knows, there are such powers close by: at this very moment, the friends of Greece are waiting with anxious expectation to learn the result of the deliberations at St. Petersburg. But should she even remain unharmed and untouched by other powers, her own disunion and degradation would plunge her as deep as ever into the gulph from which she is now attempting to emerge. Every true admirer of Greece would rather sorrow over her as she now is, than look upon her land parcelled out into a number of insignificant and inglorious communities, torn asunder by dissension, and precluding the hope of ever again beholding Greece united as Greece ought to be united. Greece must be free and wholly free,—a land of liberty and strength,—or better far for her that the name of FRIEDOM had never sounded on her ears, only to be indistinctly understood, and to be realized in what, in fact, would be but slavery under another name. Greece has no medium; if she would again relight her splendour among the nations, she must either shake herself independent, and secure her freedom on the safe footing of a re-vigorated and well-ordered constitution, or better that she should still remain in the bondage she has long endured. She cannot take up a middle ground, and follow half measures, else she will open upon herself the flood-gates which, though the Mahometan power may be swept away in the torrent, will tear asunder and hurl away every embankment on which her civil existence possibly can rest. Nor would it alter the case though it were certain that knowledge was silently spreading over the great mass of the Greek population, as they advanced in their career of indepen-

dence. The foundations of their future political fabric, if any such be in progression, will be laid in uneducation, and be the handiwork of young and inexperienced craftsmen. Unstable, and ill-arranged, they may be demolished ere well begun; at all events, their imperfections will extend to the future building, and, from the present hazardous situation of Greece, MAY nullify all the after expertness of more matured knowledge.

"Greece," says Lord Byron, in a letter to Mavrocordato, "is at present placed between three measures,—either to reconquer her liberty, to become a dependance of the sovereigns of Europe, or to return to a Turkish province. She has the choice only of these three alternatives. Civil war is but a road which leads to the two latter. If she is desirous of the fate of Wallachia and the Crimea, she may obtain it to-morrow; if of that of Italy, the day after; but if she wishes to become truly Greece, free and independent, she must resolve to-day, or she will never again have the opportunity."

Unfortunately, however, Greece is in that situation in which she can neither adopt nor follow out any resolution which is likely to be of any service to her. The only hope she can look forward to is, that she may acquire some years of rest to renovate her strength, and to allay her own intestine disturbances. Let her not attempt to hew down the power of the Turk in her present state of inexperience, if she is to receive no benefit from it but to be mangled in its fall. Let her train up her population to the combat, before she put deadly weapons in their hands, which may turn upon themselves. Above all, let her not delude herself in the idea that she may raise a constitution now, in her immaturity, which shall be a fit guerdon of her perilous strife, or which shall secure to her the lasting happiness, comfort, and light, of independence.

Some may deem, that all those dark forebodings which now appear to cloud the future prospects of Greece are overdrawn. Would to God, we answer, that they may be so! and would to God that a brighter sky, though at present obscured from our eyes, were about to break over the

"land of the many-laurelled brave"
—and that we may again behold this
illustrious people and their coun-
try rise like a phoenix from her
ashes, out of this revolution, and once
more be Grecians and Greece!

Αἱ γὰρ μιν θανάτοιο δυσχεὲς ὄδε
δυναίμην
Νόσφιν ἀποκρῦψαι, ὅτε μιν μέγας αἶνός
ἰκάνοι.

*Ὡς οἱ τεύχεα καλὰ παρέσσεται, οἳ τίς
αὐτε

Ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν θανυμάσσεται, ὅς κεν
ἴδῃται. * *Iliad* XVIII. 404th line.

We had intended to offer still far-

ther ~~some~~ remarks on the manner
in which the Greek revolution has
been conducted; but we have al-
ready gone beyond the limits we
had prescribed for ourselves, and
probably also the patience of our
readers; we defer them, therefore, to
another opportunity, when we shall
have occasion to observe on the ques-
tion of Britain recognizing Grecian
independence, and also on the real
advantages derived by Greece from
the attempts made in England to
educate her population.

Edinburgh, 1825.

MEMORIALS OF THE RIGHT HON. JAMES OSWALD OF DUNNIKIER*.

WE receive with no ordinary plea-
sure every addition to the informa-
tion we possess regarding the his-
tory or the literature of past times.
However slight the accession, it al-
most always enables us to supply
existing defects, or correct previous
impressions. In this point of view,
the publication of every relic of men
who have been distinguished either
by their literary attainments or their
political situation, is of great im-
portance, and is, in truth, a sort of
duty which their successors owe
alike to them and to us—to them, as
exhibiting their characters to poste-
rity in a true light, and to us, as
enabling us, not only to form an ac-
curate judgment of the past, but
thereby to make a more correct esti-
mate of the future. If this observa-
tion is particularly applicable to any
one branch of the remains of emi-
nent men, it is to their epistolary
writings—those delightful records of
the mind, which exhibit its inmost
recesses, and unfold its secret work-
ings. It is in these compositions
that we trace most readily the writer's
motives, and detect his springs of
action. If unstudied, or thrown off
in haste, they display his character
in a manner at once interesting and
satisfactory; if carefully elaborated,
and anxiously polished, they teach
us that there is something to be con-
cealed, or that there is a littleness
which deals in mystery, or an obli-
quity which dreads disclosure. In

either case, however, we can arrive at
pretty just conclusions. In the for-
mer, the process is easy and direct,
the writer having done all for the
reader—in the latter, it is more dif-
ficult, and the result is less gratify-
ing, the reader being obliged most
frequently to draw conclusions of an
exactly opposite tendency to those
which the writer wished to convey.
But in both cases, our opinions may
in general be formed with tolerable
accuracy, and simply because episto-
lary writings always bear a direct re-
ference to the mind of the writer;
and no man is able to write much of
himself, without affording either a
straight or a circuitous route to a
knowledge of his head and his heart.

The volume before us, though it
does not add much to our previous
knowledge respecting the writers of
the letters contained in it, or the in-
dividual to whom they were address-
ed, is a pretty good illustration of
the foregoing remarks. We find in
it a great number of letters, relating
chiefly to our history and literature
about the middle of the last century,
a period of much interest, both in a
political and literary point of view.
The writers, too, are very numerous,
and hence we have very few letters
from each—of some, indeed, we have
only one specimen. Yet isolated and
imperfect as the letters are, we ven-
ture to assert, that there is scarcely
a writer in the volume of whom
they do not furnish some traits which

* * Memorials of the Public Life and Character of the Right Hon. James Oswald of Dunnikier. Contained in a correspondence with some of the most distinguished men of the last century. Edinburgh: Constable & Co. 1825.

enable us either to form a new estimate, or to correct our previous opinion of his worth or of his talents. It is on this account that we regard the volume as an instructive one, and are disposed to acknowledge the labours of its editor with thankfulness, though we certainly must regret that it does not contain more to gratify our curiosity. But we shall give our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves.

We presume it is scarcely necessary to premise, that the late Mr Oswald of Dunnikier, during a political life of nearly thirty years, (from 1741 to 1768,) lived on terms of friendship with many of the distinguished political and literary characters of that period. With the former, his successive official situations of Commissioner of the Navy, Lord of Trade, Lord of the Treasury, and Treasurer of Ireland, brought him into immediate contact; with the latter, his literary acquirements, his fine taste, and open manners, placed him at once on the footing of a patron and friend. By both, his integrity, his patriotism, and his benevolence, were duly appreciated, and procured for him a large portion of their esteem and regard. The correspondence of such a man must have been voluminous and extremely valuable, but unfortunately the greater number of his manuscripts was consumed by an accidental fire, and it is merely the remnant which escaped destruction that now makes its appearance. We regret this circumstance exceedingly, and every person at all acquainted with the merits and habits of the late Mr Oswald, or interested in the literary history of our country, must participate in our sorrow. Mr Oswald was no ordinary statesman, whose life was spent in the heartless routine of official duty. He mingled the labours of the state with literary enjoyment, and the practice of pure and extensive benevolence. He was the warm admirer and protector of genius, and to some of the literary ornaments of his own country in particular, he was not merely the constant and judicious friend, but the impartial critic and steady counsellor. But we must refer such of our readers as may wish to peruse a more en-

larged account of Mr Oswald's life and manners, to a very neat and modest preface by the Editor of the present volume, who, though he avows himself a descendant, has executed his task with commendable delicacy and impartiality.

The first letters in the volume, and, we regret to add, almost the only letters written by Mr Oswald himself, which have been preserved, are those addressed to Lord Kames, and inserted in Woodhouselee's elegant memoirs of his Lordship. With these our readers must be familiar, and we proceed, therefore, to extract a specimen from the pen of the celebrated Judge to whom they were addressed. It is somewhat vexatious to think, that an acute philosopher, and a learned man, like Lord Kames, was obliged to undergo the mortification of witnessing others preferred to himself, persons whose claims could only exist in ministerial favour, and whose very names perished with their own inglorious existence. But such was the lamentable exercise of ministerial power in those times, and, unfortunately for our poor neglected country, we have, till of late, seen but too much of the same influence banefully exerted in our own times, and we have only now to admire the good humour and good sense with which his Lordship speaks of his disappointments.

Lord Kames to Mr Oswald.

Edinburgh, 6th March 1760.

I lay hold of, as a pretext for writing, the opportunity I have to congratulate you upon your victory over Thurot, but not upon his death; for he was a man not less eminent for humanity than gallantry.

I understand from Mr Udny, that a remonstrance is presented to the Treasury, with respect to the tax given to many Royal Burghs, of two pennies per pint of ale brewed and sold within their town. I cannot help joining in this remonstrance; for experience has proved it a most hurtful tax, not less to the revenue than to the landed interest. I am preparing some materials to set this in the clearest light. In the mean time, I beg you'll talk to Mr Townsend, if not past remedy, to forbear hurting his town of Dalkeith, by introducing that tax there.

Our President cannot last long. Can you do anything for me to prevent repeated disgraces? I have no objection against

the Justice-Clerk, or Minto, as elder judges, besides the hope of being elbowed into a Justice's gown. But I shall think it a bitter pill to have the Advocate put over my head. Nor, at any rate, will this measure answer, for he will ruin the Court. He has neither temper nor law to do any good there. I would not, however, be a burden upon your shoulders. Rather than give you much trouble, I would drop all pretensions.

Yours,

(Signed) HENRY HOME.

We now present our readers with a very pleasing letter from the pen of our celebrated historian, Hume. It is one which does honour equally to the writer, and to him to whom it was addressed; and is valuable, we think, in another respect, inasmuch as it shews, that though Hume may be justly accused of many partialities in his great work, he was in general neither intentionally prejudiced, nor careless in his search after facts.

Mr D. Hume to Mr Oswald.

DEAR SIR,

I am to give you great and very hearty thanks for your care in providing for my cousin at my desire. The quickness in doing it, and the many obliging circumstances attending that good office, I shall not readily forget. What is usual, they say, makes little impression; but that this rule admits of exceptions, I feel upon every instance of your friendship.

Mr Mure told me that you had undertaken to get satisfaction with regard to the *old English subsidies*. I cannot satisfy myself on that head; but I find that all historians and antiquarians are as much at a loss. The nobility, I observe, paid according to their rank and quality, not their estates. The counties were subjected to no valuation, but it was in the power of the commissioners to sink the sums demanded upon every individual, without raising it upon others; and they practised this art when discontented with the Court, as Charles complains of with regard to the subsidies voted by his third Parliament. Yet it seems certain that there must have been some rule of estimation. What was it? why was it so variable? Lord Strafford raised an Irish subsidy from £12,000 to £40,000 by changing [the] rule of valuation, but the Irish Parliament, after his impeachment, brought it down again. If Mr Harding undertakes the solution of this matter, it will be requisite to have these difficulties in his eye. I am glad to hear that we are to have your company here this sum-

mer, and that I shall have an opportunity of talking over this, and many other subjects, where I want your advice and opinion. The more I advance in my work, the more am I convinced that the History of England has never yet been written, not only for style, which is notorious to all the world, but also for matter: such is the ignorance and partiality of all our historians. Rapin, whom I had an esteem for, is totally despicable. I may be liable to the reproach of ignorance, but I am certain of escaping that of partiality. The truth is, there is so much reason to blame and praise, alternately, King and Parliament, that I am afraid the mixture of both in my composition being so equal, may pass sometimes for an affectation, and not the result of judgment and evidence. Of this you shall be judge; for I am resolved to encroach on your leisure and patience; *Quem vcrò arripuit, tenet occiditque legendo*. Let me hear of you as you pass through the town, that we may concert measures for my catching you idle, and without company, at Kirkaldy. I am, dear Sir,

Yours affectionately,

(Signed) DAVID HUME.

We pass over various letters from Mr Home, the author of *Douglas*, to whom Mr Oswald proved a valuable friend, that we may present our readers with an extract from a letter of Dr Hugh Blair; and we call their attention to this extract, chiefly because it shews, that the silly cant which prevails among the moderates, as they are styled, in our clerical courts at the present day, is the heir-loom of their predecessors, and has been the ground-work of all the selfish and unprincipled applications of a party for ministerial patronage during the last century. What will our readers think of the philanthropy and candour of this elegant sermon-writer, when he finds him branding his opponents in the church court as factious men, who are not the friends of Government and law? But our surprise need not end here: the very same phrases are employed at this hour by those clergymen who still form the dominant party in the church, in reference to their fellow-members, whose abilities, and zeal in the discharge of their duty, are a daily and hourly satire on the religious apathy and worldly pursuits of their self-styled "moderate" brethren. But it is time to

hear Dr Blair's nostrum for sound church government, as it was pressed upon a servant of the crown, and a dispenser of crown patronage, sixty or seventy years ago.

The Rev. Hugh Blair to Mr Oswald.

DEAR SIR,

Mr Shaw informed you by last post of the sudden death of our friend, poor Dr Jardine. Few things could have happened more affecting to the circle of his friends and companions; and, in the present situation of affairs in the church, it is a real and great public loss. Two offices are vacated by his death, besides that of minister of Edinburgh,—one of the Deans of the Chapel Royal, and Dean to the Order of the Thistle. The last he got created for himself, without any salary, but the perquisite of £50 upon the instalment of every new knight. It is of the very greatest importance to us that these offices be bestowed upon moderate clergymen, especially after the late preferment to the Chaplainry of Stirling Castle. The Lord Chief Baron informed me of the plan which you was so good as to concert with him and Lord Northumberland in my favour. I submit most entirely to you and him whether it be proper to make any application for me. Dr Robertson, I know, has writ to Sir Alexander Gilmour and Mr Dempster, representing, that, unless the ministry choose to bestow those marks of their countenance upon such clergymen as are friends to Government and law, he, for his part, will entirely withdraw from all sort of church business and management; and he has mentioned Dr Drysdale, (for whom he had before applied for Stirling Castle, without knowing that I was on the field,) myself, and Mr Lindsay, (whom Mr Hume insisted he should name,) as proper persons. I believe Solicitor Dundas has recommended Mr Webster, and one Dundas: if they should be the men, faction will be understood to be supported from above; and it is in vain to think of supporting the cause of patronage any longer in this country. I have writ to Lord Northumberland and the Chief Baron by last post, uncertain, indeed, whether the last be now in London or not. Mrs Blair joins with me in begging to have our best respects presented to Mrs Oswald and you; and I ever am, with the highest respect and esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

and obliged humble servant,

(Signed) HUGH BLAIR.

Justice compels us to make room for a letter from the celebrated Pro-

vost Stewart of Edinburgh, who was tried for favouring the rebellion of 1745, and who is very generally believed, at this time, to have been friendly to the claims of the Pretender; we give it without comment.

Mr Arch. Stewart to Mr Oswald.

DEAR SIR,

Never poor man was more unmercifully persecuted by the malice of party rage than I have been, from the breaking out of the Rebellion here to this day. Little minds have always recourse to low artifices; and this Rebellion, when it was first talked of, was not much dreaded; but it happened at a time when our city elections were coming on, when it grew more serious. One would have thought, how to suppress it would have been the uppermost thought with everybody; but I found, to my sorrow, how to distress me, and ruin my credit with the town, was what employed their minds full as much. I am thus far in my way to London, where I am willing to encounter all their malice, and wish to have my actions sifted to the bottom. I only give you the trouble of this, to acquaint you of a fact that happened lately.

I was riding on from my Brother's house, seven days ago, to take leave of my wife and family before I set out for London. When I came to Bellinford, James Steel, the landlord, and his wife, seemed much surprised to see me. I asked them why? did they think I was dead?—No; but Sir Charles Gilmer's servant had been there, and had told in the kitchen, before them and all the servants, that he himself had seen me march by Libberton at the head of the Pretender's artillery. I don't doubt but this man is ready to swear to it. But I thank God I have many creditable witnesses that I was not within thirty miles of Edinburgh for some days before their march; and, at the time he mentions, I was at my brother's house here, along with Major Cochrane, John Coutts, and several others. I went to Lord Minto's next day, where I stayed five nights, and then returned to this country, and from here to Bellinford, as I told you. Upon my return here, I was told that the Newcastle paper had put me in, as having taken the command of 500 horse, which is about the number that marched with the artillery, as I am told; and I fancy that it proceeds from the same information. No doubt the other papers will transcribe this paragraph into theirs, and this report will be believed over the whole kingdom. I have here enclosed the paper, and marked with a cross the part that relates

to me. I refer it to you, and my other friends, what's proper to be done in this matter. But I think 'tis right the world should know the truth; and, my dear James, if you have any credit still to give to a man the world has bespattered, I give you my word, that neither you, nor any of those gentlemen that have ever honoured me with their friendship, shall need to blush for any act of treachery or cowardice of mine, whatever they may say behind my back. My compliments to all friends, whom I hope to see soon, if I can make my way through the mob of the several towns I must pass through, who are all inflamed against me, by the malice of my countrymen.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most humble servant,

(Signed) ARCH. STEWART.

We should gladly have transferred to our pages a specimen of the epistolary powers of the accomplished Lord Elibank, but our limits forbid; and, for the same reason, we cannot quote any of the amusing letters of the Earl of Findlater. There are many other letters following these, which we willingly pass over, as they almost wholly consist of applications for Mr Oswald's influence towards procuring situations for the writers or their friends, and are not very remarkable, either for their intrinsic worth, or the celebrity of the names appended to them. We have made room, however, for a pretty long letter from Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, M. P. at the time when a candidate of more ministerial influence than himself was about to supersede him in the representation of the county of Haddington, as it contains some pertinent reflections and allusions to living characters, which we wish to place on our pages, and is, besides, very creditable to the writer's talents and feelings.

Sir H. Dalrymple to Mr Oswald.

DEAR JAMES,

I am much obliged to you for your last. Your observation on my situation is just. Hard it must be for a private man, let his interest be never so good, to struggle against the favourite and director of a minister, who has governed this country so long, and who, for many years, has conferred no reward but by the direction of him who is now my

opponent, and who, of consequence, has all the power of the Crown in his hands.

Lord Coulston has never had any opportunity to know of the agreement between Milton and me; he has broke off friendship with me, because, he says, I would not follow his advice. If he knew himself, he would see how little capable he is of giving any directions, for, of all the men I have known, he is the least knowing in the ways of the world: application to business he possesses; as to men and politics, he is a child; his ambition, and not his heart, directs him at present. I am told he is flattered with the hopes of being Justice Clerk, at least the first Justiciary Judge. I think he is incapable of giving evidence in the point between Milton and me, because he knows he speaks the words of Milton, not his own, if he does so. I send you enclosed the full state of the affair, for which I will pass my honour and oath. Perhaps I may be blighted in that concern myself; if you think me wrong, tell me so. I believe, before my friend Coulston was so compliant to their desires, they had doubt of carrying the county, and doubts of Lord Tweeddale's assistance. I have undoubted evidence that Milton pressed his son-in-law, Wedderburn, to stand for the county, or towns, last October, before the Duke of Argyle, at Inverary. Mr Charters told me that Wedderburn told him so himself: Milton's design then was to turn me out of both. I presume, his love for the money it must have cost prevented the execution of that plan. He has no way of carrying either of the elections at present, but by heaping offices and places on a number of gentlemen, or their connexions, to influence them against me. The agreement he alleges to have been betwixt him and me does not carry the face of common sense, for, in the county, he shows so few friends, that, after Lord Tweeddale brings him ten votes, and Lord Elibank makes two new ones for him, and the Dukes of Argyle and Athole bring in all their friends, and all the men in office and court dependents; his success is still very uncertain; and if the Duke of Newcastle gives me his influence as well as name, I really think I shall beat him; and, without any interest, I run him to a very few votes: so far does my real interest surpass this in the burghs. I hold the town of North Berwick, and have, besides, an old and natural interest in the towns of Haddington and Lauder; Lord Milton has none, but what he pretends to as the director of the Boards of Customs and Excise, and what he commands as sub-

minister of this country. You may believe I had in view something more solid than the countenance of such a man to make me enter into an agreement with him at a time he was endeavouring to oppress me, and who formerly had done me family injuries in a way I scorn to make mention of. I have for many years been connected to the Duke of Argyle from love and desire to follow him. I think he has returned me well for my good wishes. I thank God, it is in the power of no man to do me much hurt. I may be turned out of Parliament, but my interest, when I am out, will ever be respectable, and to be courted by any who have a mind to get into this county, or burghs. Whatever my condition may be, my views are very limited. I should wish to see my country freed from little home tenants; and, as it is a part of the great empire of Britain, I hope to see it subject to the King and his minister alone, and not governed by one who can do much hurt, and little good, within the sphere he has usurped.

But I shall tire you no more. I never am politically mad for above half an hour. Adieu. (No signature.)

One more letter and we have done. It is one of a number addressed to Mr Oswald, by Governor Murray, of whom the editor speaks in the following terms:

The Honourable General James Murray was the gallant companion and associate of Wolfe, the intrepid defender of Quebec, and the person chosen to follow up the plans of his immortal commander. Latterly, he resisted the combined force of France and Spain at Minorca, till the garrison, wasted by casualties and disease, was no longer equal to the duties of defence. General Murray was a distinguished officer; but the warmth and vivacity of his temper sometimes gave undue advantages to those whom, in the exercise of his civil functions, he had to regulate and control. Something of this kind transpires in these letters, in which the unbounded confidence he reposed in Mr Oswald's friendship and counsel is also very conspicuous.

We allow this veteran to speak for himself.

Governor Murray to Mr Oswald.

DEAR SIR,

My friend Maitland assures me of what I was confident of, the continuation of your friendship. He likewise tells me that you was pleased to ask him how I would like to be disposed of at the Peace?

If Canada is ceded to us, I apprehend the colony must be under the direction of one governor. Mr Gage, I believe, is pushing for the command; he came over my head before, and, as I am the only governor at present who has the honour of a commission from his Majesty, to be superseded by him a second time will be too much for my philosophy. I have really taken great pains to make myself equal to the task of the government in question, and I flatter myself his Majesty could not employ anybody who would be more agreeable to the people, because, in their great distress, I had opportunities of ingratiating myself with them, which may never again happen to any man. It therefore must be very agreeable to me to continue my endeavours to serve his Majesty in this country, but, if my authority is to be lessened by what I have pointed out above, they will neither be pleasing to myself, nor effectual for the King's interest. If the King's Ministers think proper to recommend me for the government of this country, they may depend upon a rigid integrity, and a steady attention to business, which, I flatter myself, in time of peace, may make up for defects in parts. I write to you, my dear Sir, without reserve, because I know you to be my friend. I must beg to be remembered to my dear friend the Colonel; and am, with the utmost truth and gratitude, yours, &c.

(Signed) J. A. MURRAY.

We intended to lay before our readers specimens of the epistolary labours of Mr Legge, the Earl of Halifax, Singlespeech Hamilton, and the eccentric Bub Doddington; but we have already exhausted our limits, and must content ourselves with a reference to the volume itself.

A perusal of these letters is calculated to excite some reflections of a disagreeable kind. They present men in almost every conceivable situation, and yet no man seems to be satisfied or happy. There is always something in the lot of the writers which appears to annoy them, and something wanting which they are anxious to possess. This observation, we are aware, is very trite in common life; but we think that many of the characters in the volume before us were no common men, and just views of life as well as of the respect due to themselves, should have taught them to despise and avoid the conduct which many of their letters betray. We are

grieved, for example, to find the author of "Sketches of the History of Man" complaining, though with a fair portion of good nature, of the neglect he experienced; and we are more than grieved to discover rankling selfishness in the mind of the elegant moralist, Blair.

Another remark, we think, cannot fail to be made by every reader of the present volume. It is this, that the positive annoyance necessarily attendant on the life of a man in power, is far from being compensated by the honour and emolument

derived from official rank. If we may judge from the correspondence before us, Mr Oswald must have been the victim of continual solicitation, and must have suffered daily the mortification of refusing the requests of his intimate friends. We could say more on this topic, but the picture of a statesman's life, lately drawn in the House of Commons, must be fresh in our readers' recollection, and we forbear to weaken the force of that masterly sketch, but not more masterly than true.

The Battle-hour.

Supposed to be spoken by a Grecian mother to her son, while viewing the battle from an adjacent eminence.

Dein clamore pari concurritur, et vice teli.

HARK! hark! along the fleeting gale
The trumpet pours its warlike tale,

In notes full loud and shrill,

The soul of battle breathing:—

And hark! it peaeth louder still,
From where yon dusky smoke is wreathing

In clouds athwart the sky—

The battle-hour is nigh!

See! see!—the spirits of carnage tread
Along the cold and dreary bed,

Where the valiant shall repose

When in the battle stricken,—

When meet the opposing foes,
And the clanging war shall thicken.

Hush! 'tis the sound of the noisy
drum,—

The battle-hour hath come!—

And now—and again! again! again!—
Flashing wild fury o'er the plain,

Roars the artillery,

With iron tones appalling;—

Like the tempest on the sea,

While the dead around are falling.

It sweeps with its voice of doom—

The battle-hour hath come!—

Where mid the strife the banners wave
O'er the spot mark'd out for the warrior's grave,

When the feast of death is o'er,

With horrid radiance gleaming,

The sword drinks deep of gore,

From a thousand wounds forth streaming;

Are the breath of life be gone—

The battle-hour wears on!

Still roar the guns—still clash the spears—
(Dread music! meet for hellish ears)—

And still the banners wave:—

Oh, Pyrrho! 'tis thy country striving

Their rights and liberties to save

From foreign bonds, and boldly driving,

Arm'd with the patriot's fearless hand,

The oppressor from their land.

Thy father, youth! in yonder fight
Demands proud Freedom's sacred right,

From Greece so long withheld:

As the first rays from ocean darted,

And the dark mists of night dispell'd,

From his low couch in haste he started,

And while his arms he round him
slung,

Thus in soft strains he sung:

Celia! now enslaved Greece

Wakes her sons to liberty,

Unfurls her banner to the breeze,

And bids her galleys plough the sea.

I haste to join the noble work

Of just revenge upon the Turk,

While still for thee the accents flow,

"*Ἦν μὲν τὰς ἀγῶναι.*"

Should my steed in mad career

Bear me through the ranks of war.

With hand and heart estranged from fear,

While Carnage in her crimson car

Pursues the ensanguin'd path of death;—

Then even with unchanging faith,

To thee shall the warm accents flow,

"*Ἦν, &c.*"

If wounded on the field I lie,

While the life-blood leaves each vein;

No tender aid to soothe me nigh,—

No couch save the embattled plain:—

Ev'n then tow'rd's thee my thoughts shall
 roam,
 Shall turn to Celia and to home,—
 Then shall the broken accents flow,
 "Zôn," &c.

Should sullen death arrest my course,
 And snatch my spirit from its seat,
 Extending me a lifeless corse
 Beneath the charging Spuhi's feet :—
 While sinks in night my languid eye—
 While I breathe my latest sigh—
 Then shall the quivering accents flow.
 "Zôn," &c.

But if victory should crown
 The efforts of the sons of Greece—
 Should hurl the Turkish crescent down
 And give us liberty and peace—
 How warmly then (if fate should shield
 My bosom in the deadly field)
 To thee shall the glad accents flow !
 "Zôn," &c.

Then did he frown 'cause I did weep,
 And turp'd him where in gentle sleep
 Encradled thou didst lie ;
 Methought that even while he chided,
 Gushing from his glistening eye
 Adown his cheek the tear-drop glided,
 Which, as in ire, he dash'd away,
 Then hied to join the fray.

But come ! let's watch with eagle gaze
 The workings of yon horrid maze
 Of foe combin'd with foe.
 Dost thou not feel a chill run o'er thee
 Freezing life's currents as they flow,
 While markest thou the scene before thee,
 Where strives the tyrant to replace
 His yoke upon our race ?

It is a fearful thing, I ween,
 To mingle in yon horrid scene
 Replete with death and woe :
 But freedom waits ye, Greeks ! then
 boldly
 Let the tide of battle flow ;
 The Moslem faints—*he* wars but coldly
 Whom no ennobling motive fires—
 You liberty inspires.

On ! On again ! the Turk gives way :—
 Surely a tremor of dismay
 Pervades their impious host ;
 'Tis done—'tis bravely done—by Heaven !
 Our ancient sires, their country's boast,
 Their former fires seem to have given.
 T' inspire each breast, so well they
 wield
 Their sabres in yon field.

Away ! away ! ye craven Turks.
 Now the awakened lion works
 His deeds of vengeful wrath :
 Spare them not, Greeks ! even as 'y
 granted
 Such pity as the tiger hath,
 When 'neath their ruthless fangs ye
 panted,
 So now let *your* "kind mercies" be—
 Shout ! shout for victory !

Now calm succeeds the fray's alarms,
 And feeble grows the din of arms,
 The day is lost and won :
 Into the balance fate already,
 The o'erpoising weight hath thrown,
 And the ascending scale hangs steady—
 The war is hushed at last,
 The battle-hour hath past !

C.

NUGÆ CAMBRICÆ.

British Bardism.

OF all institutions connected with the early history of the Cymru, that of Bardism is certainly one of the most interesting. In every rude and uncivilized country, we find some institution analogous to that of which we are now about to offer some account ; and in no part of the world was Bardism cherished with more reverence than among the Aborigines of our own island. We can readily account for this. In the earlier ages, when the state of society was rude and irregular, and when man was more influenced by the prevalence of strong and unsophisticated impulses, the songs and recitations of bards obtained a very great portion of respect and attention. Independent of

their being a most pleasant relaxation from the severe toils of battle and the chase, their very nature rendered them particularly grateful to a nation of rough and untutored warriors. The more rude and wild, observes one of the most accomplished of modern writers, is the state of society, the more general and violent is the impulse received from poetry and music. The muse, whose effusions are the amusements of a very small part of a polished nation, records, in the lays of inspiration, the history, the laws, the very religion of savages. When the pen and the press are wanting, the flow of numbers impresses upon the memory of posterity the deeds and sentiments of their forefathers. Verse is na

turally connected with music, and among a rude people, the union is seldom broken. By this natural alliance, the lays, "steeped in the stream of harmony," are more easily retained by the reciter, and produce upon his audience a more impressive effect. Hence there has hardly been found to exist a nation so brutally rude as not to listen with enthusiasm to the songs of their bards, recounting the exploits of their forefathers, recording their laws and moral precepts, or hymning the praises of their deities.

But the degree, and even the character of the enjoyments, must necessarily depend upon the customary habits and occupations of the people. It is not the peaceful Hindu at his loom—to use the words of the same author—it is not the timid Esquimaux in his canoe, whom we must expect to glow at the war-song of Tyrtæus. The music and the poetry of each country must keep pace with their usual tone of mind, as well as with the state of society, and the moral tendency of their compositions is also determined by the same circumstances. Thus, in the effusions of the earlier bards, those virtues only are celebrated which, although long since tinctured with barbarism, are still either necessary to bind together the members of the community, or worthy of being imitated, and conducive to the public weal. Hence their music and songs are replete with the praises of their warriors; and, erasing the eighth commandment from the decalogue, the minstrels eulogized their chieftains or the very exploits against which the laws of their country denounced capital doom. An outlawed freebooter was to them a more interesting person than the sovereign himself; the one was a brave and heroic warrior, the other a ruthless and sanguinary tyrant. This was particularly the case with regard to the bards of Ireland and the border minstrels of Scotland, and those of Wales pursued the same practice. Spenser, in his "State of Ireland," has given

us a good account of the usual themes of the bards of that country, and a very merry, licentious, jovial set they seem to have been. "The Bards," he says, "seldom use to choose unto themselves the doings of good men for the arguments of their poems; but whomsoever they find to be most licentious of life, most bold and lawless in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience and rebellious disposition, him they set up and glorify in their rhymes—him they praise to the people, and to young men make an example to follow." That such sort of eulogy was grateful to the feelings of these individuals must be evident enough, and our author gives us a good description of its effect upon them. "If any restless youth shall find any to praise him, and to give him any encouragement, as those bards and rhymers do, for little reward, a share of a stolen cow*, then waxeth he most insolent and half-mad, with the love of himself and his own lewd deeds. And as for wordes to set forth such lewdness, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted show thereunto, borrowed even from the praises which are proper to virtue itself. As of a most notorious thief and wicked outlaw, which had lived all his life-time of spoyles and robberies, one of their bards, in his praise, will say, "that he was none of the idle milk-sops, that was brought up by the fireside, but that most of his days he spent in arms and valiant enterprises; that he did never eat his meat before he had won it with his sword; that he lay not all night slugging in his cabin under his mantle, but used commonly to keep others waking to defend their lives, and did light his candle at the flames of their houses, to lead him in the darkness; that the day was his night, and the night his day; that he loved not to be long wooing of wenches to yield to him, but when he came, he took by force the spoil of other men's love, and left but lamentations to their

* It was enacted by the code of Welsh laws framed in the tenth century by Howel Dda, that if the King's Bard played before a body of warriors upon a predatory excursion, he should receive, in recompence, the best cow which the party carried

lovers; that his music was not the harp, nor lays of love, but the cries of people and the clashing of armour; and, finally, that he died, not bewailed of many, but made many wail when he died, that dearly bought his death." Such is Spenser's description of the Irish Bards, and well will it accord with many of the minstrels of Scotland and Wales. But however important, in an historical point of view, or as examples of the early state of society, these rude and warlike recitations may be to us, the peculiar offices and institutions of Cambro-British Bardism, considering them as a feature in the mechanism of the state, will present to us a far more interesting subject for contemplation, in as much as they were all founded upon the strictest observance of morality, piety, and virtue. To this subject, then, we will now turn our attention, and we hope we shall carry with us that of our readers also.

The origin of Bardism is so obscured by the darkness of antiquity, that we can now form no accurate estimate or knowledge of its commencement. All that we know is, that it was coeval with, or rather that it emanated from, Druidism, and sprang up, as it were, a beacon-light from the ashes of an institution which was composed of the gloomy barbarity of superstition on the one hand, and of the germs of piety and moral excellence on the other. It seems as if all the dark and horrible portion was destroyed, leaving only the bright and beautiful parts of the system to grow up into complete perfection, as the light of Christianity diffused its cheering influence over Britain. We have said that Bardism was coeval with Druidism, and we shall proceed to explain how it was so. Both Strabo and Ammianus Marcellinus inform us, that there were three orders of men in high estimation among all the Celtic nations,

namely, Druids, Bards, and the Vates, or Euvates*. The Druids, it appears, were the ministers and teachers of religion, the superintenders of sacrifices, and the instructors of youth. Their influence and importance were exceedingly extensive, being superior even to the sovereign. "Illi rebus divinis intersunt," says Cæsar, "sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. Ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus discipline causa concurrit, magnoque ii sunt apud eos honore. Nam ferè de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt: et si quod est admissum facimus, si eades facta, si de hereditate, de finibus controversia est, iidem decernunt: præmia pœnasque constituunt. Si quis aut privatus aut publicus eorum decreto non steterit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur: iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommode accipiant, neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur!" Such were the Druids, an order of men, who, like the Jesuits of later times, exercised an influence almost unlimited over the minds and persons of the people.

The Bards, during the existence of Druidism, were possessed of a power far more limited; they were merely the poets, historians, and genealogists of the age. The office of a Bard, says the Triad†, is to keep up a memory of arts and sciences, this being his duty as a Bard, regularly and fully instituted; and also to preserve the memory of that which relates to the country, family, marriages, pedigrees, arms, districts, and rights, of the Welsh territory or nation.

The Vates (in Welsh, *Ogyddion*, singular, *Ogydd*) were those who offered the sacrifices, being, in fact,

* Denominated in Welsh, *Derwydd*, *Bardd*, and *Ogydd*. *Derwydd* signifies the body of the oak; and, figuratively, the man of the oak, from *derw*, oaks, and *ydd*, a Welsh termination of nouns. *Bardd* signifies the branching, derived from *bâr*, a branch or top. *Ogydd* implies a disciple, according to some; and a diviner, or augur, according to others. But all these derivations have been disputed.

† De Bello Gallico, lib. vi. c. 12.

‡ Of the "Triads of the Isle of Britain," the most curious relic of Bardism, it is our intention to give an early notice, with copious specimens.

the officiating priests. It was necessary that they should be so far skilled in natural history, as to be able to determine on the natural or unnatural appearance of the viscera of the victims; and it is not at all improbable that a knowledge of medicine, simple, it is true, and probably somewhat empirical, formed also a requisite portion of their qualifications. Their title, also, intimates their familiarity with the imposing practice of divination, a mode of influencing the mind of too powerful a character to be omitted. The Triad makes no mention of their officiating at the sacrifices; it merely states, that the Ofydd should possess a natural poetic genius, with a praiseworthy knowledge, which he shall prove to be well-founded, by being examined before a lawful session of Bards. But the offices might have been co-existent, and the fact omitted, either because the sacrifices of the Druids were repressed, or at least not thought expedient to be chronicled, when the Triad was written.

There was an obvious difference, however, in the character of the Druids and Bards, for the former were more properly the priests and augurs of the Celtic nations, particularly those of Gaul and Britain, while the latter were the literary professors of that society. It will be obvious to every one who is at all versed in the history of the earlier ages, that the most ancient compositions were delivered in verse; and we are informed, that the mode of conveying instruction by the Druids and Bards was by reciting to their disciples a number of verses, containing those maxims and precepts which they wished to impress on the minds of their auditors; they thus made their memories tenacious, and blended instruction with delight; and they thus reduced the arts of memory and oral tradition into a well systematized science. *Song* was one of their methods of giving permanency to orality: songs, skilfully composed on interesting subjects, were learnt with avidity,—they soon became popular, and they could be transmitted without the aid of letters from one person, time, or place, to

ages the most remote. These songs, chiefly didactic in their composition, were always laid before the grand Bardic meetings, (*cisteddvroddan*), where they were discussed with the most scrutinizing severity; and if admitted at the first *cisteddvrodd*, they were reconsidered at the second, and reserved even then for confirmation at the third meeting. This being the practice, it was impossible for perversion or interpolation to take place, nor could they deviate materially from truth.

The Welsh Bards and their countrymen were so partial to the science of tradition, that it was retained long after the use of letters became generally known. It was by means of this that the primitive Christianity of Britain came hand in hand with Bardism, down to the present day, through a long and dark night of error and Gothic barbarity, and through the flames of Papal persecution. On this account, the ancient Welsh Bards are entitled to as noble a triumphal arch as that which has been long since erected to the memory of the Waldenses.

The order of Bardd was subdivided into three ranks, named *Privardd*, *Poswardd*, and *Arwyddvardd*. The *Privardd* was one who invented and taught such systems of philosophy as were before unknown: the *Poswardd* was no inventor, but a propagator of the principles and systems of others: the *Arwyddvardd*, or Ensign Bard, was properly a herald at arms; his office was to declare the genealogy, to blazon the arms of the princes and nobles, to keep a record of them, and to arrange and alter them according to their dignity and merit. In later times, the *Arwyddvardd* attended the king and chieftains in all their battles. But it should be observed, that Bardd was an appellation given to all professors of learning, as well as to the three orders above mentioned*.

From those interesting documents, the Triads, we learn many important particulars relating to the peculiar functions and necessary attributes of the Bards. In the first place, it was ordained that a Bard should possess "an eye that can see Nature, a heart

* From a Cottonian manuscript in the British Museum.

that can feel Nature, and a resolution that dares follow Nature;" then came the "three ultimate intentions of Bardism: to reform morals and customs, to secure peace, and to celebrate the praises of all that is good and excellent." To these grand and essential requisites were added others of minor importance, but still requiring a very due degree of observance: we transcribe some of the most interesting.

"The three primary privileges of the Bards of Britain are—maintenance wherever they go; that no naked weapon be borne in their presence; and that their testimony be preferred to that of all others."

"Three things are forbidden to a Bard: immorality, satire, and the bearing of arms."

"The three joys of the Bards of Britain: the increase of knowledge; the reformation of manners; and the triumphs of peace over the lawless and predatory."

"The three splendid triumphs of the Island of Britain: the triumph of learning over ignorance; the triumph of reason over irrationality; and the triumph of peace over the lawless and unruly."

"The three necessary but reluctant duties of the Bards of the Island of Britain: secrecy, for the sake of peace and public good; invective lamentation required by justice; and to unsheath the sword against the lawless and predatory*."

"Three things cannot be controverted: the usages, the song, and the voice of the Bardic Convention."

"Without three qualifications no one can be a Bard: a poetical genius; a knowledge of the Bardic institutes; and irreproachable morals."

"There are three avoidant injunctions on the Bard: to avoid sloth, as being the man of diligence and exertion; to avoid contention, as being the man of peace; and to avoid folly, as being the man of reason."

These contain most of the leading maxims of the British Bardic Institution, but there are separate rules for the different departments of the

system: as Theological Triads, Ethical Triads, Triads of Wisdom, and Triads of Song. Of the latter, we shall now transcribe a few specimens, and reserve our notice of the others to a future opportunity, when we shall consider the nature, authenticity, and peculiar character of the British Triads generally.

The "Triads of Song" are chiefly critical rules for poetic composition; and it would be well if many of our modern Bards would pay some attention to the exquisite directions which they contain.

"The three final intentions of poetry: accumulation of goodness; enlargement of the understanding; and what increases delight."

"The three indispensables of language: purity, copiousness, and aptness."

"The three ways whereby a language may be rendered copious: by diversifying synonymous words; by a variety of compounds; and by a multiformity of expression."

"The three qualities wherein consists the purity of a language: the intelligible, the credible, and the pleasurable."

"The three supports of language: order, strength, and synonymy."

"The three things that constitute just description: just selection of words; just construction of language; and just comparison."

"Three things should be well understood in poetry: the great, the little, and the connectives."

"Three things should be avoided in poetry: the frivolous, the obscene, and the superfluous."

"Three dignities of poetry: the true and the wonderful united; beauty and sapience united; and the union of art and nature."

"The three utilities of poetry: the praise of virtue and goodness; the memory of things remarkable; and the strengthening of the affections."

"The three indispensable purities of poetry: pure truths, pure language, and pure manners."

From these maxims, we can plainly perceive the great objects of Bard-

* This latter duty cannot imply the actual co-operation of the Bard in any expedient punishment, excepting only as an interpreter to arms in a just or necessary cause. The Bard himself was always a man of peace, and was considered too pure and precious to be involved in bloodshed.

ism. We see that a general diffusion of peace, good-will, virtue, and benevolence, was very strongly inculcated; that an adherence to truth was one of the fundamental rules of the Institution; so zealously, indeed, was this observed, and especially in their poetical characters, that even satire was prohibited, or accounted as one of the "three necessary and reluctant duties." And so paramount was their observance of truth, that "*Y Gwêr gu erbm y Bŷd*," or, Truth against the World, was the invariable motto and rule of the institution. Next to this, we may mention the free and full investigation of all matters relating to all knowledge and wisdom that fell beneath their enquiry. With reference to this, it was an unalterable maxim among the Bards, "*coetlawdant a chechuan pob peth*," that is, to believe nothing that had not the support of reason and truth, and to believe every thing that had. And such a maxim was particularly conducive to the establishment of useful knowledge on a firm and durable basis.

The publicity of their actions was another principle particularly regarded by the Bards. Hence it became a rule, that their meetings were always to be holden in the open air, in a conspicuous situation, and while the sun was above the horizon, or, according to the Bardic maxim, "*yn wyneb haul, a llygad goleuni*,"—"in the sun's face, beneath the eye of light." The place usually selected for this purpose was as central as possible; a circumstance to which Cæsar alludes in the following passage*, in reference to the Druidical assemblies in Gaul: "At an appointed period in every year, they have a general meeting in the territory of the Carnutes, which lies about the middle of Gaul, in a grove†, consecrated for the occasion. To this place all persons resort who have any controversies to be determined, and where they submit to the judgment delivered by the Druids." At these public *Gorseddau*, or Congresses, it was always necessary that the Bardic

traditions should be recited; and as this custom is supposed to have been regularly continued until the extinction of Bardism, it accounts for the veneration in which the songs and aphorisms of the Bards have ever been esteemed in Wales. It also stamps on these productions a character for authenticity far superior to that of most ancient compositions, and must have proved, moreover, an infallible security against their falsification, since they were always published, according to the emphatical language of the Welsh maxim,

"In the sun's face beneath the eye of light."

Such were the most prominent features of this very singular establishment. Originating as it did, in a period of the most remote antiquity, it appears to have been reared on a basis at once simple, sublime, and durable. Its objects were of the purest—indeed of the noblest description—the advancement of morality and peace, and the celebration of virtue and excellence; while, for the promotion of these great ends, the means employed were natural, and peculiarly efficacious. Hence it was that wisdom and sound knowledge were successfully cultivated amongst the ancient Bards, and history in a great measure secured from those forgeries and corruptions which have, in the earlier career of other nations, perverted its aim, and made its utility problematical. But, after all, much caution is necessary in the examination of this ancient system, so as, on the one hand, to divest it of the mythological characteristics which have been ignorantly assigned to it by some, and to disentangle it, on the other, from the metaphysical perplexities in which a few of its too zealous admirers have involved it‡. But our object is only to present the English reader with a sketch of an Institution so remarkable in the early history of Britain. Of the general objects and attributes of Bardism we have already treated, and we shall now proceed to give a brief

* De Bello Gall. Lib. 6. c. 13, 14.

† There is some dispute among the learned as to the Latin word,—some say it is *lucus*, others *læcus*. The Bardic traditions certainly made no allusions to groves. See Cambro-Bruton, Vol. I. p. 151. *in note*

‡ Cambro-Bruton, Vol. I. p. 150-1-2.

view of its history and extinction, and conclude with some specimens of the poetry of the British and Welsh Bards.

We have already seen that the origin of Bardism is of great and unfathomable antiquity. Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, and in the reign of Prince Mervyn, is the first of the British historians who mentions the Bards. He says, that Talhairn was famous for poetry; that Cian and Aneurin, Taliesin and Llywarch-hêu, flourished in the sixth century; but of these only the works of the three last are now extant*. A diffuse record of the historical events of the age is the chief characteristic of those which have been preserved: but they are not very easily understood to any but the Welsh scholar, on account of the very great antiquity, and consequent obscurity of the language. Aneurin, who was distinguished by the honourable title of *Mych deirn Beirdd*, or Monarch of the Bards, has transmitted to us an account of a disgraceful defeat which his countrymen sustained from the Picts and Saxons, in consequence of entering the field in a state of incivility:

“The warriors marched to Cattraeth,—
loquacious was the army,
Pale mead had been their drink, and became their poison:
They cut through embattled arms.”

Taliesin, called likewise *Pen Beirdd*, or Prince of Bards, resided at the British Court, and has recorded many of the events which occurred there. But the genius of Taliesin was not confined merely to the record of history; the assiduous instructions of the wise Catwg, by whom he was educated, were not lost upon the Bard. He studied with extreme avidity, and with great success, the mystical tone of the Druids, more especially the then very prevalent doctrine of Metempsychosis. Two or three of his poems are expressly devoted to it, and afford a singular instance of the effects of that wild notion upon a

powerful and creative imagination. It is, then, as a repository of the maxims of Druidism, as well as a record of historical facts, that the productions of Taliesin are valuable. His elegiac and lyrical poems abound, also, in pathetic touches, as well as in sublime fancy, and fine moral thought; and with the conspicuous merit of a child of song, he designates himself at once a poet and a scholar, and even claims, as the property of his muse, the flowing speech of a prophet†.

Llywarch-hêu, or the Aged, who was descended from royal blood, and had himself borne sway in Cumbria, spent some of his early years in the court of the renowned Arthur, and was frequently engaged in the warlike pursuits of the age, as he himself informs us in his ode to the chieftain Maenwyn:

Maenwyn, while I was fresh in youth,
In the pursuit of savage slaughter
I acted as a man, though yet a boy.

His life was one of trouble and sorrow, although he was admitted to high honours in the state. But the unsettled condition of his country, and the continual warfare with the Picts and Saxons, involved him and his numerous progeny in the common tumults of the time. Of his twenty-four sons, all of whom were chieftains, twenty fell under the standard of Urien Reged, the prince of Cumberland, and the other four found an honourable grave among the green hills of North Wales, while fighting under the banners of the brave Cynddylan, prince of Powis. But although thus involved in warlike occupations, Llywarch-hêu cultivated the Muses with ardour and success. Of the twelve poems which have been preserved in the *Archæology of Wales*, five are elegies, two are lyrical, and five form the vehicles of proverbial lore, to which our Bard seems to have been particularly attached. All these poems are distinguished by the same traits of simplicity, pathos, and

* * Evan's *Dissertatio de Bardis*, 66-7.

† We should observe, that the variety of the verse, as well as of the topics, embraced by Taliesin's muse, makes it difficult to ascribe to it any general character. He not only employed most of the metres then in use, but even enriched his poetry with others borrowed from the Greek and Roman writers.—*Cambro-Briton*, Vol. I. p. 12.

sententious wisdom ; and a very obvious characteristic is the curious metre in which they are written. This is the *Triiban Milwr*, or Warrior's Triplet, the most ancient, perhaps, of all the Welsh metres. In addition to these characteristics, the poems of Llywarch-hêu possess those common to other Bards, those, namely, of historical record, and moral inculcation. The moral poems are remarkable for the sound and elegant axioms which they convey, though delivered in a form extremely inartificial, yet quite characteristic of those early times. The following lines, selected from different poems, afford examples of these proverbial triplets.

On All-Saints' eve, a season of pleasant fellowship,

The gule and the storm go together :

It is the work of falsehood to keep a secret.

Wealth will not be bestowed on the mischievous,

But sorrow, anxiety, and care :

What God hath done, he will not undo ;

The leaf that is scattered by the wind,

Alas ! how perishable it is !

Already it is old—this year it was born !

Although Llywarch is styled and considered in every respect as a Bard, the title must not be taken in its strictest sense, for, as we have before observed, a warlike employment was totally inconsistent with the principles of the Bardic Institution, founded, as it was, in universal peace and good will. Llywarch was no peaceful Bard, who sat under the shade of the sacred oak, and tuned his harp in indolence and inactivity. He sought the turmoil and peril of the battle-field—incited his brave vassals to the fight, and inspired them to victory, by his spirit-stirring incantations. It was only during the intervals of temporary tranquillity that he delivered to the people those maxims of morality and virtue which have been handed down to us ; and although we cannot class him exactly among the number of legitimate Bards, he was undoubtedly a poet, and, whether as a poet or a warrior, one of the most remarkable characters of a most remarkable age.

From the sixth to the tenth century, a long chasm occurs in the exertions of the Bards. The devastation occasioned by a constant state of

warfare, and the turbulent anarchy accruing from civil dissensions among the Welsh themselves, have prevented the preservation of any Bardic productions of note or interest ; and 'it would appear that the confused state of the country had communicated an influence to this once-revered and sacred Institution ; for in the reign of Bleddyn ab Cyufyn, who was cotemporary with William the Conqueror, certain laws were enacted for the purification and reform of the manners of the Bards. In a subsequent reign, also—namely, that of Gruffydd ab Cynan, it was deemed requisite to add other laws, more rigorous and effective than those enacted by Bleddyn ; and from the purport of these we may form a very accurate estimation of the profligate and unruly habits of the Welsh minstrels. It was particularly enacted, that neither the Bard nor the humble minstrel should lead the life of a vagabond ; "there were to be no make-bates," says an old historian, "no vagabonds, no ale-house-haunters, no drunkards, no brawlers, no whore-hunters, no thieves, nor companions of such." They were also prohibited from entering into any house, or making satirical songs on any person, without the licence and free-will of the parties concerned. A violation of these salutary restrictions subjected the offender to a rigorous and summary punishment ; for, by a singular severity, every man was made an officer of justice, and became empowered, not only to arrest and punish at discretion, but to seize upon whatever property the offender had in his possession. This statute, the severity of which, in some degree, indicates its necessity, was frequently put in force by the reigning authority of the country, as appears by several commissions directing the better regulation of the order. Thus it would appear, that the sacred character of the Bardic office had become polluted by all the common vices of our nature ; that a long and dark period of civil dissension had caused the degeneration of an Institution, than which nothing, at one time, could be more beautiful or beneficial to the State. But this could not have been actually the case. True it is, that there were

much licentiousness of spirit, and much profligacy of manner, among the minstrels, but we question whether they were extended to the Bards. It is not fair to condemn them unreservedly, upon the presumptive evidence which the deficiency of any remaining works can afford. In those rude times, and subject as Wales was to the continual incursion of the Saxons and Normans, many opportunities must have occurred for the total destruction of the Bardic productions; and we have the best possible reason to believe, that the higher order of Bards was still uncontaminated by the prevailing pestilence; for the high and favoured privileges bestowed upon them by preceding sovereigns, particularly by the great Howel Dda, (or the Good,) were still continued in unmodified extension. The *Bard Teulu*, a court Bard, still held the eighth place in the prince's court. He possessed his land free; the prince supplied him with a horse and a woollen robe, and the princess with linen. He sat next to the governor of the palace at the great court-festivals, upon which occasions it was the duty of the said governor to deliver to him his harp. The Bard also received at such festivals the steward of the household's garment for his fee. The other perquisites and privileges to which the Bards were entitled, by virtue of their sacred calling, were extremely curious, as were the formal ceremonies which they observed in the execution of their duties. Thus, when a song was called for, the *Cadair-vardd*, or the Bard who possessed the badge of the chair, first sang a hymn in glory of God, then followed one in honour of his prince. Having accomplished these, all further exertion devolved upon the *Teuluwr*, or domestic Bard, whose duty it was to amuse the company with any subject of his own se-

lection; and to sing to the princess in her own apartment, at such times as he could be spared from more important duties.

He received from the prince's own hand an ivory chess-board, or a harp; and from the princess, a ring of gold, while his lodging was to be with the governors of the palace. The *merch-gwobr*, or marriage-fine of his daughter, was 120 pence, her nuptial presents were 30s., and her portion £3, all of which were paid out of the royal treasury. In addition to these, the Chief Bard was entitled to the *merch-gwobr* for the daughters of all the inferiors of the faculty within the district of his own residence.

The *Pencerdd*, or Chief Bard, was not an officer of the court, although he occasionally sat in the tenth place. He had his land free, and took precedence of the Court Bard, who only occupied the twelfth seat. His death was valued at 126 cows*; and any injury done him, at 6 cows and 120 pence†.

The regulations enforced by Gruffydd ab Cynan were followed by very beneficial results, for from this time many excellent Bards arose. The cultivation of poetry seems to have been sedulously attended to, although, from the unsettled state of the country, the Bards partook more or less of a military character. Thus, Meilir, who was the Bard of Gruffydd ab Cynan, was a soldier and a statesman, and was sent by that prince to transact a negotiation in England. Gwalchmai, the son of Meilir, says with much exultation, in one of his poems, that he had defended the marches of Wales against the English; and Cynddelw, the Great Bard, as he was styled, was a person eminent for his valour, and lived in the court of Madoc ab Meredydd, prince of Powis.

But in the interim, which we have

* *Leges Wallicæ*, 35 et. seq.

† In early times, the sacred injunction—"Whosoever sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed," was not at all regarded in Wales. In cases of murder, "it was lawfull," says old Sir John Wynne, "for the offender's friends, whosoever they were, to bring £.5 for every man, for a fine to the lord, and to acquit them, so it were not in cases of treason. A damnable custome used in those days in the lordships marches, untill the new ordinance of Wales, made in the 27th yeare of Henry VIII." This "damnable custome," by the way, was not wholly unknown in England, and was very common on the continent during the middle ages.

mentioned, the county of Cardigan produced a Bard, who has been styled by some the *Ovid*, and by others the *Petrarch*, of Wales: we allude to Dafydd ab Gwilym. Born of equivocal parents, the *awen** of the young Bard might have run to waste among the hills, or found employment in the construction of some unnoticed penill, had not his uncle, Llewelyn ab Gwilym, taken him under his protection, and afforded him every encouragement for the cultivation of those talents which subsequently rendered him so conspicuous. From his uncle's house he was transferred to the lordly mansion of Ivor Háel, or Ivor the Generous, who was a kinsman of his father, and an ancestor of the present house of Tredegar. Dafydd experienced all the hearty kindness of his warm-hearted kinsman, who appointed him his steward, and the instructor of his only daughter, although his qualifications for these duties were not, it is probable, of the most obvious description; at least, the inconvenient consequences of one of those appointments soon became apparent, in the mutual attachment that grew up between the poet and his fair charge. What the conduct of Ivor towards the former was, on the discovery of this circumstance, is not known; but he is reported to have lost no time in immuring his daughter within a convent in the isle of Anglesea. Thither she was followed by her devoted swain, who, in the capacity of a servant at a neighbouring monastery, consoled himself, for some time, by offering to his imprisoned mistress the willing tributes of his love-sick muse. But, volatile and fickle, like all other poets, Dafydd soon grew weary of this unproductive enjoyment, and returning to the hospitable mansion of his patron, (where his welcome reception proved the endurance of Ivor's esteem,) he turned his attention to the cultivation of poetry, and to a course of gallantry and flirtation which would not have discredited a modern Exquisite. The result of the one was an election to the chair of the Chief

Bard of Glamorgan—the consequence of the other was a succession of adventures perilous, such only as an improvident and heedless bard would willingly seek and pursue. One of these adventures has been preserved by tradition, and upon this uncertain authority we give it. At one time, Dafydd is said to have possessed no fewer than twenty-four mistresses, to all and each of whom the Bard was, of course, ardently and sincerely attached. He made an assignation with each of them under the same tree, at the same hour, and repairing himself to the spot before the appointed time, he climbed the tree, and sat perfectly concealed among the branches, awaiting, with a merry anxiety, the arrival of his fair friends. They all came nearly at the same moment, and a very curious scene occurred. The ladies were thunderstruck, and each was secretly provoked at the apparently casual appearance of the other. An explanation, however, soon took place; and, in all the angry pettishness of feminine wrath, they vowed the deepest revenge upon the luckless trifler. While their rage was at its acmé, Dafydd disclosed himself, and addressed them with so much ingenuity, that each began to question the other's purity; and a contest commenced, in the heat of which he descended, and quietly decamped, leaving the disputants to settle the matter quietly, or unquietly, among themselves.

But notwithstanding the usual levity of his disposition, Dafydd, in two instances, entertained a sincere, and perhaps an honourable passion, the objects of which, under the apparently fictitious names of Dyddgu and Morvudd, he has celebrated in some of his most fascinating effusions. But in both cases the result was unpropitious to his hopes. The former lady, who is represented to have been endowed with the fairest graces both of person and mind, proved perfectly inaccessible to his impassioned overtures, enforced as they were by all the fascinations of his muse. Morvudd, the other favourite, was the daughter of Madog

* The *awen* was properly the true essence of poetry, or that peculiar condition of the poet's mind and feelings which was caused by the most vivid inspiration.

Llawgam of Anglesey, and has been denominated the Laura of our Cambrian Petrarch. To her he was united by a marriage, somewhat irregularly solemnized, even for the supreme laxity of that rude age; and he continued to live with her, until she was at length snatched from him by her parents, who gave her hand, in a more formal manner, to one Cynvrig Cynin, an old and decrepid dotard, whose great wealth was his sole recommendation. The Bard's mortification at this event, and his inextinguishable passion for Morvudd, appear from several of the poems which he has dedicated to her, and which contain also many strokes of caustic ridicule against her infirm spouse, upon whom he invariably bestows the name of *Bwa Bach*, or the little hunch-back.

But Dafydd was not contented with such revenge only as his muse could supply, for he employed every expedient to procure an interview with Morvudd, whom he at length succeeded in bearing away from her husband. The lovers, however, were speedily overtaken, and our unfortunate Bard was heavily mulcted in a fine, his inability to pay which occasioned his consignment to a prison, where he might have warbled away the remainder of his days, had not his generous countrymen in Glamorganshire discharged the fine, and placed him once more in a condition to enjoy the bright sunshine and the calm shade, and to exercise his poetical abilities with unrestrained license.

Of the character and poems of Dafydd ab Gwilym we have not space to say much. The former has been variously represented; tradition ascribing to him a purity of manners, and a correctness of conduct, which, to judge from his wrappings, he did not always evince. It may not, however, be fair, in all cases, to condemn the man on account of the failings of the poet, neither must the temperament and actions of a child of song be estimated by the cool and calculating standard of common sense. That which is written in the warmth, and under the influence of poetical inspiration, is often discountenanced by the gravity of cooler reflection. And such,

most assuredly, was the case with regard to Dafydd ab Gwilym; for, whatever may be the complexion of the greatest portion of his surviving effusions, there are not wanting in others the most satisfactory evidence of a sound, moral, and religious feeling, highly creditable to the memory of the Bard. Dafydd, it is true, was the perfect slave of his feelings, and those feelings were imbued with all the unreflecting vividness of a truly poetical temperament. He was generous to a fault, grateful even to death for the kindness and protection of his early patrons, and of a disposition too frank and forgiving to continue long at enmity with any one. He lived to a great age, and had the misfortune to survive all his friends and kindred, and more particularly his beloved Morvudd. For her, his love remained unexhausted and unchanged, and he poured forth at her shrine the adorations of his muse with the greatest frequency, and with the most fervent devotion. His declining years were in some degree solaced and smoothed down by the pensive effusions of his muse, which he continued to invoke, even in his dying moments, seeking, in the consolations of her voice, the sweet music of that hope whose home is in heaven. One of his last effusions still remains, and is impressively entitled the "Death-song of the Bard."

Thus may we say of Dafydd ab Gwilym, as of the swans, that he closed his life with a song. But, unlike the swans, his tuneful note was not confined to the hour of dissolution; on the contrary—

Servatur ad imum

Qualis ab incæpto processerit, et sibi constat.

His death is reported to have taken place about the year 1400, at his home at Llanbadarn. His ashes repose at Ystrad Flur, in the county of Cardigan, and his tomb has not wanted the tributary gift of poetry. Some kindly spirit has recorded on it his friendship for the Bard in an epitaph, of which the following version can afford but an imperfect idea:

Sweet Bard! so bless'd by all the Nine,
Why sleep'st thou thus beneath this tree—

This gloomy yew, whose darksome boughs
Now shade alike thy song and thee?

Unsocial yew-tree! He lies near,
Gwilym, Tivy's nightingale!
And his sweet song in silence drear
Shall wake no more the smiling vale.

Of the merit of Dafydd's poems it is scarcely necessary to speak, as the meed of praise awarded by the poet's cotemporaries has received the sanction of four centuries. One peculiarity, however, it may be proper to notice, and more especially as it belongs, in an essential manner, to the character of the Welsh tongue; this is the remarkable nicety with which he adapts the diction to his particular theme. Pre-eminent as the advantages are which his language afforded in this respect, he has availed himself of them with very great effect. Thus, nothing can exceed the harmonious sweetness of some of his love-poems; while, on the other hand, in his description of a thunder-storm, the sound is accommodated to the sense with the most appalling precision. The Bard is also regarded as the inventor of that form of poetical composition called *Cywydd**; and besides the singular merit of his versification, his poems are often pregnant with deep thought,—bold, figurative inventions,—and with those delicate touches of fancy, which peculiarly mark the gifted mind, and can only be properly appreciated where they are exquisitely felt.

Before we conclude this cursory memoir of Dafydd ab Gwilym, we wish briefly to notice his general accomplishments. In this point of view, his poems supply many proofs of such learning as that age was qualified to afford. Allusions to the works of Greece, and Rome, and modern Italy, occur not unfrequently in his writings, and in some cases where his knowledge could not have been derived through the medium of a translation. With the poetry of Petrarch he appears, in particular, to have been well acquainted; and the congeniality of disposition discoverable in the two poets, as well as the painful resemblance of their

Tates, may naturally* account for such a partiality. On one occasion, it deserves also to be noticed, he appears to have given a paraphrastic version of the 10th Ode of the 4th Book of Horace; and passages of the Iliad are often the objects of his allusion. With these, his classical attainments, was united the national accomplishment of playing upon the harp, which he first learned, at an early age, under the tuition of his kinsman Llewellyn ab Gwilym; and it appears from one of his poems, that he was fond of administering, in this manner, to the gratification of his female acquaintance. His personal attractions are represented to have been very considerable: his form was remarkable for its elegance and symmetrical beauty, and his features were open, fair, and handsome. In a word, shortly to sum up an imperfect narrative, Dafydd ab Gwilym possessed, in a favoured degree, the graces both of person and mind; and which, allied as they were to a pre-eminent poetical genius, contributed to place him among the first characters of the age in which he lived, and which he may be justly said to have adorned †.

From the 10th to the latter end of the 12th century, the continual attempts which were made by the English to cast Wales into subjection, prevented the Welsh Bards from the exercise of their formal functions. Those who, in times of peace and security, were the delighters and instructors of the people, now became assistants in one common cause, that, namely, of repelling the incursions of an ambitious and powerful enemy; and, as has already been mentioned, the sacred character and calling of the Bard was, of necessity, profaned by the bearing of arms, although the profanation was abundantly extenuated by the provocation which rendered it necessary. Still, however, the more private and domestic duties of the Bard were eagerly persisted in; they preserved the genealogies of their patrons and chieftains,—they recited their warlike exploits,—celebrated their civil virtues,—eulogized

* Cywydd is one of the most popular species of verse, and consists of seven syllables; it is usually adapted to elegiac subjects.

† Cambro Briton; Vol. III. 142-9.

their magnanimity, their hospitality, their talents, and their personal graces. They likewise performed the mournful office of composing an elegy on the death of the chieftain to whose establishment they appertained; this they sung to the surviving relations, in honour of the dead, reciting the noble families from which the departed lord had sprung, and the noble exploits performed by himself or his ancestors. But the hallowed exaltation of the Bardic character had departed. Circumstances had occurred to produce a woeful degeneration in the once favoured and sacred race, and all that remained were a few scattered instances of a noble and gifted spirit; but without any one relic of that national and reverential sacredness with which the Bard of old was so mystically imbued.

The conquest of Wales by the first Edward gave an extinguishing blow to the feeble remains of Bardism. Not, however, as is usually stated, by exterminating the Bards, but by strictly forbidding them the exercise of their inclination and duties. The gloomy subjection into which the Welsh were cast, by the prowess and policy of the English Justinian, was rendered doubly oppressive by this extension of the conqueror's power; and it was not till *Owain Glyndwr* arose to rescue his country from a yoke which had become unendurable, that the Bards once more resumed their functions, encouraged by the munificence of that hero, and animated by the transitory ray which had dawned upon freedom. But the failure of this last effort of expiring freedom precipitated the Welsh into a state of slavery the most deep and severe. The Bards were prohibited by law from holding any public as-

semblies, or from enjoying any of those privileges which formerly belonged to them. During this dark period, and the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, the genius of poetry was nearly extinguished, or was only employed in soothing the misery of the times by gloomy and obscure predictions of more prosperous days.

But although the sparks of the ancient poetic fire were re-kindled into flames by the union of Wales with England, the spirit of the order of Bardism was irrevocably lost. It had disappeared with the freedom of the Welsh; for no sooner had they ceased to be of themselves a nation, than that sacred order was overthrown, discord usurped the place of national concord and unanimity, and the people became subject to no power but that which was created by their own passions and inclinations. Thus Bardism, properly so called and considered, gradually disappeared, and we have now no tangible traces of the existence of an order once so powerful and beneficial, except the somewhat problematical, but stupendous altars, which are to be found scattered throughout Britain. These, if not actually erected by the Bards, were doubtless constructed by their predecessors the Druids, and are to be viewed as essentially connected with the early Bards of the island.

We have now brought this desultory sketch to a termination, and must reserve, for a future paper, a brief notice of a peculiar and very prominent feature in the history of British Bardism: we allude to the Bardic Congresses. Our translated specimens of Welsh poetry must also be deferred, as we have already, we fear, trespassed too greatly upon the time and patience of our readers.

NEGRO SLAVERY

THE important and interesting subject of Negro Slavery naturally divides itself into two great questions. The *first* relates to the Slave Trade,—and the *second* to the existence of Slavery itself.

It is not our present intention to consider the state of the Slave Trade. We shall take an early opportunity of laying before our readers some particulars concerning the present state of this most guilty traffic.

* Second Report of the Committee of the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions. London. 1825.

Great Britain may be said to have done its own individual part in abolishing the traffic, and in preventing its subjects from embarking in it; yet, as it is still carried on to an incredible extent by foreign powers, it is our imperious duty to use all our influence, which is almost boundless, and which has often been exerted irresistibly in causes of far less moment, to prevail upon foreign powers to cease from the most scandalous outrage which is perpetrated beneath the sun.

It is to the second great question that we now wish to direct the attention of our readers. It is not an object remote, and in some measure independent of our exertions. It is a matter entirely of our own, and relates to the existence of Slavery *within the Colonies subject to the crown of Great Britain*. It is a subject of the deepest interest, and, in importance, second to none that can engage the attention of the country; and at the present moment it is peculiarly interesting, for we are approaching a crisis when something must be done. Slavery, in the West Indies, cannot exist much longer in the same state of unabated severity in which it has so long been endured. That something must be done to mitigate it, is admitted even by the Planters themselves: we shall endeavour to explain to our readers what has been done to remedy this intolerable injustice.

The great and good men who conducted the long and arduous struggle which ended in the abolition of the Slave Trade, were not insensible to the absolute injustice, and the great misery of Slavery itself. They were indeed as hostile to it as to the Slave Trade; but as the latter appeared the most outrageous evil, they resolved, in the first place, to direct their endeavours to procure its abolition. They were afraid that, had they aimed at the redress of both grievances against suffering humanity at once, they might have been disappointed in both. They therefore limited their views to the abolition of the Slave Trade. But this resolution was not adopted *unanimously* by the excellent persons who

formed the Committee for the Abolition. It was opposed by one who was the earliest advocate of the Negro in this country, and who, during his long, spotless, and useful life, unceasingly asserted the title of that injured race to all the rights of man,—we mean Granville Sharp; he rose in the Committee, and with an emphasis which marked his deep conviction of the truth of what he was uttering, said—“As Slavery was as much a crime against the Divine Laws as the Slave Trade, it became the Committee to exert themselves equally against the continuance of both; and he did not hesitate to pronounce all present guilty before God, for shutting those who were then slaves all the world over, out of the pale of their approaching labours.” This was the opinion of that enlightened man, and there is no doubt that all the members of the Committee entertained the same opinions; but, from prudential considerations, they agreed to wave them until their first object was accomplished. And when, after years of protracted struggling, Parliament did at last abolish the detestable traffic in human flesh, it was hoped and believed, by all the friends of humanity, that the Planters of the West Indies, being now deprived of fresh importations, would turn their attention to improve and elevate the condition of the existing slaves. It was expected that our unfortunate fellow-creatures, who differ from us only in colour and in misery, would have been treated no longer as brutes, but as men; that measures would have been taken to enlighten them by education, to improve their morals, to liberate them from the galling whip, and from the thousand miseries to which they were, and we must say, are still subjected.

These hopes and expectations tended to reconcile good men to the idea that slavery should exist for yet a little longer within the British dominions, because they imagined it must exist in a modified and improved state. But year after year passed away without fulfilling these expectations, and nothing was done to improve the miserable condition of the Negroes.

Every attempt which was made, or threatened to be made, by this country to ameliorate their condition was treated with scorn and disrespect. After sixteen years of patient forbearance, it became the imperious duty of those who regarded slavery as a great evil which should be redressed, to unite and come forward to do something to mitigate it in the meantime, and to prepare the way for its final abolition.

With this view, the "Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions" was formed in the year 1823. It was not to be wondered at, yet it was gratifying to observe, that its founders and chief supporters were the same philanthropists who had grown grey in the former struggle, and who were still spared to us to direct and enlighten us by their experienced wisdom. Wilberforce, Clarkson, Allen, Smith, and many others, the tried friends of the cause, are to be found in the names of the Committee. This Society has been indefatigably employed in directing the attention of the public in various ways to the wrongs of the Negro race. They have circulated a great number of publications on the subject. They have likewise had the subject repeatedly brought before Parliament. The weapons which they make use of in this distressing, yet glorious warfare, are truth and reason; they wish to influence the hearts and understandings of their countrymen; we can assure them that that has already been accomplished, and that victory must at last crown their efforts, and, we should devoutly hope, at no very distant period.

But as yet no real improvement has taken place in the condition of the slaves generally. Some partial reforms have indeed been attempted in the Island of Trinidad, but that is all. That our readers may see how far these have come short of the expectations which the abolitionists were entitled to form, it will be necessary to go somewhat into detail; we shall therefore narrate very succinctly the steps that have been taken, within these few years, to further the cause of improvement.

Our readers cannot have forgotten the memorable debate which took

place on Mr Buxton's motion 15th May 1823. On that occasion, the whole subject, in all its bearings, was brought before the House of Commons with the greatest ability and eloquence. Mr Buxton stated, that the object at which he and his friends aimed was "*the extinction of Slavery in nothing less than the whole of the British dominions*"; not, however, the rapid termination of that state—not the sudden emancipation of the Negro, but such preparatory steps, such measures of precaution, as, by slow degrees, and in a course of years, first fitting and qualifying the slave for the enjoyment of freedom, shall gently conduct us to the annihilation of Slavery." And, to carry this object into effect, he brought forward two propositions; the first was, that all children of slaves born after a certain period, should be free. He did not say how long or how short the period should be, but he contended strongly that some such principle should be adopted, because it would hold out a prospect of the termination of Slavery at some period, by a quiet and gradual transition; every year would increase the free-born Negroes, and every year would decrease the number of existing slaves, by death and other causes. But Government could not be persuaded to sanction this most safe, most equitable, and most necessary measure. It is quite evident that some such step must be adopted at last, if Slavery is to be extinguished by gradual and gentle means, and not to be crushed by a sudden and violent revolution. It is, therefore, much to be regretted, that the principle, at least, was not recognized. And then, as to the slaves at present existing, Mr Buxton proposed that Parliament should immediately ameliorate their condition by various salutary regulations. He proposed that they should no longer be considered as mere chattels in the eye of law; that their evidence should be received *quantum valcat*; that marriage should be enforced and respected; and that it should no longer be in the power of a cruel master to separate a Negro from his wife and family, and sell him to a purchaser in perhaps a distant place; that the Sunday should be allowed for repose and religious instruction;

and that the Sunday markets should be abolished; and, finally, that the use of the whip, as a stimulant to labour, should be discontinued. These were some of the improvements which he suggested. That it should be necessary to suggest such ameliorations proves the degraded and oppressed state of the Negro: that his testimony should not be received,—that it should be in the power of his master to dissolve by force, and at his pleasure, the most sacred ties,—and that he should have it in his power to flog and beat him without limitation, are monstrous and intolerable wrongs.

Mr Buxton therefore concluded with the following motion: “That the state of Slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution, and of the Christian religion, and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British colonies with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned.”

Mr Canning, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and the organ of Government on this occasion, admitted that many of the suggestions of Mr Buxton were just and necessary, but moved a series of resolutions, the same in effect, but expressed more guardedly; they were as follow:

1st, That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the Slave population in his Majesty's colonies. 2d, That through a determined and persevering, but, at the same time, judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects. 3d, That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose, at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.

The Honourable Secretary being aware that these resolutions would not be very acceptable to the West Indians, and contemplating the pos-

sibility of resistance on their part, stated, “I must add, that any resistance which might be manifested to the express and declared wishes of Parliament,—any resistance, I mean, which should partake, not of reason, but of contumacy,—would create a case, (a case, however, which I sincerely trust will never occur,) upon which his Majesty's Government would not hesitate to come down to Parliament for counsel.”

Before leaving this debate, we will just advert to the professions of the West-Indian party in Parliament. Mr Ellis, who stood forward as their advocate, and is himself a great proprietor, said, “With respect to many of the regulations alluded to by the Honourable gentleman who opened this debate, I believe that no objections will be offered on the part of the Planters in the West-Indies.”

And with respect to a part of this subject, which much interests every man in this country who is possessed of the common feelings of humanity, viz. the use of the cart-whip, Mr Ellis said, “I do not believe that the whip is used as a stimulant to labour. I believe it will be found that the whip is generally placed in the hands of the Driver, who is always a confidential Negro, more as a badge of authority than as an instrument of coercion. I admit that it may be, as the appellation denotes, the remnant of a barbarous custom, but it is in fact, considered at present only as a symbol of office*.”

We shall have occasion to see immediately how completely misinformed Mr Ellis was upon this point, and that the West Indians themselves consider the use of the cart-whip as identified with the existence of Slavery.

This debate was of the utmost importance to the question in a variety of ways. It elucidated fully the views of the abolitionists; And, what was of more importance, as these were already well known, it displayed the views and feelings of Government. The Government and Parliament were pledged, by their resolutions, to do something effectual and decisive, and that with all expedition, to raise the slave population to

* See Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. IX. for a very accurate Report of the Debate.

a fitness for participating in the same rights and privileges as their fellow-subjects. We have every reason to believe that the Government was sincere in the pledge which they thus gave to the country; they stood on difficult and delicate ground, and had a powerful interest in Parliament, and many insuperable prejudices out of it, and abroad, to contend with. Yet having staked themselves to do something effectual on the question, it was their duty to go forward manfully and decisively. We shall now examine what has been done. Whether all has been done that might have been done, or that ought in the circumstances to have been done, we pretend not to say; but we believe we can say, with truth, that the expectations of the country have been much disappointed.

An Order in Council was framed, with the view of being sent to the Colonies, in which several ameliorations in the condition of the Negro were embodied. Several measures were included in the circulars which were in consequence issued to the Governors of the Colonies. *The first* was, that means should be taken to secure the due observance of the Sabbath. *The second*, that the use of the cart-whip should be abolished. *The third*, that the flogging of women, a most cruel and indecent practice, should be abolished. *The fourth*, that the punishment inflicted by owners and overseers on males should be regulated. *The fifth*, that measures should be adopted to give encouragement and validity to the marriage contract. *The sixth*, that the sale of slaves should be subjected to regulations. *The seventh*, that the property of slaves should be protected, and their right of making bequests secured. *The eighth*, that facilities should be afforded to manumission; and *the ninth and last*, that the evidence of slaves should be admitted, under regulations and restrictions. These amendments were very well, so far as they went, but they were far too general and undefined, in many particulars, to produce any great alteration or improvement in the condition of the slave. They were limited to the small colony of Trinidad, containing a population of only a few thousand slaves. But Earl Bathurst, in a despatch to

the Governor of Barbadoes, stated long ago, that "similar provisions to those which are contained in the Trinidad Order will be extended to Demerara and Essequibo, Berbice, St. Lucia, the Cape, and Mauritius, with such modifications as may be necessary to adapt them to the Dutch and French laws, which are respectively in force in those possessions." But as yet, we are sorry to learn, that Government have not carried their intentions into effect with respect to any one of these colonies. The Order has been confined to Trinidad alone, a small and inconsiderable island, while, in our other possessions, 800,000 slaves are groaning under unmitigated bondage.

The able and interesting Report of the Society for the Mitigation and Abolition of Slavery now before us, furnishes us with a number of statements as to the reception of this Order of Council in Trinidad. It likewise informs us of the irritation excited in the other colonies, by what was considered by them as great presumption on the part of the British Government in sending out such an Order. The West-Indian Planters seem to regard it as the very height of impertinence, that the British Parliament should dare to discuss the subject. These gentlemen cannot perceive what should induce one set of men thus to interfere, to rescue others from the misery, the degradation, and the suffering of Slavery. We shall shortly call the attention of our readers to these details, and they will prove, that if the condition of the slave population is ever to be improved,—if all the dangers and calamities which are inherent in the present state of things are to be averted, it must be, not by the proceedings of the Colonial Legislatures, for it is evident they never will nor can enlighten the subject as it should be taken up, but by the prompt and decisive interference of the Parliament of Great Britain.

The white Planters of the Island of Trinidad universally and strenuously remonstrated against the imposition of the Order in Council, alleging that it was pregnant with inevitable ruin to all their interests. "We have read (they say) with grief and dismay the Order in Council declared to be intended for the improvement of

the condition of the slaves in the Colonies ;" and they earnestly implored the Governor to stay the promulgation and execution of the Order. The Governor's orders were, however, peremptory ; and in June 1824 the order was promulgated, and became the law of the island.

A Committee of Planters was afterwards appointed to frame a Memorial to the King in Council : a paper of remarks was published by them in the *Trinidad Gazette*, in which they assert, " that the Order in Council has made an entire revolution in the system under which slaves were heretofore managed and governed. Changes are always to be deprecated, especially in a slave colony, where the whole of the slave population are deprived of their natural rights ; and nothing but the force of habit, and a brutish, indistinct idea of the superiority and fixed power of their masters, keep them in awe and subjection." One great source of discomfort to the slave is stated to be the change produced by the Order in Council in the *old mode* of punishment, " so well established, recognized, and understood by the slave ;" (alluding, of course, to the abolition of flogging as it respects the women, and of the driving-whip as it respects both sexes.) " By those," they remark, " who have most considered the *subject in this colony*, the use of the whip is believed to be identified with the existence of *Slavery*." The attempt, on the part of the Colonial Government, to substitute new and different modes of coercion for that of the cart-whip, they regard as an admission that slaves cannot be expected to work without fear of punishment :—" an admission (it is added) hardly worth the trouble of noticing, were it not that the elementary principles of *Slavery* appear almost unknown in England, where the popular arguments urged by the philanthropists are mostly deduced from, and applicable only to, man in a state of freedom."

This remonstrance proves how completely opposed the Planters of the West Indies are to every, even the smallest, relaxation in the harsh and cruel method of treating the slaves. In the minds of the humane and enlightened Planters of Trinidad,

the use of the whip is believed to be identified with the existence of *Slavery*. They have, therefore, read, with " grief and dismay," an Order which puts down that instrument as a stimulant to labour, and forbids them to *cart-whip females* ; and they lament over the demoralizing effects which are to be produced by kindness, conciliation, and humanity, instead of the old, recognized, and well-understood system of coercion, tyranny, and oppression.

In the other Colonies, the utmost hostility has been shewn to every plan for improving the treatment of the slaves, and the greatest animosity has been displayed towards all those who have taken an interest in this question. In these Colonies where the movement of the popular mind is free and unfettered, this has been plainly manifested. Indeed, some of our Colonies have gone so far as to threaten to rebel,—to throw off all connection with that unnatural country which supports and protects them, but which has used the freedom to offer them advice they would do well to profit by ; and, instead of doing any thing to ameliorate the condition of their unfortunate slaves, they have consumed their time in angry invectives against the great and the good men of this country, who more truly consult their interests by the measures they propose, than these short-sighted Planters imagine.

In Barbadoes, where the slave code is perhaps the most barbarous of any other existing in the West Indies, a proposal was introduced to repeal some of those cruel and sanguinary laws which have so long disgraced its statute-book. The mover of these resolutions, which were of the most insignificant description, had no chance of obtaining a hearing from the legislators he was addressing, without soothing and tranquillizing their feelings by the most unmeasured abuse of all those persons in this country who had even ventured to insinuate that it was possible for a planter to maltreat his slave. The West-Indian newspapers represent this sapient Senator to have said, " The diabolical falsehoods, and infamous aspersions, of a few interested and designing hypocrites, moving in terrific phalanx, to the total

annihilation of the white inhabitants of the West Indies, marked them out, in his opinion, as a *vindictive crew*, indulging the abominable desire to cast headlong into the gulf of destruction, or endless misery, so large a portion of their fellow-creatures, equally with themselves the followers of Christ."—"No justification can they have in their hellish design, but that which originated in their own dark and interested souls."

He then talks of the Society for the Mitigation of Slavery, and of the excellent and illustrious persons composing it, "as a detestable institution, which, keenly and immovably bent on your destruction, has, with consummate ingenuity, erected, and set in motion against you, a tremendous machinery, throwing out at each ebullition misery and woe."

All this abuse was, however, insufficient to reconcile the Assembly of Barbadoes to the alterations proposed; after two months of stormy discussion, the measure was sent up to the Council, but it was found so defective, and so disfigured by severity, that the Council rejected it, as being calculated to produce a worse impression of Barbadian humanity than if no change had been attempted.

But the Barbadians did not confine their animosity towards the friends of the Negroes to the abuse contained in their flowery harangues; their spirit displayed itself in the most disgraceful outrages against all who seemed interested in the amelioration of the Negro's moral or religious condition. Our readers will remember the discussion which took place in Parliament within these few weeks, relative to the destruction of the Methodist chapel at Bridgeton, Barbadoes, and the violent expulsion of the Missionary, Shrewsbury, from the island. We were extremely gratified to observe the strong and decided condemnation expressed by Mr Canning of that most outrageous and disgraceful proceeding; and it was likewise consolatory to learn that Government was determined to extend the strong protection of its arm over the Missionaries employed in the islands.

But these outrages were followed by others. We quote from the Report:

Mr Rayner, another Missionary, went

from St. Vincent's to Barbadoes. He applied, in the first instance, to the Governor for protection; but this application was very coldly received, and no hope of effectual protection was afforded to him. Mr Rayner, therefore, did not dare to land, on account of the threats of the leaders of the former mob. Such is the language of the Wesleyan Missionary Society's Report. "One zealous man," it is stated, "sat on the shore a whole night, with a loaded pistol, to shoot him had he left the vessel. The vessel itself was menaced with an attack of boats, and was obliged to seek protection under the guns of a ship of war." The congregation, also, which Mr Shrewsbury left behind him, and which continued to meet in a private house for the purposes of worship and mutual edification, were threatened with violence. The former mob announced their purpose of celebrating the anniversary of the destruction of the chapel, by razing the obnoxious house to the ground. This was prevented by the interference of the Governor and the Magistrates; but the latter have forbidden any more meetings to be held. In short, the whole account which has been given to the public by the Methodist Missionary Society, proves the existence, in Barbadoes, of a state of lawlessness, and a deep and settled hostility to the religious instruction of the negro and coloured population, of whom the Methodist congregation was chiefly composed.

In Jamaica, likewise, the Order in Council was laid before the Assembly, but nothing was done in consequence. There was indeed one measure of reform, and one only, which was introduced, viz. a Bill "to enable slaves to give evidence, in certain cases, of crime *against slaves*, (not against white persons,) and of criminal attempts to excite rebellion and insurrection, and of uttering seditious language." But even this Bill, though most jealously guarded, and extremely defective in its provisions, was thrown out by a majority of 34 to 1.

The proceedings in the Colonies, which have now been noticed, speak the temper and feeling of all the rest. The proceedings in Demerara cannot be forgotten. Is it possible, then, to expect that any thing will be done by the Colonial Legislatures, to ameliorate the condition of the slaves? What does the whole experience of the last forty years teach? It proves that the Colonists

are positively determined to retain their slaves in the same degraded state in which they now exist. They forget that this cannot be done much longer, and they are blind to the fearful danger that attends the attempt to keep them in unrelaxed bondage. The Negroes are men; a conviction of their rights is gradually spreading among them; let their injuries be effaced and atoned for before that conviction is general; let kindness and religious instruction displace cruelty and ignorance, and the transition to freedom may be safe and harmless. But if these means shall be delayed, the Planters may find that the time for employing them has gone by, and that the day of retribution will come, when they shall be called to a fearful reckoning.

But seeing that nothing is to be expected from the Colonial Legislatures, now is the time for the Government and Parliament of Great Britain to redeem their pledge, and so do something to mitigate the bondage of the unhappy negro race. The very case of contumacy which Mr Canning said would justify and require Parliamentary interference, has occurred; and the question is, in what way should the Parliament of this country interfere?

There are *two* ways in which Parliament may interpose. The first, and the most effectual and desirable, is by *direct legislation for the Colonies*. Parliament may, in this way, to a great extent, if not altogether, redress the wrongs of the Negroes. It may entitle the slaves to the benefit of religious and moral instruction *as a right*, which is now dependent on the will and caprice of their masters. It may abolish the use of the whip, protect the women, encourage and sanction marriage, and, in short, it is in the power of Parliament to take whatever steps are necessary to ameliorate the condition of the Negroes, so as gradually to fit and prepare them for final and complete emancipation. We are aware that this power of the British Parliament has been called in question by the West Indians, and they have had the temerity and folly to threaten that they would withdraw their allegiance, if any attempt should be made to enforce the paramount authority of

the mother country. If the situation of the West Indies be somewhat dangerous, even at present, though the power and influence of this great country be exercised to give it stability, we should much fear, were that withdrawn, it would be critical indeed. The Planters might well tremble, if we were to take them at their word; they might repent it too late. But nothing can be more absurd, nor more unfounded, than the attempt to dispute the authority of the British Parliament. It is founded in the very constitution of the Colonies, and has been constantly exercised on all occasions.

We regret that the Session of Parliament which has just closed has passed away without producing any measures of improvement to the slave. The next Session will not, we fondly hope, be suffered to elapse without something decisive being done or attempted. We observe that Mr Brougham has pledged himself to bring forward a Bill containing various important and salutary improvements, provided it be not done by some other person. There is certainly no man better qualified for this great task than that highly-gifted and most indefatigable Senator—no man more devoted to the cause of emancipation, nor better acquainted with the subject. Yet there are other hands in which we should rather wish to see it, and these are, the hands of Government. Indeed, if they wish to vindicate their own authority, to put an end to that insolent and intemperate spirit which has been displayed towards their measures, they are bound to come forward and redeem the pledge which they have given to the country, that something effectual should be done. They may rest assured of it, they have the voice of the country with them; and we hope, that, in order to show this, and to strengthen the hands of whatever party shall bring forward this most momentous question, the people will meet before Parliament assembles next year, and send up numerous and urgent petitions.

There is, however, another method by which Parliament can proceed, in order to force the West Indians to deal more justly with their slaves, a

method more indirect, yet it would be effectual; and that is, *by abolishing the monopoly given to the West-Indian trade.*

This monopoly is at present supported, *first*, by a bounty of upwards of six shillings per cwt. on the export of refined sugar, and which necessarily raises the price, not only of all such sugar exported, but of all the sugar consumed at home, to the extent of the bounty*; and, *secondly*, a protecting duty of ten shillings a cwt. more on East-Indian than on West-Indian sugar; thus favouring sugar grown by slave labour, in preference to that grown by free labour, to the extent of about 50 per cent. in the cost of the article, and tending to exclude the latter from our consumption, and to force us to consume the former. The price of sugars must be much raised by the operation of the protecting duty, but it is estimated, that, for many years, the cost of the West-Indian monopoly, arising from the sugar bounty alone, has amounted to £1,200,000 annually. The Report says,

It is this large sum (in addition to whatever enhancement of price may be produced by the protecting duty,) paid by the people of this country to the growers of sugar, over and above what that sugar would otherwise cost, which does, in fact, chiefly maintain, unimpaired and unreformed, the wretched system of colonial bondage. The people of England are therefore the real upholders of Negro Slavery. Without their large contribution to its support, it could not fail to be rapidly mitigated, and eventually extinguished.

This fact is not so generally known as it should be. The people of this country are not aware that they, by means of their bounties and protecting duties, are the chief oppressors of the Negro race. Of the inexpediency and impolicy of such duties in a commercial point of view, it is needless to speak; it is admitted on all hands, even by the Government, which is now removing bounties and protecting duties to a large extent from many other branches of commerce. We are made to pay much dearer for sugar than we should do,

were the market open to East-Indian sugar on the same terms as it is to West Indian. In order to put money into the pocket of the Planters, we are, in fact, content to tax ourselves annually to a large amount.

But we wish to direct the attention of our readers to the manner in which our forced encouragement of West-India sugar acts upon the slave population. The West Indians have contended that the high price of sugar was necessary, not so much for themselves, as for the comfort of their slaves; and that in proportion as their gains are great, the comforts of their slaves are numerous. That this is a complete misrepresentation has been unanswerably demonstrated in the present Report. The proposition which is maintained in it is directly opposite, and it is this: "That whatever tends to raise the price of slave-grown produce of our Colonies, tends, in the same degree, to rivet the chains, and to add to the labour and misery of the slave; while the depression of its price operates beneficially in relaxing his bonds, abating his toil, and enlarging his comforts."

We have not space for the clear and convincing reasoning by which this proposition is most conclusively made out. We can only give a brief outline of it.

It is, first of all, to be observed, that such is the favourable nature of the soil and climate in the West Indies, that the labour of a few days in the year is amply sufficient to provide the slaves with the means of comfortable subsistence. This fact has been stated by every colonial writer, from Mr Bryan Edwards to Mr Foster Barham. They have only differed as to the quantity of time required for this purpose; some stating it at seven days, and others at twelve or fourteen in the year; and down to the year 1816, the greatest number of days allowed to the slaves for cultivating their provision-grounds, (exclusive of Sundays,) in any of the islands, was from fourteen to sixteen; and this small space of time, it was affirmed in the evidence laid by the West-Indian party before the Privy Council and

* This bounty has, by a late Act of Parliament, been reduced to about half of its amount, but that circumstance only affects our argument in a very small degree.

Parliament, not only enabled the slaves generally to live in comfort, but afforded many the means of procuring luxuries, and even of amassing wealth. Lately, however, the number of days allowed to the slaves has been increased in some of the Colonies, as in Jamaica, to twenty-six, and in Tobago to thirty-five, exclusive of Sundays; and it is in this way that the slaves generally are supported, by drawing their food from the spot of ground allotted to them. A few herrings, and a little salt fish, are likewise served out in some of the Colonies, but in quantities so small as merely to serve as a seasoning to their food. Thus it is evident that the maintenance of the slaves is quite independent, or nearly so, of the return for the sugars.

It is evident, that if the price of slave labour is raised in value, the difficulty of manumission is increased, by raising its price. But it is in a more direct way that high prices of Colonial produce operate on the unfortunate slave. It is the natural effect of the high price of any article to stimulate its increased production, while the effect of low prices is necessarily to check its production. But in our Colonies, where the slave population cannot be augmented by importation, it is impossible to increase production without adding to the labour of the slave. An increased quantity of sugar and coffee can be raised only, either by abridging the time allowed him for cultivating his provision-ground, or by increasing his labour; while, on the other hand, low prices, by diminishing the temptation to increase the production of sugar and coffee, have the effect to lighten the labour of the slave, and so to improve his strength and condition.

The growth and preparation of sugar is a most laborious and exhausting process; and it is found, that the decrease of life and health among the Negro population bears an almost exact proportion to the degree in which the cultivation of sugar is carried on. In Colonies where it is not grown, the slaves are found to increase their numbers just as the inhabitants do in North and South America; and, in fact, in almost every country of the world, ex-

cept in the British sugar Colonies of the West Indies; while in all those Colonies where sugar is cultivated, they decrease with a rapidity proportioned to the quantity of sugar grown.

In the Bahamas, (says the Report,) where no sugar is grown, the slaves increase—they increase rapidly! In Barbadoes, where the proportion of sugar to the population is least, they increase, though in a small degree. In St. Kitt's and Jamaica, where the proportion of sugar is greater than in Barbadoes, there is a considerable, though not so large a decrease as in St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, and Demarara, where the proportion of sugar is the largest. The decrease proceeds at a more rapid rate; at a rate, in some of them, which would unpeople the earth in half a century.

It is thus evident, that the culture of sugar is most pernicious and destructive to the labourers engaged in it. But it is imagined by many, that this produce constitutes the real wealth of the West Indies, and undoubtedly it has enriched many; but this partial and individual good has been gained at the expense of much general evil. The gambling speculations, and ruinous fluctuations to which the sugar trade is subject, have ruined many; and, in consequence of the culture of it, the Islands of the West Indies have been retarded in the career of real improvement in an inconceivable degree. Their agriculture has been kept in the most wretched state,—the soil exhausted,—and the slaves have been subjected to sufferings and privations which it would be now desirable to pass over in silence, if it were not that the only hope of redress lies in the frequent repetition of the subject.

We are tempted to quote the following somewhat lengthy extract, from the Report already so often referred to, which contains a masterly view of the consequences likely to follow from removing the bounties and protecting duties:

The first effect of the removal of restrictions would be, that the colonist would be induced to withdraw from sugar cultivation (which is at once the most exhausting to the soil, and the most oppressive to the slave of any) his inferior soils, and to employ them in pasture, or in the growth of other articles;

of a less onerous description. By reserving his best soils only for sugar, its remunerating price would be lowered, and his profits of course raised. But the necessity of the case would force upon him other improvements. He would be obliged to become resident. That curse of the West Indies, a non-resident proprietary, would cease; the heavy cost of agency would be saved; the ruinous effect arising from the unfaithfulness and disobedience of agents, frustrating every designed amelioration, would be stopped; the plough and various other articles of machinery would then be brought into use, and would both lessen the expense of culture and lighten the labour of the slaves. It is quite astonishing, that the plough should not have been adopted in the West Indies. This, in common with many other evils of the system, is owing to slavery. If an English farmer was obliged to keep, during the whole year, all the hands he required for harvest, he too might be tempted to occupy them in turning up the soil with the hoe, instead of employing cattle and machinery in this branch of husbandry. In his altered circumstances, the Planter would feel the necessity of making the culture of provisions, and the raising of cattle and live stock, a principal object of attention. He would feel the necessity also of relieving the women from that constant and oppressive drudgery of field labour, which smites them with barrenness and abridges their lives. He would allow them to pay an adequate share of attention to their children and their domestic concerns. He would introduce a variety of economical and moral improvements, which are obviously practicable, and under the influence of which the West Indies could not fail rapidly to improve. The population would increase; and, as they increased, their condition would gradually approach to that of free labourers. The property of the Planter would be no longer estimated by the number of his slaves, who would sink in value, and whose manumission would become rapidly progressive, but by his land, which, as population multiplied, would proportionably rise in value; and eventually his income might be derived, not from the uncertain results which attend the present unnatural state of things, but from a land-rent paid by Black or White farmers managing their own concerns. The West Indies would then be able to compete in the sale of their produce with any other country in the world; and the West-Indian planter would find the improvement of his income to keep pace with the progress of

those reforms which would, at the same time, most effectually promote the happiness, and exalt the moral and social condition of his unhappy bondsmen.

In order to bring about this happy and desirable change to its full extent, a lapse of years, under the most favourable circumstances, must doubtless be required; but as long as we continue to hold out such encouragements as we do for the growth of sugar, no improvement can be expected. It will therefore afford another inducement to Parliament to investigate this subject. The most praiseworthy improvements have been introduced into our commercial affairs during the last Session of Parliament, and Ministers are entitled to the gratitude of the country for the liberality and the justness of the views adopted by them. Indeed, towards the Colonies themselves they have acted in the wisest manner, by throwing open their ports to other nations besides the mother country. But all the financial and commercial regulations which have been adopted sink into nothing when compared with this, which so nearly affects the lives and comforts of so many thousands of human beings, of whose ameliorations there can be little hope while things remain as they are; but under a new and improved system, the amelioration of the Negroes could not fail to be rapid: and while, by the reduction of duties, we should obtain sugar at a cheaper rate, what a market for British goods might be opened in Hindostan, and how might the civilization and improvement of that extensive region be likewise accelerated by our extensive commerce!

We have left ourselves room to notice only one objection which has been often adduced against the emancipation of the Negroes,—that if they were free, they would not work; that such is their incurable indolence, that if not stimulated to work by the whip, they would do nothing, but would either starve, or subsist upon what they could plunder.

This is an argument which can be refuted by unanswerable facts: but even supposing that it could not, and supposing that the Negro really was insensible to all the common motives of human exertion, how does he

come to be so? Is it the constitution of his nature? or is it the consequence of the oppression and degradation to which he has been subjected for ages? We shall immediately shew, that the Negro can exert himself with as much effect as his white brethren, and therefore it cannot be said that he is by nature either morally or physically incapable of exertion. It is, then, because he has been oppressed and degraded that he is perhaps at the present moment unfitted for freedom. But is it not cruel and unfeeling, that this should be stated as an argument against his emancipation?—that they who have so deeply injured him, as to render him incapable of tasting the sweets of freedom, should plead still their injustice as a reason for still farther continuing it? So far from defending the existence of Slavery, this should be its bitterest reproach, that it protects itself by its very enormities.

It is, however, established by a multitude of indisputable facts, that the Negroes are perfectly capable of exertion in a state of freedom, and that they display just as much activity and wisdom as any others of the human race would do under similar disadvantageous circumstances.

In the first place, let us look to Hayti. There we see a nation composed of Negroes, who, under the fostering wing of Freedom, are rapidly advancing in wealth and power, and are continually organizing institutions for the civilization and improvement of the people. They paid dearly, it is true, for these blessings. They had to endure years of sanguinary war of terror and alarm, from domestic enemies, and from foreign invasion, before they obtained them; and no man can desire to see a repetition of these dreadful scenes. These circumstances were extremely unfavourable to the cultivation of those habits of industry and exertion on which the prosperity of every country mainly depends; what then has that extensive Colony lost by all these calamities, seeing that they were the throes which attended the birth of Freedom? The Haytians have gained beyond all calculation;

they have ever since supported themselves without the least assistance; and the country has gone on progressively increasing in population, in wealth, and growing in wisdom and civilization. We have only to attend to the facts. In the year 1803, the population of the Island was estimated at 400,000, from a census taken by order of the Haytian Government; last year the population appears now to amount to 935,000, so that it has much more than doubled within the last twenty years, which is a rapidity of increase hardly to be paralleled in any part of the globe. It is true, sugar is not now exported; but by the official returns, it appears that *three millions Sterling* of merchandize were imported into Hayti last year, all of which must have been paid for by the produce of Haytian labour. These facts prove the capability of the Negro race.

But we have a second evidence of their capacity for exertion, afforded by what takes place within our own colonies. In all of them there are numbers of emancipated Africans, who have procured their freedom in various ways. The free black and coloured population is more numerous than our readers are aware of. They are, it is true, a contemned and degraded race,—their colour is a badge which for ever excludes them from all association with the whites,—their efforts are cramped and limited by oppressive regulations, and they are excluded from all public employment, either civil or military. “The very lowest white,” says Mr Edwards, “holds it an abomination even to eat bread with them*.” Yet, though contemned and degraded by these disgraceful laws and prejudices, these free Negroes contrive, not only to support themselves, but many of them acquire much property, and are distinguished for their worth and integrity. What might not be expected from such a race under more favourable and just circumstances!

To give an idea of the numbers and respectability of this class of men, we may add, that in Trinidad they are very numerous, and possess *a full half* of the property of the island. In

* App. to Edwards' History.

Grenada they are more than three times as numerous as the whites. In Jamaica, also, their number is said to be 40,000, which far exceeds that of the white inhabitants; and all these maintain themselves, and many are wealthy.

These facts, and many more could be added, demonstrate that the argument much relied upon by the West Indians, that the Negroes, if free, would not work, is founded upon misrepresentation. But let us not be misunderstood. Though we feel warranted in contending that the Negroes have no natural incapacity for freedom, yet we do not advocate any rash or precipitate measure of immediate emancipation. If the state of the slave population was such as to admit of immediate emancipation, with advantage to themselves and with safety to the white inhabitants and their property, we should loudly protest against the delay of a single hour in doing this great act of justice. But, alas! we are aware that some preparatory measures are necessary before the Negroes are capable of making a full and advantageous use of the unspeakable blessings of freedom,—so much the more odious is that system which has thus unfitted them for these blessings. We therefore maintain, that these preparatory measures ought to be set about instantly. Increase the knowledge, the comforts, and the privileges of the slave. But will the Planter do so? He knows too well, that knowledge and Slavery cannot co-exist. This great duty must therefore be performed by the Parliament of Britain, and with it, too, must lie the tremendous responsibility that may, nay, that must attend, any procrastination.

The abolitionists are accused, by many timid and indecisive persons in this country, of being indifferent to the interests of the white inhabitants of the colonies, by agitating this question at all. The abolitionists are not so unjust as to wish to benefit one class of their fellow-creatures at the expense of another, and therefore they have always contended, that, even though it was not easy to perceive what compensation is due to one man for restoring to another his natural rights unjustly withheld,

yet that the West Indians ought to be compensated to the full extent of the loss they might suffer. The toleration of Slavery is a national sin, and the redress should be national. In point of fact, however, the abolitionists do consult the true interests of the white inhabitants themselves. These men are wilfully blind, and the abolitionists would enlighten them, if possible. They feel that Slavery is so abhorrent to all religion, and reason, and nature, that it cannot last; the present aspect of the world threatens its extinction ere long, at least wherever civilization and Christianity have spread; and, therefore, for the sake of their own safety, the abolitionists would beseech the Planters, before it be too late, to change their conduct, and to treat their Negroes, not as brute-beasts, but as men and as brethren. We hope they will not continue deaf to our salutary advice, and insensible to our solemn warnings. The principles of freedom are shooting fast and strong in their near neighbourhood. Within the last twenty years, numberless free states have there been formed, in all of which Slavery has been abolished, and will not that circumstance affect the question to an inconceivable extent?

If any thing is to be done, it must be conceded to the general, and loudly-expressed voice of the people. Let them speak out, and their demands will be heard and granted. As it is, therefore, of the utmost consequence to enlighten and inform the public mind, we would recommend to all who are interested in the question to bestir themselves in procuring and circulating the publications and reports of the Society. In this way, much good may be done at a very small cost; and we are happy to learn, that the Society for the abolition in this city is about to open a library for the circulation of books and tracts upon the subject. It was by this means that the long and arduous struggle for the abolition of the Slave Trade was brought to a victorious termination, and there can be no doubt that similar means will bring about the present improvement of the Negro's condition, and ultimately deliver him from his bitter bondage.

WORKS PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

LONDON.

Mrs Hemans has in the press a Poem, entitled "The Forest Sanctuary; with Hays of other Lands." It is the tale of a Spanish exile, who flies from the religious persecutions of the 16th century, and takes refuge in the wilds of America, where he relates his own story.

Mr T. S. Davies, private teacher of Mathematics, Bristol, has ready for press, a course of "Studies in Plane Geometry." We understand that Mr D. has also in preparation, "Some Illustrations of the Common-Sense System of Philosophy."

The eighth volume of the British Anthology, with Mr Westall's designs, will be completed early this month.

"The Rising Village," a Poem, by Oliver Goldsmith, a descendant of the family of the author of "The Deserted Village," is nearly ready.

Mr Westall's Designs for Cowper's Poems are newly engraved; they are (with the Poems) nearly ready for delivery.

Mr Holland has in the press a new Tale, entitled "Moderation."

The author of the Picturesque Promenade round Dorking has in the press a volume of Tales, Essays, Sketches, and Readings.

Excerpta Aristophanica, with Prefaces, Notes, Critical and Explanatory, and occasional Translations; and Excerpta Oratorica, or Selections from the Greek Orators, intended to confirm and illustrate the views offered in the preceding volumes, of the Politics, the Philosophy, Drama, Customs, Manners and State of Society of Ancient Athens, are preparing for publication.

A Gardener's Quarterly Register and Magazine of Rural and Domestic Improvement, is announced—London's Encyclopedia of Gardening is just ready.

Literary Dissections of Medical history, in 3 vols. small 8vo., are nearly ready for publication.

Another new Quarterly Magazine is about to be started: it professes to avoid politics, and to be the production principally of young scholars who have left the Universities, and are preparing for other pursuits.

The "Complete Servant" will be published in a few days.

The lately-discovered work of Milton is just ready for publication.

In the course of July will be published, a Manual of Classical Bibliography;

VOL. XVII.

comprising a copious detail of the various Editions, Translations into the English, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and, occasionally, other Languages; Commentaries, and Works, Critical and Illustrative, of the Greek and Latin Classics, by Joseph William Moss, B.A., of Magdalen-Hall, Oxford.

The new volume of Poems, by the author of the Improvisatrice, will be published in a day or two.

Mr Nash's Views and Illustrations of His Majesty's Palace at Brighton are now just ready.

Suggestions on the mode of determining the degree of Security to be placed on Vaccination, as a preventive of Smallpox, published in the form of a Letter to the Secretary of the Home Department, will speedily be published.

Watt's Poetical Album, or Register of Modern Fugitive Poetry, is now just ready.

The Poetical and Dramatic Works of Christopher Marlowe, 2 vols. crown 8vo., are nearly ready.

The Letters of Marshal Conway, from 1714 to 1784, embracing the period when he was Commander of the Forces, and Secretary of State, will be published in a few days.

Mr Moore's Life of Sheridan, so long announced, is expected to appear in a few days.

Mr Charles Mills has in the press the History of Chivalry, or Knighthood and its Times, in 2 vols. 8vo.

The English Flora. By Sir James E. Smith, President of the Linnæan Society, &c. &c. Vol. III. is just ready. The work will be completed in 5 vols.

A Memoir of the Life of the late John Bowdler, Esq., with some Account of the late Thomas Bowdler, Esq., one vol. 8vo. will be published in a few days.

Mr Christie, a Member of the Society of Dilettanti, has in the press, Disquisitions upon the Painted Greek Vases, and their probable connexion with the Shows of the Eleusinian and other Mysteries.

Sermons of the late Rev. John Jortin, D.D., Archdeacon of London, Rector of St. Dunstan in the East, and Vicar of Kensington, abridged by the Rev. George Whittaker, M. A., in 3 vols. 8vo., are nearly ready.

The History of the principal Transactions in British India, during the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings, by Henry T. Prinsep, of the Bengal Civil Service, will be published in a few days.

Sonnets, Recollections of Scotland, and other Poems, by a Resident of Sherwood Forest, are nearly ready.

A work entitled "The Cheltenham Anthology ; consisting of Translations from the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish ; and Original Poems ; edited by W. H. Halpin," is announced as being in the press.

The Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King's Theatre and Theatre Royal Drury-lane, in 2 vols. 8vo., are just ready.

Legends of the North, or the Feudal Christmas ; a Poem, by Mrs H. Rolls, authoress of " Sacred Sketches," &c., will be published within the month.

A Panoramic View of the important commercial town of Liverpool, is now in the hands of an eminent Engraver, and will shortly appear.

A Series of Four Views of the ancient and important Fortress of Dover, drawn from nature, on stone, from picturesque situations, will appear in a few days.

The Country Vicar, the Bride of Theybergh, and other Poems, will shortly be published.

The Pepysian Diary and Correspondence, edited by Lord Braybrooke, is early expected. The Diary commences immediately before the Restoration, when Mr Pepys sailed with the Earl of Sandwich to bring over the King from Brede, and is continued almost uninterruptedly for ten years.

Historical and Literary Tour of a Foreigner in England and Scotland, with Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, visited by the author, in 2 vols., will be published in a few days.

An extended and improved Edition of the Naval Gazetteer and Chronologist ; containing a History of the Late Wars, from their commencement in 1793 to their conclusion in 1801, and from their recommencement in 1803 to their final conclusion in 1815, when Buonaparte surrendered himself to Captain Maitland, on board the Bellerophon, and continued, as to the biographical part, to the present time, is in the press, and will speedily be published, in a neat pocket size.

Part IV. of Sermons and Plans of Sermons, by the late Rev. Joseph Benson, are in the press.

Early in July will be published, in 1 vol. fsc. 8vo. with Frontispiece, "The Broken Heart," "Legend of the Isles," with other Poems, by Edmund Reade, Esq.

The Rev. John Bruce has in the press, a volume of Sermons on important Sub-

jects ; chiefly intended to aid the Devotion of the Closet, and the Religious Exercises of the Family.

The Gipsy, a Romance, by John Bowring, Esq., from the German of Laun, is preparing for publication.

The History of Rome, now first translated from the German of B. G. Niebuhr, is in preparation.

Tales of the Wild and the Wonderful, Original and Translated ; containing the Prediction—The Yellow Dwarf—Der Freischutz—The Fortunes of De la Pole—and the Lord of the Maelstram, will soon appear in post 8vo.

On July 1st will be published, in Dublin, the First Number of a Monthly Work, entitled "The Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine ;" to be conducted by Clergymen of the Established Church.

Mr Charles Waterton, of Walton Hall, has a 4to vol. in the press, entitled, Wanderings in South America, the North West of the United States, and the Antilles, from the year 1812 to 1825. With original Instructions for the perfect preservation of Birds, Reptiles, &c. for Cabinets of Natural History.

Leigh's New Pocket Road-Book of England, Wales, and part of Scotland, on the plan of Richard's Itineraries ; containing an account of all the direct and cross roads ; together with a description of every remarkable place, its curiosities, manufactures, commerce, population, and principal inns ; the whole forming a complete guide to every object worthy the attention of travellers, is in the press.

The first number of a work, to be continued monthly, entitled, "Flora Conspicua," comprising coloured Engravings of the most conspicuous ornaments of the Flower Garden and Pleasure-Grounds ; accompanied by Botanical Descriptions, and particulars of Treatment and Propagation, by Richard Morris, F. L. S., &c. is announced to appear in July.

*EDINBURGH.

Shortly will be published, an account of the Botanic Garden in the Island of St. Vincent, from its first establishment, by the Rev. Lansdown Guilding, R.A. F.L.S.M. & W.S. Edinburgh &c. &c. The Work is printing at the Glasgow University Press, and will be embellished with Engravings drawn on Stone by W. Heath, Esq.

MONTHLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANTIQUITIES.

The First part of Mr Nichols's Collection of "The Progresses, Processions, and Splendid Entertainments of King James the First." Illustrated by Historical, Topographical, and Biographical Notes.

The Eighteenth and concluding Number of the "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth."

AGRICULTURE.

A Treatise on the Foot-Rot in Sheep: including remarks on the Exciting Cause, Method of Cure, and Means of preventing that destructive Malady. By T. Peall, Esq. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

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ARCHITECTURE.

No. I. of Engraved Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy, by J. and H. Le Keux, after Drawings by A. Pugin, Architect. The Literary part by J. Britton, F. S. A., &c. This number, containing Twenty Engravings by J. Le Keux, all of which are calculated to illustrate the true architectural forms and members of the specimens selected, and some of them serve to exemplify the exact uniformity that prevailed in the ecclesiastical architecture of Normandy and England at the latter part of the Eleventh Century.

No. I. of Illustrations of Exeter Cathedral, being No. XXXV. of Cathedral Antiquities, by J. Britton.

No. XI. being the First of Vol. II. of Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London, with Seven Engravings, and Accounts of the Roman Catholic Chapel, Moorfields; the Villa of Mr Greenough, Somerset-place, &c.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

Bridge's Testimonies of Antiquity. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

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The Commercial Power of great Britain; exhibiting a complete View of the Public Works of this Country. By the Baron Dupin. 2 vols. 8vo., with a 4to. Atlas of plans. £1.8s.

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MONTHLY REGISTER.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—The King has been invested with the order of the Garter. The King pronounced the oath with the modifications required by the difference of religion. Sir George Nayler took from his Majesty the sword he wore to deliver to him that of the order, which, with the star in diamonds, the garter on which the words "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*," also in diamonds, and the mantle, are estimated at 1,500,000 francs. The ceremony occupied an hour and a half. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and of the King's household, were present.

The Session of the French Legislative Chambers was closed on the 13th, by a royal ordonnance. The Deputies separated amid cries of "*Vive le Roi*." The *Monteur* contains the Budget for 1826. The expences of the consolidated debt, and the sinking fund, are fixed at 241,555,785 francs, £9,663,000 sterling. The general expences are fixed at 672,918,714 francs, or £26,920,000 sterling. The revenue for 1826 is estimated at 924,095,704 francs, being nearly 37 millions in English money.

His Grace the Duke of Northumberland gave a grand ball at his hotel in Paris, on the 15th instant. All the Ambassadors and their wives, the Marshals of France, the Foreign Princes at Paris, and many persons of the highest rank, formed part of this magnificent assembly, which was honoured with the presence of their royal highnesses the Dauphin and Dauphiness, and the Duchess of Berry. On their arriving at the hotel, the Princes of the Royal Family were saluted with the airs of *Vive Henri IV.* and *Charmante Gabrielle*. The Duke of Bourbon was the only Prince of the Royal Family who was not present, being indisposed.

A very serious schism has occurred in the French Ministry, on the subject of the means employed by M. de Villele to compel the holders of rentes to convert them into the new stock. Two of the Ministers have declared that they will not act with M. de Villele any longer, unless he abandons such an unjustifiable mode of conduct. M. de Villele, however, has made an arrangement with Rothschilds, who are to furnish a large sum to enable him to carry on his views; and, in return, it is said that James Rothschild of Paris, and Solomon Rothschild, are to

have French titles conferred upon them, and Nathan Rothschild of London is to have the exclusive agency of all French financial operations. The *Quotidienne* takes notice of some of these rumours without confirming or contradicting them, and says, that public opinion will exercise over the King's Council an influence, the result of which will be speedily known. The *Quotidienne* is the official paper of one half of the French Ministry.

Princess Pauline Borghese (sister of Bonaparte) died lately of a lingering consumption, which baffled the skill of the most distinguished physicians of this city.

The French papers are occupied a good deal with speculations respecting the Diplomatic Conferences of Milan. The *Journal du Commerce* endeavours to represent them as aiming at the establishment of a quadruple alliance against the power and interests of Great Britain, by confirming the Protectorship exercised at present by Austria over Germany and Italy. According to the *Constitutionnel* and the *Débates*, this conference is a Congress, at which the affairs of America and Greece are to be discussed. Probably it has no other object than to make arrangements for the gradual evacuation of the Kingdom of Naples by the Austrian troops.

A singular public company has been formed in Paris, with a capital of £100,000 English, for the purpose of importing from South America all the new publications of that country, and carrying them to be sold in France, as also translations.

SPAIN.—It is stated in a letter from Madrid, that the Queen of Spain is in a state of pregnancy. The report at Madrid is that Ferdinand has been to the statue of the Virgin, which is at Aranjuez, and has there made a vow, that if he be blessed with a son, he will offer up as a sacrifice to the Virgin all the Negroes (Constitutionalists) in his dominions.

The late Viceroy of Mexico, La Serna, has arrived at Bourdeaux, with his staff, not choosing to trust their lives or liberties to King Ferdinand. Orders were sent from Madrid to Cadiz, to arrest Gen. Placentia, but they arrived too late, he having sailed for London. The officers from Peru, who arrived at Cadiz, in the *Ynca*, after a long delay, have been ordered to land. Ferdinand has relaxed the prohibition against British manufactures,

which are to be admitted into Spain, from Gibraltar. This has caused a stir at that place.

The Government is in a hopeful way. It has received three thousand monks from South America, and it is unable to pay its own troops, who, therefore, help themselves. The high road from Barcelona to Madrid is so infested with robbers, that the Government has been forced to send two regiments of soldiers to put down the banditti; but the soldiers themselves are merely banditti under another name.

By intelligence from Madrid to the 9th, it appears that the project of a forced loan, which was decided on some time ago by the Council of Ministers, had been laid before the Council of Castile, which threw obstacles in the way of it; but it seems that the distress of the Exchequer, added to the state of the public mind in the Isle of Cuba, have induced the Council of Castile to sanction the loan, without regard for the consequences. Eight individuals were executed at Madrid on the 8th ult.

The following is an extract of a private letter from Cadiz, dated May 23.—“You can have no idea of the wretched state of this country; there is nothing done but in the sherry-wine trade, the duties on British manufactures amount almost to a prohibition, and all vessels are now obliged to come in ballast from London for wines and fruits. In 1816 there entered the Bay of Cadiz of British vessels 296, of which 15 were ships of war; in 1824 there came into the Bay 141, out of which there was one ship of war. In 1824 there came into the Bay 49 French merchant-vessels, and 40 ships of war; from this you will easily perceive the difference of trade to Cadiz between the two nations.”

Gibraltar, May 28.—A Spanish refugee here has just received from Madrid the following tariff, sent him by one of his friends, who tells him that all the refugees, stained as they are, may become white as snow, by arranging on the following terms with the purificators:—“Purification of a Lieutenant-General, 200 pistoles; of a Major-General, 169; Brigadier, 150; Colonel, 100; Lieutenant-Colonel, 75; Major, 60; Captain, 50; Lieutenant, 30.” A similar tariff is fixed for the purification of civil officers.

At Barcelona, something serious is in agitation. Lodgings and barracks are preparing for several thousand men; some say it is for fresh French troops, others that it is to be a general disarming of the peasantry, and that numerous Royalist troops are coming for that purpose.

The Council of Castile have, by a full

majority, and after much discussion, recommended the King to discontinue the military commissions, seeing that 40 executions in Madrid alone within 3 months have not tended to crush the Constitutional spirit, and only brought odium on the Government. There is a current rumour in Madrid, that the British Cabinet have complained to the Spanish Ministry of interference in the affairs of the Irish Catholics. It is said that the intrigue was detected by means of a Spanish refugee priest now in Ireland, who formed an intimacy with an Irish priest and betrayed him. The disasters experienced by the depredations of the Colombian privateers have at length so alarmed the Government that they have contracted with the Company of Riera to fit out vessels to proceed against them. The Government, however, could only raise 25,000 piastres in money, and the Company have taken 50,000 piastres in quicksilver, at a very low price. Such is the state of the Spanish treasury. Never was the administration of the affairs of any civilized kingdom in a state of more “admired disorder.” No pay in any department, civil or military; no duty to the community performed; and the whole, therefore, in a state of bitter discontent or exasperation. This is general in the interior of the kingdom, and in the towns along the coast; but it more particularly exists in the province of Valencia. Nothing but the presence of the French troops prevents, perhaps, a state of universal chaos. Among the recent freaks of the “beloved” monarch may be mentioned, if the letters are to be credited, the cancelling licences granted for the importation of cotton goods, probably after the parties had entered into extensive purchases for the supply of the Spanish market.

PORTUGAL.—The influence of the English policy is more and more felt in the Councils of Lisbon, and produces in the acts of that Government results peculiarly advantageous to commerce and manufactures. The absolute prohibition, which shut out from their ports a great part of the ships of Europe, has been renounced, and a duty of 30 per cent. established on a vast number of articles, (clothes and stuffs from England and Holland excepted,) the consumption of which has become indispensable, and which could only be procured by smuggling. The export duty on wine is also reduced one-third.

GREECE.—Accounts from Greece give some details of the war in the Morea, from which it appears, that the Egyptian troops have been beaten in several actions, and that Ibrahim has felt it ne-

cessary to propose terms for evacuating the country by capitulation. This last intelligence, which would be extremely satisfactory if true, is in some degree confirmed by very recent letters from Constantinople, published in the German papers. It is said that Conduriottis has felt himself strong enough to refuse all terms to the Pacha, but those of unconditional surrender. In the north, it is said that Odascus, who had deserted the cause of his country, has been abandoned by all his followers, and compelled to sue for pardon. It is a circumstance peculiarly gratifying, that the treachery and quarrels of the Chiefs have produced so few bad consequences, as it shews that the body of the people consider the cause their own, and love their rights better than their leaders.

The President of Greece, Conduriottis, has issued a spirited proclamation, calling on his fellow-countrymen to unite and crush all dissensions, which, he says, are more to be dreaded than the Ottoman power.

Letters from Trieste, dated 26th May, say, that, during the conflagration of the vessels burnt in the port of Modon by Miaulis, a division succeeded in detaching itself from the Egyptian fleet, and went to Navarino, where it took possession of a small islet, (Sphacteria,) and afterwards gained the position called Old Navarino; they then blockaded so closely the fortress of Navarino, that it was obliged to enter into a treaty of capitulation with Ibrahim Pacha. On the 6th and 8th May, N. S., when the conditions of the capitulation had been agreed on, and the Pacha had been invited to enter the fortress, having some fear, on account of its being in the evening, he deferred taking possession of it till the morrow. The Greeks saw from afar that the flag of the fortress was struck, and assembled together the same evening to the number of 16,000 men; they were happily assisted by the arrival, precisely at that moment, of Miaulis, with twenty-five vessels of war, and five fire-ships, who entered into the port and sent the fire-ships against the enemy's squadron; a part took fire, and the combat became general, both by sea and land. Victory declared in favour of the Greeks, although, it is said, the carnage was on both sides terrible. None of the letters give the particulars of this engagement. It is merely described as "a terrible battle, the like of which has never happened in Greece."

Letters of a more recent date bring accounts not so favourable. Official news, it is said, have arrived from Corfu, bring-

ing the intelligence that Navarino was in the possession of the Turks. The letters also state, that great dissensions and disunion prevail among the Greeks. Not a word is mentioned respecting the burning of the Egyptian fleet, as it was before reported, which silence shows that either such an affair never took place, or, if it had, it must have been of a trifling nature, and much exaggerated. The above has been received by one of the most respectable Greek houses domiciled in this country. Notwithstanding, however, so many unfavourable chances for the Greeks in their campaign, they still confide in their stars, and seem to fear nothing from all the forces of the Porte. The recent success of their fire-ships before Modon increases the discouragement of the Turks, and raises, to the utmost, the enthusiasm of the Greeks. A regular corps of 1500 men is formed at Napoli, to guard the Government and the Treasury.

POLAND.—The Emperor of Russia, in his address to the Polish Diet at the conclusion of their Session, June 13, congratulates them on the unanimity which has marked their deliberations: "he has adopted the amendments proposed by them, and they have adopted all the projects of law which he had laid before them." He expresses his regret at leaving them, but also with the satisfaction of having seen them co-operate to their own happiness, according to their interests and his wishes; and concludes by assuring them, that he shall preserve the impression of the confidence which had marked their session, united with the desire of proving how sincere is the affection he bears towards them.

RUSSIA.—*Wolves in Russia.*—The following is the official account of the devastations committed by the wolves in the Government of Livonia only in the year 1823: they devoured—horses, 1,841; foals, 1,243; horned cattle, 1,807; calves, 733; sheep, 15,182; lambs, 726; goats, 2,545; kids, 183; swine, 4,190; sucking pigs, 312; dogs, 703; geese 673.

AMERICA.

PERU.—The following is an extract of a letter, dated Liverpool, June 23, received on Saturday morning by an eminent house in London:—"As you are, no doubt, deeply interested in all that relates to Peru, I have the satisfaction to state, that Bolivar has entered Callao, and put the garrison to the sword. These accounts I have from Capt. Mortimer, of the *Vulture*, arrived to my address from Puerto Cabello this morning. She sailed thence, on the 9th ult.; the day previous,

the accounts had been received (official) from Valentia, *via* Bogota. I cannot give you the date of Bolivar's entry; but you may rely, I think, on the correctness of Captain M.'s statement." No date, however, is mentioned, and other circumstances conspire to throw doubts on the accuracy of this information.

The Congress have twice offered to the illustrious Bolivar one million of dollars for his services in effecting the liberation of that country, which he has steadily refused, conceiving that those services have been more than compensated by the honours awarded to him. He says, "You have named me Father and Saviour of Peru—you have declared me Perpetual President—you have ordered a medal to be struck with my portrait—you have called me Liberator—and, finally, you offer me an enormous fortune; I have accepted with pleasure all except the last; and that I am forbidden to accept by the laws of my country and those of my own heart."—To this the President of Congress has replied—that while they respect his decision, they regret to see their wishes frustrated—but, not feeling at liberty to press the subject a third time, after his decided refusal, they request he will appropriate the said sum to works of beneficence in favour of the place of his nativity, or for any other parts of Colombia which he may think proper.

MEXICO.—By arrivals from the United States, it would appear that the treaty between this country and Mexico had not been ratified on the 29th April, notwithstanding all the reports circulated in London, that the ratification had taken place on the 23d or 24th April. It would appear that every difficulty which a strong party of Mexicans, and intriguers from other quarters, could throw in the way of the ratification has been resorted to, but, we trust, without ultimate success. The first of the communications before us is dated on the 21st April. It states that so complete was the understanding on the 20th, that the treaty would not be ratified, that the English Commissioners, Mr Morier and Mr Ward, transmitted an official communication to the Mexican Government, stating in substance, that if the treaty was not immediately acceded to, their authority as Commissioners from England must cease; that Mr Morier would immediately proceed to England with the refusal, and Mr Ward must quit the Mexican territory as soon as the delicate state of his wife's health would permit. This communication appears to have had a great effect. The letter of the 23d April before us mentions, "that the negotiation has taken a favourable

turn, and we have no doubt Mr M. will leave this in a few days with the treaty, which is expected to be signed to-day or to-morrow."—April 29. "The treaty and its ratification have not yet passed the Congress, although both agreed upon; it is expected to be concluded to-day; it will then have to go before the Senate, which will occupy the ensuing week; so that I do not suppose Mr Morier will leave this for ten days to come."

COLOMBIA.—Papers from Bogota, the capital of Colombia, to the 29th April, contain a copy of the commercial treaty concluded with this country, which received the ratification of the Colombian congress on the 18th April at Bogota. A deputation of the Congress of Peru had arrived at the seat of the Colombian Government, to return thanks, in a solemn manner, for the assistance rendered by Colombia in the achievement of their independence, and to request that Bolivar might be permitted to remain amongst them until the Government of the country should be settled on a permanent basis.

The Government of Holland have distinctly stated, through their Commissioner, that they have been induced to recognise Colombia by the example of England. The Bogota Gazette says, "probably we are not venturing too far, when we prognosticate, that not many months will elapse before this example will be followed by France and some of the other Governments on the Continent." Colonel Campbell, the British Commissioner, reached Bogota on the 1st May, with authority to adjust and conclude a treaty of commerce and navigation with the Republic.

BUENOS AYRES.—Accounts from Buenos Ayres mention that Mr Parish, the British consul at that place, was in treaty with Francis, the governor of Paraguay, for some commercial connection. He had already procured the release of about a dozen British who had been detained in that country several years, by the arbitrary will of Francis, who is the despot of the colony, and holds an independent sway over it. The same advices mention that disorders have occurred in Chili. An attempt had been made to assassinate two of the deputies; but it failed, and the offenders (one himself a deputy) had been arrested.

UNITED STATES.—A volcano has lately burst forth in Essex County in the United States. It is seated within three or four miles of Lake George, to the westward. No lava is stated to have flowed. A slight rumbling noise was followed by an emission of dark smoke from the summit of a mountain; then followed sudden

ejections of flames, accompanied by stones of various sizes. In about three days the smoke gradually lessened, and finally nothing was seen to issue. On examining the spot, it is stated that a cavity is left on the summit, with a circumference of about 40 yards, and a depth of—say 80 to 100 feet. If it is so, it is the first and only volcano discovered in the United States.

Great American Confederation.—A meeting of plenipotentiaries from all the South American States is to be held at Panama in October. Its objects are stated to be, 1st, To form, or renovate, in the most solemn manner, the perpetual close league between all the new American States against Spain. 2, To issue a manifesto on the justice of their cause, and their system of policy towards the other powers of Christendom. 3, To enter into a convention of navigation and commerce between them all as allies and confederates. 4, To decide, with respect to the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, whether all should combine in liberating them from the Spanish yoke; and in such case, what military and pecuniary contingent each should furnish. 5, To take measures for carrying on the war in concert to the seas and coasts of Spain. 6, To determine whether those measures should be extended to the Canary and Philippine isles. 7, To take into consideration the means of rendering effectual the declaration of the President of the United States concerning any future designs of colonization of this continent, and of resisting every attempt at interference in our domestic concerns. 8, To settle in concert disputed principles of the laws of nations, and chiefly those which operate between belligerents and neutrals. 9, To agree upon the footing on which

ought to be placed the political and commercial relations of those countries of our hemisphere which either were, like Hayti, or should be, separated from the mother country, without having been recognised by any European or American power.

ASIA.

EAST INDIES.—*Calcutta, February 16.*—There is no news from the seat of war; the army is still stationary at Rangoon, and it is generally believed will not be able to march for the interior this monsoon; if so, they must either be withdrawn, or be sacrificed to the ravages of one of the most unhealthy places in the world, for at least seven months.

The invading army on the north side has advanced a short distance, and the enemy's troops that appeared retreated as fast as they advanced, without either side firing a shot. This is a system of warfare they have been known for years past to adopt, by which they inveigle an army into their almost impenetrable country, entirely unknown to any European nation, and, when least expected, their enemies are attacked by thousands, that appear to rise from the earth. From their numbers they are enabled to keep up a constant bush-fighting, by which they would harass and wear out the finest army in the world. Such are the prospects of this expensive war, with but little chance, if we ever succeed, of being in the slightest manner remunerated. The Burmese have no trade that could compensate us; and as for wealth, they have not sufficient to clothe their nakedness.

We are all enraged to find so little said in England about this war; it makes good the saying of Lord Hastings, "that the people of England know nothing about the East Indies, or its affairs."

PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—*June 2.*—The motion of the Earl of Radnor relative to Irish Burials was lost by a majority of 30.

3.—The Marquis of Lansdown moved the second reading of the Dissenters' Marriage Bill. The Archbishop of Canterbury approved of the principle of the Bill. The Bishop of Chester, the Lord Chancellor and Lord Redesdale, opposed the Bill. The Earl of Liverpool supported it. The house then divided, when there appeared—For the second reading, Contents, 32—Proxies, 12—44.—Not contents, 31—Proxies, 18—49.—Majority against the Bill, 5.

CANADA CORN BILL.

6.—Lord King said, he would vote for the Bill going into a Committee. He could not help thinking that some good seed had been sown in the Treasury, and he looked upon this Bill as a forerunner to a more perfect measure next Session. The House then went into a Committee; the clauses were discussed *seriatim*; in which Lord Lauderdale and Lord Malmesbury took part, the latter of whom argued that the Bill was founded on a new principle, and that farther inquiry was necessary, and concluded by moving, that the clause which related to Canadian corn should be omitted. Lord Lilford took the same

view of the subject. The Earl of Liverpool opposed the motion, on the ground that the present measure was a wise and politic one. Lord Dacre was also against the clause. Earl Bathurst supported the Bill. The Earl of Malmesbury said, he would be satisfied, if the noble Earl (of Liverpool) would consent to restrict the measure to one year. The Earl of Liverpool said, he would be content to substitute "one year, and to the end of the then next Session of Parliament," instead of the proposed term of three years. The Earl of Malmesbury consented to this arrangement, and withdrew his amendment. The clause was then altered accordingly.

7.—The Earl of Liverpool moved the second reading of the Bill for altering the law of principal and factor, which he explained to be intended to place commerce on the same footing as money, and to secure the person who advanced money on goods placed in the hands of a factor to be disposed of, from the claims of the owner of the goods, in case the factor should act fraudulently, or become bankrupt. He stated that this was the law of all other countries excepting America, and the contrary had arisen here from a decision in 1742, which placed the purchaser or pledge of goods in a serious predicament, although he could know nothing more than that the goods were in the factor's possession, the choice and control of whom rested with the consigner; and therefore the law was contrary to natural equity. No opposition was offered, and the Bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Friday.

The report of the bonded and Canada Corn Bill was received, and ordered to be taken into further consideration this day week.—Adjourned.

8.—The Duke of Montrose reported the answer of his Majesty to the address, relative to the grant to the Duchess of Kent and Duke of Cumberland.

Mr Brogden and others brought up from the Commons the Duchess of Kent's Annuity Bill, the Piracy Capture Encouragement Bill, the Dundee Improvement Bill, and some private Bills. They were read a first time.

10.—The Merchants' and Factors Bill went through a committee, and was reported.

13.—Lord Viscount Melville presented a petition in favour of the Bill for supplying the town of Leith with water.—Laid on the table. The House went into a Committee on the Scots Small Debts Recovery Bill. The Earl of Rosebery observed, that instead of £5, the sums should be extended to £8, and

moved that the words five pounds should be expunged, and the words eight pounds be substituted. Lord Viscount Melville opposed the motion. Lord Roslyn objected to the measure as a new predication in a new court, and not in the Court of the Sheriff; and was in favour of the proposed amendment. Lord Lauderdale supported the amendment. The question was put, and the amendment negatived without a division; the Bill was then reported without amendment.

(The celebrated Marshal Macdonald, one of Bonaparte's Generals, accompanied by Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, appeared about this time within the railing allotted to the House of Commons, to see the House, and hear the debates. The Marshal was in conversation for some time with several members of the House of Commons, and subsequently with Marshal Beresford and other Peers. The Marshal was soon recognized by the spectators below the bar, who evinced a good deal of curiosity at the sight of this distinguished individual.)

14.—A message from the Commons brought up the Mauritius Trade Bill; the Exchequer Bills' Bill; the Duke of Cumberland's Annuity Bill; the Scots Prisoners' Allowance Bill, and some other Bills.

Earl Bathurst called their Lordships' attention to a Bill to regulate the trade of his Majesty's possessions in America with Foreign America, and also to regulate the trade of his Majesty's possessions in America with Europe. The noble Lord entered into a variety of details to show the expediency of the Bill, and concluded by moving that it be read a second time.

The Marquis of Lansdown cordially supported the Bill. It was then read a second time. The Equitable Loan Bill was also read a second time.

16.—Upon the motion of the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Atlantic Steam Navigation Bill was read a third time, passed, and messaged to the Commons. The New Juries' and Jurors' Bill, the Assessment Poor Bill, and some other Bills, were read a third time and passed, and ordered to the other House. Lord King presented a petition from Dr Maclean, deprecating the continuance of the quarantine laws, and denying the doctrine of contagion. The noble Baron, after he had presented the petition, amused the House by some allusions to the operation of political contagion, which he illustrated by an allegory, in which the Earl of Liverpool and the Lord Chancellor were the most prominent characters. The petitioner was one of those who contended that the plague was epidemic, not contagious. The Lord Chancellor

did not rise to oppose the petition, but merely to say, that if a plague was to be removed from that House, he could very easily tell their Lordships what its name was.

17.—The Marquis of Hastings rose to bring in a Bill, of which he had given notice, to explain and amend the 13th of Geo. III., on the subject of limiting the rate of interest on money lent in India. The object of this Bill was to make the limitation of interest not applicable to persons domiciliated in the territory of a foreign Prince. The Bill was then brought in and read a first time.

DELAYS IN CHANCERY.

20.—Earl Grosvenor presented a petition on the subject of the delays in the Court of Chancery. The petition was from an individual of the name of Gunnell, an annuitant under the Duke of Queensberry.

The Earl of Redesdale defended the Lord Chancellor from any imputation of blame in that Court.

The Lord Chancellor said, that more had been done for the suitors in this cause than in any other. The noble and learned Lord concluded by observing, that it noble Lords would act towards him in the House of Lords as good-humouredly as he would towards them in the Court of Chancery, there would be an end to farther contentions. (*A laugh.*) Petition received.

21.—On the motion of the second reading of the Quarantine Laws Amendment Bill, the Earl of Darnley did not rise to oppose the Bill, but he was anxious that the Bill should contain a clause, giving the Privy Council a discretionary power as to the admission of ships from Egypt. The Earl of Liverpool briefly stated the objects of the bill, and supported the second reading. Lord King repeated his opinion that the plague was only epidemic, and not contagious. The Bill was then read a second time.

22.—The Royal assent was given by commission to the Duke of Cumberland's, and the Duchess of Kent's Annuity Bills, Scotch Small Debts Bill, Leasing-making Bill, Scotch Juries' Bill, and Alment of Prisoners' Bill.

The Judges Salaries' Bill was read a second time. The Lending Monies in India Bill was also read a second time.

23.—The Judges' Salaries Augmentation Bill, after a few words from the Marquis of Lansdown, Lords Ellenborough and Liverpool, and the Lord Chancellor, explanatory of the nature of the Bill, was read a second time.

24.—The Lord Chancellor, on the motion for the third reading of the Equi-

table Loan Bill, proceeded to comment on the preamble.—Ought a body of men to be incorporated who would compete with individuals, and drive them out of the market, and then become of no use to any body? Was a company to be tolerated who were to act upon the principle that they were to be the consignees of all the personal property of the company? The Noble and learned Lord moved that the Bill be read a third time this day three months. Lord Dacre supported the Bill. The House divided.—For the amendment, 27.—Against it, 14.—Majority, 13. The Bill was therefore thrown out.

Lord Dacre presented a petition from the church-wardens and inhabitants of Sutton, in Bedfordshire, complaining of the gross misconduct and immoralities of a certain individual, a clergyman, of the established church. The petitioners prayed the adoption of such measures as the nature of the case required, and so as would give a more speedy means of putting an end to the indecent and fulsome conduct of which the person in question had been guilty. The person complained of was a Dr Tree. Petition laid on the table.

27.—On the motion for the third reading of the Judges' Salaries Bill, Earl Grosvenor animadverted with some severity upon the continuance of several sinecure offices in the Court of Exchequer, and applied very harsh terms to the practice of the Court of Chancery, professing his regret that the salary of the Lord Chancellor had not been included in the general regulation. Lord Liverpool defended the preserved offices in the Exchequer. The Lord Chancellor said, that the emoluments of the office of Lord Chancellor were before the public, made out by regular returns; but he knew it would be very difficult for him to convince some that they were not four times their actual amount. He was aware that he had held the office for too long a time, but calumny and abuse were not the means to get him out of it; and if their Lordships gave him the power, he would sooner leave it by testament, than ever yield to those who resorted to such means. If, however, they only showed him common justice, they might get rid of him in five minutes. He could truly assert, that taking the average of the last three years, the income of the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench was greater than his, though it might not have been so during the whole of the 23 years that he had held the office. But in no one year did he receive by that office as much as he had received as counsel at the bar,

when his income was between £14,000 and £15,000 a-year. The learned Lord commented briefly on the merits of the Bill, and observed, that the office of Lord Chancellor had no places attached to it, and if there were any, that he most assuredly would have disposed of them. The Bill was then read a third time.

28.—Lord Melville presented a petition from the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh, against the Apothecaries' Bill.—Laid on the table.

On the motion for the second reading of the Scots Juries' Court Bill, Lord Lauderdale spoke in high terms of the persevering attention and learning displayed by Mr Bell, in reference to this subject, by bringing the Bill to its present maturity. The Lord Chancellor also bore testimony to the merits of Mr Bell.

Lord Melville spoke in favour of the Bill. Lord Rosslyn also spoke in high terms of the diligence and acuteness of Mr Bell. After some farther remarks, the Bill was read a second time.

The Malicious Shooting and Stabbing (Scotland) Bill, and some other Bills, went through a committee.

29.—The Bubble-Act Amendment Bill was read a third time.

30.—Lord Liverpool gave notice, that early next session he should propose the reversal of several attainders, in addition to those which have already been the object of Parliamentary legislation.

July 1. The Combination Laws Bill was read a second time.

APPEALS.

The Earl of Liverpool, in pursuance of the notice he had given, stated to the House the number of appeals disposed of at the beginning of last session. There were two hundred and eighty-eight appeals undisposed of, and seventy-four writs of error, making in all three hundred and fifty-six. Of these, one hundred and eighty-six had been disposed of, and with respect to the affirmance of several of these appeals, there had been three affirmals to one reversal. The greatest efforts had been made to get rid of these appeals; and these efforts, he was glad to say, had been successful. It reflected much credit upon the committee, upon the noble Lord on the woolsack, and the noble Lord connected with him. He was the more happy to see this, because he had heard that noble Lord most unjustifiably and unprovokedly attacked. (Hear, hear.) He concluded with moving for an account of the appeals heard and disposed of in the present session of Parliament. The account was ordered.

4.—The House went into a committee on the Combination Laws Bill. Reported,

with some verbal amendments, and afterwards, on the motion of the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Bill was read a third time.

6. After some routine business, his Majesty's commission for proroguing Parliament was read, after which, the Lord Chancellor delivered the following speech:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The business of the Session being now brought to a conclusion, we are commanded by his Majesty to express to you the great satisfaction which his Majesty feels at releasing you from your laborious attendance in Parliament.

"His Majesty has commanded us to return to you his warmest acknowledgements for the zeal and assiduity with which you have prosecuted the inquiries into the state of Ireland, which he recommended to your attention at the opening of the Session. It is a particular gratification to his Majesty, that the tranquillity and improved condition of that part of the United Kingdom have rendered the extraordinary powers with which you invested his Majesty no longer necessary for the public safety.

"His Majesty is happy to be able to announce, that he has received from all Foreign Powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country, and of their desire to maintain the general peace.

"While his Majesty regrets the continuance of the war in the East Indies with the Burmese power, he trusts that the gallant exertions of the British forces employed in the operations carried on in the enemy's country may tend to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of hostilities.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"We have it in command from his Majesty, to thank you for the supplies granted for the service of the current year, and at the same time to express the satisfaction he derives from the reduction you have found it practicable to make in the burthens of his people.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"His Majesty has commanded us to assure you, that he is highly sensible of the advantages that must result from the measures you have adopted in the course of the present Session, for extending commerce, by the removal of unnecessary and inconvenient restrictions, and from the beneficial relaxations which you have deemed it expedient to introduce into the Colonial system of this country.—These measures, his Majesty is persuaded, will evince to his Majesty's subjects, in his

distant possessions, the solicitude with which Parliament watches over their welfare. They tend to cement and consolidate the interests of the colonies with those of the mother country, and his Majesty confidently trusts that they will contribute to promote that general and increasing prosperity on which his Majesty had the happiness of congratulating you on the opening of the present Session; and which, by the blessing of Providence, continues to pervade every part of this kingdom."

The Lord Chancellor then prorogued Parliament to Thursday 25th August.

LEITH DOCK BILL.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—*May 11.*—Sir G. Clerk brought up the report of the Leith Docks Bill. Mr Kennedy objected to receiving the reports. Mr Abercromby complained of the conduct of several Honourable Gentlemen, who, without having heard either counsel or witnesses, came down to the committee, and their votes carried the measure. Mr Brougham thought his honourable friend (Mr Abercromby) deserving the thanks and gratitude of the House, in bringing under its notice the improper conduct of the committee. Sir George Clerk, Mr W. Dundas, and Sir J. Marjoribanks, defended the committee. Mr J. P. Grant said nothing could be so mortifying to gentlemen who had attended and devoted themselves to the labours of private business, than to find a number of gentlemen coming down and leaving the balance against them. The report was laid on the table.

BONDED CORN.

13.—Mr Huskisson moved the third reading of this Bill. Sir M. Ridley thought the duty on the sale of the bonded corn should be 5s. instead of 10s.—Mr Wodehouse thought the corn of the United States would be mixed with the Canada corn imported into this country.—Mr Huskisson could not, on public grounds, agree to a smaller duty than 10s. The holders of the corn might lose, but the House should consider only the public. He proposed a clause, that there should be a certificate of the growth of all corn imported from Canada, for the purpose of preventing any being smuggled from the United States. The clause was agreed to, and the Bill read a third time and passed.

A third grant of £26,000 was voted to Mr M. Adam for his alleged improvement of the public roads, after considerable discussion, and a division of the House.

16.—Mr Canning laid three treaties upon the table—one between Great Britain and Sweden, for the prevention of illicit dealing in African slaves; another

between Great Britain and Russia, respecting certain claims set up by the Russians to territory on the North-West Coast of America, which it relinquished; and the third, a Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between Great Britain and the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata; which last document (Sir R. Wilson said) was a glorious avowal of the homage done by the greatest and purest country in the Old World to the progress of civilization in the New.

JUDGES' SALARIES.

The House having resolved itself into a committee, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his project for appropriating the fees of Courts of Justice, and raising the salaries of the Judges. Fees taken in Courts of Justice are in future to form no part of the emoluments or salaries of the Judges. The sale of offices in their own Courts by the Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas is to be abolished, and these Judges are to receive a compensation for the emoluments which they derived from them. The Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench is assigned to enjoy a salary of £10,000 a-year, in lieu of all fees and emoluments whatsoever. To the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, £8000 a-year on the same condition. The Master of the Rolls to be allowed £7000 a-year. The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, £7000 a-year. The Vice Chancellor, £8000 a-year; and each of the Puisne Judges, £6000 a-year. The fees hitherto payable in courts of justice are to be received as usual, but to be transferred by the receiving officers (after deducting their salaries) to the Exchequer, where they are to form a fund to meet part of the increased expences. The power of selling any offices in the patronage of the two Chief Justices is to cease from the passing of the Bill. Mr Denman, Sir Francis Burdett, and others, opposed this arrangement, which was supported, however, by Messrs Scarlett, Williams, &c.

On the motion of Mr Hobhouse, the Bill to regulate the laws for children working in cotton factories was read a second time, after an extended conversation.

The report on the Scots Small Debts' Bill was brought up and agreed to.

17.—Mr Hobhouse, after a speech of some length, moved a resolution for the abolition of the house and window tax from April 1826. After a pretty long conversation, in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer and other members took a part, the motion was negatived on a division by 114 votes against 77.

18.—The Wrongous Imprisonment (Scotland) Bill was read a first time.

19.—The County Courts Bill was read a third time and passed. The Lord Advocate brought up the report of the Judges' Salaries (Scotland) Bill. Lord A. Hamilton said he intended, on a future day, to move that it be read that day six months. Sir J. Newport thought that Government ought to take into their consideration the case of the Irish Judges, with a view to an increase of their salaries, and put them upon the same footing, in that respect, with the Judges of England. Mr H. Drummond wished to say a few words in favour of Scotch Judges, whose salaries he thought ought also to be increased. After a few words from Mr J. P. Grant, the Lord Advocate, and Mr Abercromby, the report was agreed to.

On the motion of the Lord Advocate, and after a few words from Mr Kennedy, the House went into a committee on the Leasing-making (Scotland) Bill. The several clauses were agreed to, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow. The farther consideration of the Salmon Fisheries Bill was fixed for this day three months.

LEITH DOCKS BILL.

20.—Sir G. Clerk moved that the report on the Leith Docks Bill be farther considered. Lord A. Hamilton complained of the measure altogether. The interests of an immense number of inhabitants were involved by this measure; all the respectable inhabitants of Edinburgh, as well as of Leith, the merchants, the traders, &c. were against the Bill. The evidence he understood was to be noticed. If it were moved to reject the Bill, he should support such motion; he should not propose any such motion, as he had not read the evidence. He was also against the details of the Bill. There were some causes now depending in the Courts of Scotland on this subject; he thought the Lord Advocate ought to notice such proceedings. The Lord Advocate protested against being thus lugged into every question; hardly any thing occurred regarding Scotland, but for which the noble Lord endeavoured to make him personally responsible. He had nothing to do with the Bill. Lord A. Hamilton explained, that he had not given the learned Lord any credit for being concerned with this Bill. He had only been desirous of giving him credit for a limited knowledge of law.—(A laugh.)

Mr Hume said, that the whole business was a monstrous job; that of Edinburgh against Leith; and he should like to know whether Lord Melville had not pledged the Government to support the

The bill went to secure to the sub-
per cent, for their shares. It

repeated, that there was so much of job about the measure, that it ought not to have the support of the House. Sir G. Clerk and Mr W. Dundas defended the Bill. Mr J. P. Grant, Lord Glenorchy, Mr Abercromby, &c. characterized it as a complete job. It was thrown out by majority of 41 to 14.

After the Chancellor of the Exchequer had moved that the report of the Judges' Salaries Bill be brought up, Mr Scarlett said, that he had always thought the retired allowance of the Judges too small. Mr Brougham proposed an amendment, declaratory of the impropriety and inexpediency of promoting Puisne Judges to be Chiefs. He remarked, that of late years such promotions had been peculiarly frequent; that within the last 13 years there had been seven promotions of Puisne Judges to be Chiefs; and that, as he desired to see the ermine unsuspected as well as unsullied, especially when the salaries were increased, he proposed this resolution. The amendment was lost by a majority of 83.

26.—The Edinburgh and Leith Water Works Bill was read a third time and passed.

STATE OF IRELAND.

Mr S. Rice, after a variety of judicious observations on the peculiar state of things in Ireland, in consequence of the decision of the House of Lords, which placed the two Houses in opposition on a question of the utmost importance, contended that the course they now ought to steer was this—to prove by evidence and authority that they were right in the view which they had taken of this question, and that the House of Lords was wrong. He begged, therefore, to move, "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before the House copies of extracts of letters or dispatches received from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, respecting the origin, nature, and progress of religious animosities in that country, and the best means of allaying those animosities, with a view to the tranquillization and good government of Ireland, and the strength and security of the Empire." This gave rise to an animated debate, in which Mr Goulburn, Sir John Newport, Mr Brougham, Mr Brownlow, and Mr Canning, took a part. Mr Rice ultimately consented to withdraw his motion.

27.—Mr Littleton discharged the order for the Elective Franchise Bill, in consequence of the rejection of the Catholic Bill by the House of Lords.

Lord A. Hamilton moved, that the Scottish Small Debts' Bill be read a third

time this day six months. The Lord Advocate moved, as an amendment, that it be now read a third time. The question was put, and the amendment was agreed to. The Bill was then read a third time. Mr Hume introduced a clause, that no procurator should act as justice of the peace, while he continued to practise. The Bill was then passed.

• HIS MAJESTY'S MESSAGE.

After the Chancellor of the Exchequer had moved a similar grant as that moved by Lord Liverpool in the Lords, with some prefatory observations, in which he stated that the young Princess of Kent was exceedingly well brought up, and referred to the effect of the objections formerly made to the reception of the Duchess of Cumberland at Court, in causing the House to withhold its assent to a former message for the same sum, Mr Brougham said the proposition appeared to him an extremely liberal provision. With respect to the Duke of Cumberland, his Royal Highness had £8000 a-year, and the 15th regiment together, giving him an income of £19,000, which he spends out of this country. Why does he do so?—(*Hear.*)—He has no government, like the Duke of Cambridge, requiring his absence. He (Mr B.) would not consent to pay him £6000 a-year more, until he came and showed himself in England.—(*Hear.*) Mr Hume said, with regard to the Duke of Cumberland, if he stood alone, he would oppose the grant, and he wondered how the Right Honourable Gentleman could come down with such a proposition. Was £6000 a-year necessary to give his son an education? Why he (Mr H.) would undertake to give him a suitable education for £100 a-year. The case of the Princess, the daughter of the Duchess of Kent, was of a nature very different, and for the grant to her he would give his vote. Mr Bernal, Mr Denman, Dr Lushington, and others, opposed the grant to the Duke of Cumberland. Mr Peel, Mr Canning, and Mr Huskisson, severally defended the measure. An amendment of Sir E. Knatchbull's was rejected, moving that the £6000 be granted for the education of the young Prince of Cumberland in England, and the House then divided on the original proposition.—For it 105—Against it 55—Majority 50 in favour of the motion.

30.—Upon the motion that the Edinburgh and Dalkeith Railway Bill be read a third time, Sir R. Fergusson moved as an amendment, "that the Bill be read a third time this day six months," on the ground of its interfering with private property. Sir G. Clerk supported the Bill.

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After a few words from Mr S. Wortley, Mr Kennedy, Lord Binning, Captain Wemyss, Mr Davenport, and Mr William Dundas, the House divided, when there were,—For the amendment 63—Against it 22—Majority against the Bill 41.

Mr H. Drummond presented a petition from the Sheriff-clerks in Scotland, complaining of the Scots Judicature Bill, and praying compensation for any losses to which it may subject them.

Mr K. Douglas brought in a Bill for building churches in the Lowlands of Scotland. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday.

On the motion of Mr Peel, the Special Juries' Amendment Bill was read a third time, and passed. The Honourable Secretary stated, that he had received great assistance in drawing up the Bill from Sir B. Hobhouse, and Mr Gregson of the northern circuit.

In a committee on the Scotch Judicature Bill, a clause proposed by the Lord Advocate, that in civil issues the trial should take place before a quorum instead of a single Judge, was carried by 33 to 9 votes.

ROYAL MESSAGE.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the consideration of the report on the Royal message for a provision for the daughter of the Duchess of Kent, and the son of the Duke of Cumberland. The grant of £6000 a-year to the former was agreed to without a debate. Mr Hume suggested the propriety of noticing in the Act, the contingency of the death of the young Princess; as, by omitting this in the settlement of Prince Leopold, he had double the allowance of any other of the princes of the Royal family. To the motion for granting £6000 a-year for the education of the young Prince of Cumberland, Mr Hume objected *in toto*, as being only a scheme to grant the allowance to the Duke, which had been refused on a former occasion, and on the ground of there being no security that he would ever send his son to this country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer maintained that the sole object of the grant was to provide for the education of the young Prince, and that in England; which intention might be expressed in the preamble of the Bill to be brought in, but from consideration for the feelings of the parents, it was not desirable to have it embodied in the resolution. He contended that the two grants were exactly similar in principle. Dr Lushington thought the refusal of the House in 1815 and 1816 to grant any further allowance to the Duke of Cumberland was strictly just and proper, and they ought not to retrace their steps,

and under the appearance of granting £6000 a-year to the young Prince, to deny their former principles. He would move as an amendment, that the money should not be granted to the Duke of Cumberland, but to the King, for the education of the young Prince "in the united kingdom." Mr Cripps was in favour of the amendment. Mr H. Gurney thought the Duke of Cumberland had been unjustly treated on the former occasions, and that the House ought to remove the obloquy by the present grant. Sir G. Rose and Sir W. Congreve bore testimony to the propriety of the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland, and to the respect in which he is held at the court of Berlin and elsewhere. Mr Alderman Smith also spoke in behalf of his Royal Highness. Mr Secretary Peel maintained that the grant was not proposed as a reparation for former injustice, but on the material alteration of circumstances, by the birth of the Prince, now six years old, and in whose education the country had a direct interest. Mr Brougham objected to the vote, as a dangerous precedent, after which no refusal could be made of any demand for a scion of the Royal stock; and on the ground that frequent calls upon the public purse tended to bring the Royal Family into contempt. Mr Canning defended the grant on the same grounds as Mr Peel, and said it might be so arranged as to secure the education of the child in England, without harshly wounding the feelings of the parents. Sir F. Burdett conceived, that to expend so large a sum as £6000 a-year on the child, would not be to give him the best, but the very worst education that could be devised, surrounding him with sycophants and expensive follies, which would render him unfit to be the king of a free people, if he should ever be called to that dignity. After a few words in reply by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the House divided on Dr Lushington's amendment, which was negatived by 120 to 97. Mr Brougham gave notice that he would

oppose the measure in all its future stages.

31.—Mr J. Williams presented various petitions complaining of the delays of the Court of Chancery, and stating cases of great hardships sustained by the suitors. He took a review of the abuses and miseries produced by the court, and ridiculed the idea that the commission appointed by Government, with the Lord Chancellor at its head, would proceed any faster than usual, in the Court, or ever make any report. Mr John Smith stated some cases in which he had been concerned, in corroboration of Mr William's remarks. One case had been in Chancery for 23 years without approaching a termination; but Mr Baring had settled it in three hours. The Solicitor General said, the commission was most laborious in the discharge of its duty. It had sat seventy-five times. Dr Lushington said, the Commissioners were so occupied with their professional duties, that they could not bestow any very considerable portion of their time on the Court of Chancery, and their powers did not admit of their inquiring into the grievances most complained of. Mr M. A. Taylor said, the Court of Chancery was detested by the country, for the ruin it had brought on the suitors. He knew an instance in which an amicable suit had been thirty-three years in Chancery. Mr Peel said, the commission had been appointed with the sincerest intention to benefit the public, and he was satisfied it would produce that effect. Mr Hume stated, that the offices in the Court of Chancery, in the Chancellor's gift, amounted to between £200,000 and £300,000 a-year, the greater part of which were sinecures. Mr Brougham said, he would only expect to be laughed at if he professed to expect any beneficial result from the commission appointed to inquire into the Court of Chancery, with the Lord Chancellor himself at its head.

The petitions were then read, and laid on the table.—Adjourned.

BRITISH CHRONICLE.

JULY.

1.—The Weavers' Association in the West of Scotland seems to be gradually falling to pieces. At a meeting in Glasgow, which was attended by 53 delegates, very discouraging accounts were generally given of the state of the Association. The contributions are diminishing, and the members are dropping off, and taking work at under prices. A proposal was

submitted for raising a joint-stock fund to carry on the cotton manufacture, and furnish work for the members of the Association, but it was negatived. The case of these poor men seems extremely hard. Their labour is heavy and their wages small, and the improving state of the country seems to bring them no effectual relief.

-Election of a Peer.—Thursday, the election of a Peer to sit in Parliament, as one of the sixteen Representatives of the Scottish Nobility, took place at the Palace of Holyrood. The Lord Provost and Magistrates of this city were present, and the Peers were attended by Sir Walter Scott, Bart. and Colin Mackenzie, Esq. two of the Principal Clerks of Session, as deputies of the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland. The Rev. Dr Grant, one of the Ministers of St. Andrew's Church, and the Rev. Dr Bryce, Minister of Aberdour, Deans of the Chapel Royal, were the officiating clergymen.

Dr Grant opened the business with prayer, after which Sir Walter Scott called over the Union Roll. The following Noblemen were

Present.

Earl of Stirling,	Lord Forbes,
Earl of Leven & Melville,	Lord Ichbank,
Earl of Glasgow,	Lord Rollo,
Viscount Strathallan,	Lord Nairne.

The following voted by Signed Lists :

Duke of Atholl,	Earl of Roseberry,
Earl of Moray,	Viscount Kenmore.
Earl of Kellie,	Viscount Arbutnot,
Earl of Elgin,	Lord Gray,
Earl of Aboyne,	Lord Cathcart.
Earl of Dunmore.	

The only Proxy Commission produced was that of the Earl of Mar, authorising Lord Nairne to vote for him ; along with which was tendered the noble Earl's protest against the place assigned to him on the roll.

Among the Peers present at this election was the Earl of Stirling, as above noticed, whose title has for some years been dormant, having been vested in the Countess of Stirling, his mother, who died 12th Sept. 1814. The Earl now, for the first time, took his place among our ancient nobility, and voted on this occasion.

Mr Mackenzie stated, that in cases where a claim was made to a dormant title, the clerks conceived it their duty to receive the votes of such claimants. He also mentioned that a claim had been entered for the title of the Earl of Stirling in 1761, by a descendant of the uncle of the first Earl, but as the claimant was not then prepared with his evidence it was agreed not to permit him to vote. The present Earl, however, was in a different situation, he being the lineal descendant of the first Earl, consequently the clerks felt it their duty to receive his vote.

Sir Walter Scott then intimated, that twenty votes had been given as prescribed by law, and all in favour of Lord Strathallan, whom they were about to return to the High Court of Chancery accordingly as duly elected.

Viscount Strathallan returned thanks to the Noblemen present for the honour now conferred upon him.

The return having been made up in presence of the Peers, the business was closed by prayer from Dr Bryce.

In the afternoon Lord Strathallan entertained the other Noblemen and a large party of friends with an elegant dinner in the British Hotel.

6.—HIGH COURT OF JUSTICIARY.—Alex. or San Snadden, William Snaddon or Snadden, John M'Neil or Neil, jun., Peter Moffat, John Easton, Colin Maxwell, and James M'Kay, colliers, were placed at the bar, charged with violently assaulting John Moffat with sticks, stones, or other lethal weapons, on the 14th of March, upon the road between Rumford and Redding, in Stirlingshire, to the great effusion of his blood, and imminent danger of his life,—and also with violently assaulting James Corbett, near Parkhead, in the same county, to the great effusion of his blood : Joseph Waugh, included in the same indictment, was outlawed for not appearing. Alexander Snadden and John M'Neil pleaded Guilty to the assault on John Moffat, and William Snaddon to that on James Corbett ; the other four pleaded Not Guilty. The Jury returned a verdict against Alexander Snadden, John Moffat, and William Snaddon, Guilty in terms of their confession, and found the others Not Guilty. Lord Hermand observed, that whatever they might have heard of the case, they were only to be guided by what appeared before them ; and although they might inflict transportation, he felt disposed, if it should be the pleasure of the Court, to propose, that Alexander Snadden and John M'Neil be imprisoned in the jail of Stirling for twelve months, and William Snaddon for six months. P. Moffat, J. Easton, Colin Maxwell, and J. M'Kay were then discharged. They were all very decent-looking men, and conducted themselves in Court with the greatest decorum.

19.—John Tod was placed at the bar, accused of culpable homicide, to which he pleaded Guilty, and was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, the case not being one of an aggravated nature.

Mary Brown, or Harkinson, *alias* Margaret Watson, *alias* Margaret Harkins, was next put to the bar, on a charge of theft, aggravated by being habit and reputed a thief. The prisoner pleaded Not Guilty, but the Jury, on hearing the evidence, found her Guilty, and the Court sentenced her to fourteen years' transportation, the Public Prosecutor having restricted the libel.

Robert Smith was next called to plead

to the charge of forcibly taking 23s. from James Pringle, carrier, on the 16th April last, on the road leading from Edinburgh to Cockpen, to the south of Mayfield toll-bar, of which he declared himself Not Guilty. The evidence adduced, however, brought the crime home to him; after some hesitation, the Solicitor-General restricted the libel, and the Jury found him Guilty, upon which the Court sentenced him to fourteen years' transportation.

7.—*Leith Docks*.—An extraordinary meeting of the Town Council was held, when the Lord Provost stated to the meeting, that he had on Monday night received from London a proposition of the first importance to the city, mentioning that Government was inclined to grant a loan of the whole sums borrowed by the city on account of the docks at Leith, at the rate of 3 per cent., on condition of a sinking fund being created for the redemption of the capital of 2 per cent. per annum, payable along with the interest. The sums borrowed on account of the docks are,

Three several sums of £80,000 each, under different acts of Parliament,	£210,000
From Government, under the 45th Geo. III.	25,000
	—
	£235,000

To enable the Lords of the Treasury to carry this transaction into effect, his Lordship stated, that it was proposed immediately to bring a Bill into Parliament, authorising the restriction of the interest on the second sum to 3 per cent., and the issue, by way of loan, of the first, to be secured in the same manner as the £25,000 upon the whole dues of the port of Leith, including both harbour and dock dues.

That the operation of the sinking fund of 2 per cent. payable along with the interest, was to extinguish the capital sum in 31 years, at which period the whole feus would become the absolute property of the community, and the dock duties be restricted to such a sum as would be sufficient for the maintenance of the works. In the mean time, the sums the city of Edinburgh will have annually to provide, would be the following :—

The restricted interest of the £25,000 at 3 per cent.	
Interest on £210,000, at 3 per cent.	
Sinking fund 2 per cent. on ditto,	

£12,750

over and above maintaining the works. So soon as the rates shall have increased, his Lordship remarked, to a sum equal to the above payment of £12,750, and all the charges, the surplus, whatever it might be, would be applied, in the first

place, in replacing such advances as the city might have made from the date of the loan on account of the expenses of management and repairs, and also on account of the stipulated sinking fund, and such further surplus as there might be, would be applied also towards the reduction of the debt.

The benefit held out to Government for granting this accommodation, his Lordship observed, was, that the city of Edinburgh should make over to the public the ground required for the Naval Yard, and build as much of the West Pier, proposed by Mr Chapman, engineer, as may be requisite for the purpose of that establishment.

The Council were unanimously of opinion, that the transaction should be followed out, and requested the Lord Provost to proceed to London, at the same time giving him full power to agree to such arrangements as he might find necessary and proper for carrying the intended measure into effect.

7.—*Haddington School of Arts*.—Another session of the Haddington School of Arts was brought to a close, after an interesting lecture from Dr Robert Lorimer, upon galvanism. A general meeting of the members was afterwards held, when a report of the proceedings during the past year was read and approved of. From it we learned, that the attendance and attention of the students had suffered no relaxation, and that the ability and diligence of the teachers were no less conspicuous. It appeared that the course of instruction pursued had been more extended this year than formerly. Premiums were adjudged, by the votes of their fellow-members, to the two students most distinguished for their attainments in chemistry. The successful candidates were David Hardie, labourer, Abbey; and James Trail, Haddington.

—*Presbytery of Glasgow*.—*Charge of Simony*.—The Presbytery heard the report of a delegation from the Presbytery of Irvine, respecting a certain letter which Mr John Brown, minister in Glasgow, had sent to Mr Cunningham, of Lainshaw. The letter in question, along with another from Mr Cunningham, was sent to the Presbytery of Irvine. After expressing their gratitude to Mr Cunningham for the communication, it was resolved to transmit the documents to the Presbytery of Glasgow, as Mr Brown was in their jurisdiction.

The letter alluded to was then read. The writer stated, in substance, that having heard of the death of the Rev. Dr Douglas, minister in Stewarston, if Mr Cunningham's promise was not al-

ready pre-engaged, he took the liberty to request that he would place him in the vacant church. If he had the kindness to do so, a friend of his undertook to give Mr Cunningham £100 for five or six years, not as a bribe, but as a testimony of gratitude. The writer twice preached for Dr Douglas, to the satisfaction of the parishioners, and if Mr Cunningham presented him with the church, it would be his highest ambition, by prudence, piety, and a faithful discharge of his duties, to merit his esteem, and the respect of his parishioners. For a testimony of his character and abilities, he referred to Mr Stewart of the Glasgow field.

Dr Rankin said, the Presbytery would be at no loss as to the mode of procedure in this case. All they had to do at present was to summon Mr Brown to their bar at their next ordinary meeting, on the second Wednesday of July.

This was unanimously agreed to.

8.—*Landholders of Shetland, v. Freeholders of Orkney*.—A very singular and interesting cause was debated before Lord Eldin, Ordinary, in which the Landholders of Shetland and the Freeholders of Orkney are the parties. It appears that the former have for a considerable period been excluded from any share in the election of the representatives to Parliament for the stewarty of Orkney and Zetland, in consequence of the valuation of that portion of the Islands never having been divided amongst the several heritors, and the Orkney Freeholders have hitherto opposed in Parliament, and now resist that subdivision. The object of the present action is to accomplish it by legal means. The Lord Ordinary expressed an opinion favourable to the pursuers, and directed a condescendence to be put in for the purpose of rendering the judgment to be given more specific than it could be on the first pleading. The Counsel who appeared for the pursuers were the Solicitor-General, and Messrs Jeffrey, Moncreiff, Thomson, and George Napier. For the defenders, the Dean of Faculty, Mr Robert Jameson, and Mr Innes.

18.—*Marshal Macdonald*, Duke of Tarantum, arrived in this city; he went to mass at the Catholic Chapel on Sunday morning, and visited Bishop Cameron. He has since received numerous visits from Noblemen and Gentlemen of the oldest families, to some of whom he remarked, that from what he had seen of them and of their country, he felt more pride than ever in having Scotch blood in his veins. He has visited the field of battle at Prestonpans, where his father fought in the ranks of the Pretender; and he intends

to visit many other celebrated spots in Scotland, and among the rest, the cavern where the Chevalier kept himself concealed, with a few of his followers, among whom was the Marshal's father. He is to set off next Thursday, on his way to the north and west of Scotland; and after having seen the most interesting parts of the country, he will embark in a King's cutter, which has received orders to attend him and take him to some of the principal western islands. Among others he will visit South Uist, where his father was born. The same cutter will then take him to Ireland. After some stay in the sister island, he will return to London, through Liverpool, visiting Manchester, Birmingham, and Stow, Blenheim, and some other of the most splendid seats of the nobility, and not forgetting to take a sight of a few of the best specimens of British farming and manufacturing industry. The Marshal, who never was in England before, is enraptured with the beauty of the country, of the towns, and, above all, of the metropolis of Scotland.

29.—The mails for the north commenced to leave Edinburgh four hours earlier than before. They are dispatched at a quarter past seven P. M. and arrive here at half-past six A. M.

29.—*The King's Levee*.—His Majesty held his third levee for the season at Carlton House. His Majesty looked exceedingly well, and was in perfect health. The Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, Prince Leopold, the Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors, and nearly one thousand of the nobility, gentry, and persons of distinction, were admitted to the presence of the Sovereign.

Glasgow Mechanics' Institution.—The second Annual Report of the Glasgow Mechanics' Institution presents a most gratifying view of the progress of that excellent establishment. The Committee of Management have displayed great good sense in the direction of its affairs, and have well merited the thanks of all who take an interest in the advancement of their fellow-creatures. The Institution have already books, apparatus, and preserved specimens in Natural History, worth £1215. The receipts by the sale of tickets amounted last year to £500. The contributions amounted to £230. The Committee advert to the deep interest displayed by the artisans to avail themselves of the benefits of the Institution. From the mechanic shop of one company there were about 140 students; and between 50 and 60 from that of another. There were a number of students who regularly attended from a distance of two or three miles; and some even from

Carmyle and Cambuslang, a distance of five miles.

Astronomical Instruments, &c.—It has long been a desideratum with the learned and philosophical, to possess a purer medium, through which to make astronomical and nautical experiments, than the glass which is at present manufactured for those purposes; and it is with great pleasure we learn, that the Royal Society and the Board of Longitude, under the direction of Sir H. Davy, the President of the former eminent body, have zealously undertaken the accomplishment of so desirable an object; and a series of experiments have now commenced under the superintendence of Mr Hudson.

Important Invention.—Andrew Balderne, a mechanical genius in Paisley, has invented a machine for cutting Chenille wefts. This is an object of no small importance, so far as regards this kind of manufacture. The Chenille shawls are highly beautiful, especially when made of silk. The manufacture of them is also very ingenious: the weft is first made into cloth, and again cut up in parts, when it is afterwards retwined, and then rewoven; the fabric, when finished, having the appearance of velvet on both sides. Hitherto the wefts have been cut up by females, a mode by no means certain or regular; and the machine is intended to perform this labour with additional speed and accuracy. This improvement will give the cloth a finer surface, and enable the manufacturers of these goods to be more successful in their business.

Scots Pearls.—It is known that the celebrated Scots pearls are obtained from the *cygneus*, or river muscle. The occurrence of pearls, however, in the common, or edible species, we believe to be rather rare. As a young lady was eating muscles the other day, her teeth struck upon some hard substance, and upon examining what it was, she was surprised to find a pretty large and beautiful pearl.

Exportation of Gold and Silver.—According to the account presented to Parliament, the gold exported from January 5th, to April 5th, 1825, has amounted to 536,673 oz. 16 dwts. about £2,000,000 value; and 1,443,287 oz. 9 dwts. silver, about £360,000 value. The returns of the amount of coin exported must necessarily be very incomplete.

Pyrometer.—Mr Macome, in his Lecture on Caloric, to the Johnstone Mechanics' Institution, observed, that several years ago, when steam was first introduced into spinning-mills, for the purpose of heating them, they were specimens of the pyrometer on a most magnificent scale. With a laudable attention to economy,

the hollow cast-iron pillars, which supported the several floors, were made of a double debt to pay," to serve as pipes for conveying the steam; the consequence was, that each pipe, when thus employed, became expanded by the heat; and although the effect was not very remarkable in the lower floors, yet, when the building consisted of five or six floors, the upper one, with all its complement of spinners, spinsters, and jennies, daily rose and fell through a considerable space.

Attained Scotch Titles.—We understand his Majesty has been pleased to direct that three more of the attained Scotch titles shall be restored, namely, Carnwath, Airlie, and Wemyss. The parties claiming are in the lineal descent. Mr Peel, we understand, has sent out a commission to Bengal, for Major-General Dalzell to take the usual oaths as Earl of Carnwath.

Mechanics' Institutions.—Although it is only a few years since they were first known in this country, the *Scotsman* computes, that there are already formed or now forming, in the United Kingdom, between thirty and forty Mechanics' Institutions. Such is the rapid though quiet progress of mental revolution—such the operation of Bacon's "greatest of innovators," Time!

Royal Allowances.—("Annual accounts for 1825," p. 138.)—The Duke of York, £26,000; the Prince of Coburg, £50,000 the Duke of Clarence, £26,000; the Duke of Sussex, £18,000; the Duke of Cumberland, £18,000; the Duke of Cambridge, £24,000; the Duke of Gloucester, £14,000; her Royal Highness the Princess Augusta, £13,000; her Royal Highness the Princess Mary, £13,000; her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia, £13,000; her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth, £13,000; her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, £6,000; and her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, £7,000.

Loss of the great Timber Ship, Columbus.—The Dolphin of Teignmouth, W. D. Dunley, master, arrived lately in Cork harbour, having on board the captain, (Daniel Nesbitt Munro,) and crew, seventy-three in number, of the great American Timber Ship, the Columbus, which was totally wrecked in a dreadful storm on the 17th May, in lat. 46. 54. N. long. 29. 2.—The vessel sailed from the Downs on the 26th April, in ballast, for St. John's, (New Brunswick,) with favourable weather, until the 17th May, in lat. 46. 54., N. long. 29. 2. when a dreadful storm arose, with the wind at west-north-west, which occasioned the vessel to roll in such a tremendous man-

as to render her almost unmanageable. The gale commenced at an early hour of the morning, and a leak was gaining on her at the rate of two feet an hour. All immediately went to the pumps; and notwithstanding that they had the assistance of a steam-engine of such power as would discharge, it is stated, at the rate of 1400 gallons of water per minute, still they were unable to get it under. In this perilous situation they desisted a sail about a league and half to windward, the first they had seen since they left England, and they had made signals of distress to her, when she bore down, and proved to be the Dolphin, bound to St. John's, Newfoundland, with a general cargo on board. The captain finding all attempts at saving her fruitless, he then considered it necessary to consult their own safety, and accordingly put out the launch, with a quantity of provisions, to convey on board the Dolphin; but in a moment she was stove to pieces against the ship's bow. The Columbus must have gone down in an hour or two afterwards, as in that time the Dolphin bore up, and a vestige of her could not be seen.

Catholic Question—House of Lords.
Ages of the Lords who voted upon this question, 17th May 1825:—

Age.	Majority.	Minority.
Under 40,	15	23
40 to 50	23	24
50 to 60	42	32
60 to 70	31	20
70 and upwards	32	11

Majority as above, 143

Bishops, - 27

Eight Lords whose ages are not in the Register, - 8

Majority, - 178

Minority, - 110

Bishops, - 2

18 Lords whose ages are not in the Register, 18

Minority, 130 130

Majority, 48

It appears from the above statement, that the majority of the young Lords are in favour of Emancipation; and the number of Lords above sixty years of age are two to one, against it, so that in a few years, in all probability, the measure will be carried in the House of Lords. The strength of the opposition, therefore,

lay in men whose opinions belong to the last century, not to the present. Every body knows, that after Harvey had demonstrated the circulation of the blood, no physician then living above 40 years of age would believe in the doctrine.

Islay.—Mr Campbell, of Shawfield, has for some time had an intention of introducing manufactures into Islay. Some heads of families, weavers at Pollokshaws, sent him a letter on the subject, and they were in due time favoured with an encouraging answer. The buildings are now erecting, near Port-Ascaig, and about eight miles from Bowmore, the capital of the island. Ten heads of families belonging to Pollokshaws are engaged.

Excise Seizures.—An account has been printed, by order of the House of Commons, giving a detail of all the customable commodities seized by the various establishments formed for the prevention of smuggling during the last three years. The account comprehends from 902,684½ lb. of tobacco, down to a single musical snuff-box seized, and exhibits a total of 129 vessels, 746 boats, 312 horses and cattle, 135 gallons of brandy, 253 gallons of rum, 227 gallons of gin, 596 gallons of wine, 10,500 gallons of whisky, 3000 lb. of snuff, 19,000 lb. of tea, 42,000 yards of silk, 2100 pieces of India handkerchiefs, 23 Leghorn hats, 3600 packs of cards, 10,000 pieces of timber, 75 stills, with sundry minor articles. The law expenses incurred by the condemnation of these articles are also stated, the storehouse-rent, salaries, amount of rewards to seizing-officers, &c.; and the result is, that the produce of the seizures does not amount to more than one-eighth part of the expenses incurred by making them.

Blight in Fruit Trees.—Wherever you see a branch of a tree either blighted or eaten by insects, take a shoemaker's awl and pierce the lower part of the branch into the wood, then pour in a drop or two of quicksilver, and stop the hole with a small piece of wood. In a day or two all the insects, not only upon that branch, but upon the rest of the branches, will fall and die, and the blights will cease.—*Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine.*

Comet.—Mr Gambard, of Marseilles, has, we learn, discovered a new comet on the 19th of May, though a distinct observation was not got till the 27th, at Paris. It is near Gamma, in Cassiopeia, invisible to the naked eye, without tail or apparent nucleus, having the form of nebula which is easily distinguished, notwithstanding the light of the moon.

APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, &c.

I. ECCLESIASTICAL.

June 2. The Associate Congregation, Kincardine, gave a unanimous call to Mr John Waddell, Preacher.

9. The King has appointed the Rev. Robert Smith to be first Minister of the Parish of Montrose.

— The Relief Congregation, Carrubber's Close, Edinburgh, gave a unanimous call to the Rev. William Strang.

11. The Rev. John Wood, A.M., Montrose, received a unanimous call from the Presbyterian Congregation of Park Chapel, Monkwearmouth, Durham.

20. Sir James Colquhoun presented the Rev. William Mackenzie to the Church and Parish of Olrig, in Caithness.

— His Grace the Duke of Argyll presented the Rev. John McLeod Campbell to the Parish of Row, Presbytery of Dunbarton.

25. The Associate Congregation, Potter-row, Edinburgh, gave a unanimous call to the Rev. John Ritchie, Kilmarnock.

27. The King presented the Rev. Alexander Nivison to the Parish of Robertson, Presbytery of Selkirk.

II. MILITARY.

Brevet Maj. Forrest, E. I. C. Serv. (Insp. of Military Stores,) Lieut. Col. in East Indies only 8 Nov. 1824.

Capt. Baines, 32 F. Maj. in the Army 19 July

Maj. Wetherall, 1 F. Lieut. Col. in the Army 11 Dec.

2 Dr. Gds. W. T. Hartopp, Cornet by purch. vice Hepburn, prom. 12 May 1825.

7 R. K. Trotter, Cornet by purch. vice Corkran, prom. do.

1 F. Gds. Ensign and Lieut. Langrishe, Lieut. and Capt. by purch. vice Hudson, ret. 27 April

— Sir J. M. Burgoyne, Bt. Lieut. and Capt. vice Luttrell, ret. 28 do.

Hon. C. J. F. Stanley, Ensign and Lieut. 27 do.

G. C. Ricketts, Ensign and Lieut. 28 do.

Coldstream F.G. Capt. Shawe, Capt. and Lieut. Col. by purch. vice Walpole, ret. do.

Ensign and Lieut. Harvey, Lieut. and Capt. by purch. vice Walter Forbes, ret. 21 do.

— Broadhead, Ensign and Lieut. do. 28 do.

B. P. Manningham, Ensign and Lieut. 21 do.

E. B. Wilbraham, Ensign and Lieut. 28 do.

Lord M. W. Graham, Ensign and Lieut. by purch. vice Harcourt, prom. 19 May

2 Dr. Serj. Maj. Gillies, (Riding Master,) Cornet without pay 12 do.

3 Lieut. Tuite, Capt. by purch. vice Mansfield, ret. 5 do.

Cornet Floyer, Lieut. do.

W. W. Congreve, Cornet 12 do.

Cornet Weston, Lieut. by purch. vice Fancourt, 83 F. 19 do.

4 Cornet Kaye, Lieut. by purch. vice Harvey, prom. 14 April

D. Hennessy, Cornet do.

Lieut. Hon. R. Watson, Capt. by purch. vice Hamilton, ret. 19 May

Cornet Macdonell, Lieut. do.

L. R. Viscount Frankfort de Montmorency, Cornet do.

Serj. Maj. Ready, Adj. and Cornet vice Butcher, res. Adj. only do.

1 F. Capt. Lane, from 24 F. Capt. vice Stoyte, exchange 19 do.

Hosp. Assist. Russell, Assist. Surg. vice Osborne, dead do.

2 F. Ensign Raitt, Lieut. vice Leighton, cancelled 12 May 1825

E. L. Daniell, Ensign do.

4 Assist. Surg. Berry, from h. p. 60 F. do.

5 Assist. Surg. Ensign and Quart. Mast. Bishop, Lieut. vice Fry, dead 28 April

Serj. Maj. Tillar, Quart. Master, vice Bishop, prom. 5 May

Capt. Cowell, from h. p. 66 F. Capt. vice Hart, exchange 19 do.

Ensign Stuart, from 91 F. Ensign vice Kirwan, 70 F. 28 April

Lieut. Phillips, from p. h. Lieut. vice Ramsford, exchanges 19 May

2d Lieut. Ramsden, from Rifle Brigade, Lieut. by purch. 11 do.

— Hamilton, from Rifle Brigade, Lieut. by purch. vice Wilmot, prom. 12 do.

G. Burrard, Ensign vice Nesbitt, cancelled 21 April

Lieut. Gardiner, from h. p. 88 F. Ensign Drury, exchange 5 May

— Calder, Adj. vice Drury, res. do.

Adj. only Fitz Maurice, from h. p. Rifle Brigade, Lieut. vice M'Lachlan, superseded 19 do.

Lieut. Brownrigg, Adj. vice Davis, prom. 21 April

10 W. Musgrave, Ensign by purch. vice Fenton, prom. 12 May

12 Capt. Crowther, from h. p. 41 F. Capt. vice Henderson, exch. rec. diff. from Capt. Bowler, retained on full pay of 80 F. 5 do.

15 W. Chambré, Ensign by purch. vice Howard, prom. 19 do.

14 Lieut. Homer, from h. p. 5 F. Lieut. vice Jennings, exchange 5 do.

15 — Farmar, from h. p. 77 F. ditto, vice Byng, 80 F. do.

Hosp. Assist. Knott, Assist. Surg. vice Graham, dead do.

Ensign Byng, from 29 F. Lieut. by purch. vice Temple, prom. 28 April

16 Assist. Surg. Alexander, from h. p. 28 F. Assist. Surg. 12 May

Capt. Browne, from h. p. 56 F. Capt. vice D'Arcy, exchange 19 do.

22 Gent. Cadet F. J. Pettit, from R. Mil. Coll. Ensign by purch. vice Dunbar, prom. do.

24 Capt. Stoyte, from 1 F. Capt. vice Lane, exchange do.

Lieut. Pickering, from h. p. 96 F. Lieut. vice Umacke, cancelled 5 do.

25 Lieut. Phibbs, from 89 F. Lieut. vice Sedley, cancelled do.

Capt. Burgh, from h. p. 56 F. Capt. vice Wolseley, exchange 19 do.

26 Ensign Macdonald, from h. p. 91 F. Ensign repaying the debt 7 April

27 Quart. Mast. Douglas, from 1 W.I.R. Quart. Mast. vice Kennedy, exchange 5 May

29 Lieut. Blunt, from h. p. 56 F. Lieut. vice Dighton, cancelled do.

C. May, from R. Mil. Acad. at Woolwich, Ensign vice Barr, 3 F. 19 do.

C. Eaton, Ensign by purch. vice Byng, 15 F. 28 April

30 Capt. Young, from h. p. 53 F. Capt. vice Skirrow, exchange, rec. diff. 14 Sept. 1824.

35 Lieut. Betty, from h. p. 27 F. Lieut. vice Breary, exchange 5 May 1825.

R. E. Hickson, Ensign vice Semple, 77 F. 12 do.

Gent. Cadet L. F. Thomasset, from R. Mil. Coll. Ensign by purch. vice Murray, prom. 19 do.

37 J. Bradshaw, Ensign by purch. vice Browne, prom. 12 do.

57	Asst. Surg. Maginn, from h. p. 5 Dr. Gds. Asst. Surg.	12 May 1825.	79 F.	C. B. Newbouse, from R. Mil. Acad. at Woolwich, Ensign vice Brown, prom.	6 April 1825.
58	Lieut. Hopper, Capt. vice Foster, dead	18 Sept. 1824.	80	Lieut. Gen. Sir R. S. Penkin, K.C.B. Col. vice Gen. Sir A. Campbell, dead	20 do.
	Ensign Tuddor, Lieut.	do		Serg. Maj. McDonald, from 5 F. Gds. Adj. and Ensign vice Sisson, prom.	28 do.
40	Brevet Maj. Ryan, from h. p. 50 F.	12 May 1825.	81	Capt. Crofton, from Ceylon Reg. Capt. vice Law, exchange	29 Sept. 1824.
41	Lieut. Blutt, Capt. vice Brown, dead	29 June 1824.	85	Lieut. Byng, from 15 F. Lieut.	5 May 1825.
	----- McIntyre, Capt. vice Macleod, dead	27 Aug.	85	Lieut. Hunt, Capt. by purch. vice William, prom.	9 April
	----- Maclean, Capt.	10 Feb. 1825.		Ensign Lord Crofton, Lieut.	do.
	Ensign Bedingfield, Lieut.	29 June 1824.		W. Cooke, Ensign	do.
	----- Tallon, Lieut.	27 Aug.		H. Copinger, from R. Mil. Acad. at Woolwich, Ensign	28 do.
	----- O Neil, Lieut. vice Hume, dead	10 Sept.	86	Capt. Wolsley, from h. p. 56 F. Capt. vice Hunfrey, exchange, rec. diff.	19 May
	----- Reed, Lieut.	10 Feb. 1825.		Ensign Currie, Lieut. vice Thomas Taylor, dead	31 Aug. 1824.
	J. Smith, Ensign	19 Aug. 1824.		Lieut. Agnew, Capt. vice Coates, dead	25 Dec.
	J. Boyse, Ensign	10 Sept.		Ensign Maclean, Lieut.	do.
	----- Stoddert, Ensign	11 Feb. 1825.		J. Gray, Ensign	31 Aug.
	Asst. Surg. Perrotti, Surg. vice Cowan, dead	21 April	89	Lieut. Peck, from h. p. 11 F. Lieut. vice Phibbs, 25 F.	5 May 1825.
	Hosp. Asst. Tennant, Asst. Surg. do.			Ensign Calder, from 1 W.L.R. Ensign vice Stuart, 6 F.	28 April
45	Asst. Surg. Edwards, from h. p. Asst. Surg.	12 May	91	Lieut. Gammell, from 64 F. Capt. by purch. vice Warren, ret.	14 do.
42	Lieut. Smith, from h. p. 78 F. Lieut. vice Cowell, cancelled	5 do.	92	Ensign Sawbridge, Lieut. vice Gordon, dead	28 do.
	Capt. Shelton, Maj. vice Burgh, dead	28 April		----- Aird, Ensign	9 do.
	Lieut. Whitney, Capt.	do		J. H. Mackrell, Ensign	10 do.
	Ensign Boyse, Lieut.	do		J. G. Inglis, Ensign	28 do.
	J. Pennington, Ensign	do		Lieut. Graham, from 46 F. Lieut. vice Campbell, h. p. 3 F.	19 May
46	A. L. Davis, from R. Mil. Acad. at Woolwich, Ensign vice Sutherland, 77 F.	14 do.	93	Lieut. Fancourt, from 4 Dr. Capt. by purch. vice Coleman, ret.	28 April
	Lieut. McPherson, from h. p. 30 F.	19 do.	95	F. Price, Ensign by purch. vice Parker, prom.	12 May
48	Lieut. vice Graham, 92 F.	19 do.	99	Lieut. Butler, from h. p. 35 F. Lieut. vice Valentine, cancelled	do.
	2d Lieut. Smyth, from R. Art. Lieut. vice Gaudmer, cancelled	5 do.		R. Brig. Serg. Maj. Fairfoot, Quart. Mast. vice Daunt, 90 F.	28 April
	Lieut. Cochrane, from h. p. 5 F. Gds. Lieut. (repay. diff.) vice Smyth, Staff Corps	19 do.		R. Walpole, 2d Lieut. by purch. vice Ramsdin, 7 F.	11 May
49	Ensign Phibbs, from h. p. 101 F. Ensign vice Burrows, cancelled	5 do.		H. Shirley, do. by purch. vice Hamilton, 7 F.	12 do.
50	Bt. Lieut. Col. Campbell, from 45 F. Maj. vice Fraser, dead	21 do.		R. Staff C. Lieut. Smyth, from 48 F. 1st Lieut.	19 do.
51	Lieut. Hay, from 48 F. Lieut. vice Macpherson, cancelled	9 do.		1 W. I. R. F. Lloyd, Ensign vice Calder, 91 F.	28 April
54	Lieut. Woodgate, Capt. vice Black, dead	27 Sept. 1824.		Quart. Mast. Kennedy, from 27 F. Quart. Mast. vice Douglas, exch.	5 May
	Ensign Harris, Lieut.	do		Ensign Porter, from h. p. 35 F. Ensign vice de Daubrawa, exch.	19 do.
56	Ensign Leighton, Lieut.	7 April 1825.		Ceylon R. Capt. Law, from 83 F. Capt. vice Crofton, exchange	25 Sept. 1824.
	----- Noyes, Lieut. vice Hewetson, cancelled	12 May		2d Lieut. Mackay, 1st Lieut. vice Watson, dead	12 Nov.
	B. T. Fumiss, Ensign	do		H. Stephenson, 2d Lieut. vice Braham, dead	19 May 1825.
58	Ensign Matteson, Lieut. by purch. vice Seymour, prom.	do		H. F. Powell, do. vice Mackay	do.
	P. H. Howard, Ensign	do		R.A.F.C.C. Ensign O'Halloran, Lieut. vice Burton, dead	2 do.
60	Lieut. Keal, Capt. by purch. vice Von Boeck, ret.	19 do.		----- Foss, Lieut. vice McKenzie, dead	5 do.
	Ensign Dalzell, from 95 F. 1st Lieut.	do		----- Lizar, Lieut. vice Greetham, 99 F.	4 do.
	Cent. Cadet H. Spence, from R. Mil. Coll. 2d Lieut. vice Binstead, 55 F.	20 April		----- Godwin, Lieut. vice Clements, prom.	5 do.
	A. Tucker, from R. Mil. Acad. at Woolwich, do.	21 do.		Vol. W. P. Godwin, Ensign vice Unisacke, dead	1 do.
65	Ensign Wootton, from h. p. 25 F. Ensign vice Carter, cancelled	12 May		----- P. Carmody, Ensign	2 do.
61	Ensign Michel, Lieut. by purch. vice Gammell, 92 F.	28 April		----- C. S. Robinson, Ensign	3 do.
	D. H. Laurell, Ensign	do		----- E. Hawkins, Ensign	4 do.
67	Lieut. Webster, Capt. vice Cassidy, dead	19 May		----- R. Smith, Ensign	5 do.
	Ensign Hennessy, Lieut.	do		Lieut. Patterson, Adj. vice Jobling, res. Adj. only	25 Feb.
70	Ensign Kirwan, from 6 F. Ensign vice Tuthill, cancelled	28 April			
72	H. Heywood, Ensign by purch. vice Stewart, prom.	12 May			
	Capt. Mason, from h. p. 80 F. Capt. vice Maclean, exchange	19 do.			
75	Lieut. Evans, from h. p. 17 F. Lieut. vice M'Queen, exchange, rec. diff.	12 do.			
	R. Preston, Ensign by purch. vice Slade, prom.	do			
77	Staff Asst. Surg. O'Donnell, Asst. Surg. vice Fraser, dead	5 do.			
	Ensign Semple, from 35 F. Lieut. vice Elliot, dead	12 do.			
79	Lieut. Hon. J. Sinclair, from h. p. 95 F. Lieut. repaying diff.	8 April			

Garrisons.

Lieut. Gen. Lachlan Maclean, Lieut. Governor of Quebec, vice Paterson, dead 5 May 1825.

Staff.

Maj. M'Dougall, h. p. 85 F. Insp. Field Officer of Mil. in Nova Scotia, (with rank of Lieut. Col. in the Army,) vice Harris, res. 21 April 1825.

Major Love, 32 F. Insp. Field Officer of Mil. in New Brunswick, with rank of Lieut. Col. in the Army 5 May 1825.
Lieut. Hodges, from h. p. 15 Dr. Adj. of a Recruit. Dist. vice Anderson, exchange do.

Hospital Staff.

Staff. Surg. Burd, from h. p. Surg. to the Forces 25 April 1825.
— O'Maley, from h. p. Surg. 28 do.
— Hackett, from h. p. Surg. do.
G. Brown, Hosp. Assist. vice Tennant, 41 F. 21 do.
Hosp. Assist. White, Assist. Surg. vice Magrath, res. 5 May
— M^r Isaac, do. vice O'Donnell, 77 F. do.
J. A. Topham, Hosp. Assist. vice Knott, 15 F. do.
G. Dryden, do. do.
E. Miller, do. do.
W. C. Eddie, do. vice Maury, dead 19 do.
R. D. Smith, do. vice Russell, 1 F. do.

Unattached.

Capt. Simson, from Gren. Gds. Lieut. Col. of Inf. by purch. vice Maj. Gen. J. M. Smyth, r. t. 28 April 1825.
Lieut. Temple, from 15 F. Capt. of Comp by purch. vice Heathcote, 27 F. 31 March
Maj. Montague, from 36 F. Lieut. Col. of Inf. by purch. vice Lieut. Col. Sir W. Cox, h. p. Port Serv. ret. 19 May
— Hon. G. Anson, from 7 Dr. G. Lieut. Col. by purch. vice Hon. Col. Gore, h. p. 9 F. ret. do.
Capt. Gascoyne, from 54 F. Maj. of Inf. by purch. vice Lieut. Col. Midgley, h. p. Staff do.
— Maberly, from 84 F. Maj. of Inf. by purch. vice Col. Clavering, h. p. 98 F. ret. do.
— Peel, from Gren. Gds. Maj. of Inf. by purch. vice Lieut. Col. Campbell, h. p. 62 F. ret. do.
Lieut. Seymour, from 38 F. Capt. of Inf. by purch. vice F. Lydard, h. p. Liverpool Regt. ret. 12 do.
— Wilnot, from 7 F. Capt. of Inf. by purch. vice Maj. Mounier, h. p. 32 F. ret. do.
— Harcourt, from Colids. Gds. Capt. of Inf. by purch. vice Madden, h. p. 100 F. ret. 19 do.
Cornet Hepburn, from 2 Dr. Gds. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice Robinson, h. p. Meuron's R. ret. 12 do.
Ensign Slade, from 75 F. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice Freer, h. p. 58 F. ret. do.
Cornet Dantry, from 6 Dr. Gds. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice Maddison, h. p. 7 Dr. ret. do.
Ensign Stewart, from 72 F. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice Chiff, h. p. 7 F. ret. do.
— Hon. A. C. J. Browne, from 37 F. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice O'Donnell, h. p. 20 F. ret. do.
— Parker, from 95 F. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice Alexander, h. p. 101 F. ret. do.
— Walker, from 11 F. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice Clarke, h. p. 93 F. ret. do.
— Curtes, from 33 F. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice Goldtrap, h. p. 5 F. ret. 12 May
Cornet Cockran, from 7 Dr. Gds. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice Commeline, h. p. 71 F. ret. do.
Cornet Phillips, from 4 Dr. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice Jodrell, h. p. 7 F. ret. do.
Ensign Fenton, from 10 F. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice Gladwin, h. p. Rec. Dist. ret. do.
— Murray, from 36 F. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice Cosens, h. p. 14 F. ret. 19 do.
— Dunbar, from 22 F. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice Sydney, h. p. 14 F. ret. do.
— Howard, from 13 F. Lieut. of Inf. by purch. vice Hall, h. p. 61 F. ret. do.
A. Coryton, Ensign by purch. vice Lord Eliot, h. p. 66 F. ret. 12 do.
J. Ball, Ensign by purch. vice Baynes, h. p. 2 Gn. Bn. ret. do.
L. J. Hay, Ensign by purch. vice Proctor, h. p. 43 F. ret. do.

Ordnance.—Royal Artillery.

1st Lieut. Lawlor, 2d Capt. vice Rains, 51 F. 8 April 1825.
2d Lieut. St. John, 1st Lieut. do.
Gent. Cadet, J. H. Cockburn, 2d Lieut. do.
2d Capt. Jackson, from h. p. 2d Capt. 14 do.

2d Lieut. Pickering, 1st Lieut. vice Foote, Staff Corps 9 Apr. 1825.
Gent. Cadet H. S. Coombe, 2d Lieut. do.
Gent. Cadet G. Markland, 2d Lieut. vice Brooke, 17 F. do.
— R. Robertson, 2d Lieut. vice Pottin-ger, 6 F. do.
— J. Hill, 2d Lieut. vice Jones, Staff Corps 10 do.

Royal Engineers.

1st Lieut. Lancey, 2d Capt. vice Head, Cape Corps 10 April 1825.
2d Lieut. Browne, 1st Lieut. do.

Exchanged.

Lieut. Col. Hutchin-son, Cape Corps, with Lieut. Col. Somerset, h. p. Unatt.
Capt. Leatham, from 1 Dr. Gds. rec. diff. with Capt. Skinner, h. p. York Chas.
— Higgins, from 7 F. with Lord Wm. Thynne, 27 F.
— Charlton, from 85 F. rec. diff. with Lord W. Paulet, h. p. Unatt.

Resignations and Retirements.

Major Gen. J. N. Smyth, (retaining rank.)
Lieut. Col. Hon. J. Walpole, Colids. Gds.
Capt. Hudson, Gren. Gds.
— Luttrell, do.
— Hon. Walter Forbes, Colids. Gds.
— Warren, 92 F.
— Coleman, 95 F.

Superseded.

Staff Assist. Surg. Rhys.

Appointments Cancelled.

Lieut. Macpherson, 51 F.
— Breary, from 55 F. to 1 R. Vet. Bn.
— Peddie, from h. p. 21 F. to full pay, 55 F.
— Leighton, from 2 F. to 56 F.
Ensign Nisbett, 5 F.
— Tuthill, 70 F.
Paymast. O'Meara, Afr. Col. Corps
Staff Surg. Rice, from h. p. to full pay

Deaths.

Lieut. Gen. Trotter, Morton, Edinburgh 5 Feb. 1825.
— M. Bailhe, Nice 5 May
— Trent, Hon. East India Company's Service
Capt. Brown, 41 F. 28 June 1821.
— Cassidy, 67 F.
— Mauritz, 95 F. on passage from Malta 29 March 1825.
— Bullock, h. p. 41 F. Canada 2 Oct. 1821.
— Skene, h. p. 81 F. Skene, N. B. 27 April 1825.
— Ewing, h. p. Waggon Train, Ostend 51 July 1825.
— Jenkins, h. p. 1 Ceylon R. Archangel 9 April 1825.
Lieut. Hume, 41 F. Rangoon, East Indies 9 Sept. 1824.
— Gregorson, h. p. 75 F. 5 Sept. 1825.
— Thos. Taylor, 89 F. Rangoon, East Indies 30 Aug.
— Kennedy, 89 F. of Wounds in Action at Murgui, Rangoon 19 Oct.
— Agnew, 2 Vet. Bn. Londonderry 24 April 1825.
— Taylor, of late 12 Vet. Bn. Isle of Man 19 do.
— O'Brien, h. p. 38 F. Chatham 4 do.
— Smyth, h. p. 41 F. Londonderry 4 do.
— Chapinan, 56 F. Castle Mitchell, Athy, Ireland do.
— Graumann, h. p. Roll's Regt. Rostock 8 do.
Ensign Cunyngnham, 24 F. at Devonport 18 May
— Hewetson, 56 F. supposed to be drowned at Port Louis, Mauritius Jan.
— Downing, 65 F.
— McClintock, of late 7 Vet. Bn. Castletown, Isle of Man 14 April
Paymast. Woollard, Cambridge, Mil. Ely April
— Stone, Londonderry Mil.
Quart. Mast. Marsden, 2d Dr. Gds. Norwich 20 May
— Crawford, R. Art. Woolwich 10 May
Assist. Surg. Graham, 15 F. 25 March
— Zierman, h. p. 8 Line Ger. Leg. Celle, in Hanover 8 April

CORN MARKETS.

Edinburgh.

	Bls.	Prices.	Av. pr.	Barley.		Oats.		Quar. Loaf.	Potat. p. peck.	1825.	Oatmeal.		B. & P. Meal.	
				s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.				Bls.	Peck.	Bls.	Peck.
June 22	44	56 0	40 0	57 2	—	19 0	22 0	19 0	21 6	0 10	1 0	June 21	537	1 3
29	636	51 0	39 6	56 6	28 0	32 0	18 0	21 6	19 0	21 6	0 10	2 6	28	307
July 6	667	55 0	39 0	56 4	28 0	55 0	18 0	21 6	19 0	22 0	0 10	2 6	July 5	351
13	587	54 9	39 0	56 3	—	—	18 0	21 6	19 0	22 0	0 10	1 6	12	372

Glasgow.

		Wheat, 240 lbs.		Oats, 264 lbs.		Barley, 320 lbs.		Bns. & Pse.		Oatmeal		Flour,	
		Dantz. For. red.	British.	Irish	Irish.	Scots.	Scots.	Scots.	Scots.	140 lbs.	280 lbs.	280 lbs.	280 lbs.
June 16	—	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
25	—	51 0	55 0	18 0	20 9	32 0	34 0	21 0	22 6	17 6	20 0	54	55
30	—	51 0	55 0	18 6	20 9	32 0	34 0	21 6	22 6	17 6	20 0	54	55
July 7	—	51 0	54 6	18 0	20 6	30	35 0	21 6	22 6	17 6	20 0	54	55
		51 0	54 6	18 0	20 6	25	30	51 0	55 0	21 6	22 6	17 6	20 0

Haddington.

Dacith.

		Prices.		Av. pr.	Barley.		Beans.		1825.	Per Boll.		Pr. Peck
		s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.	
June 17	186	52 0	57 6	55 4	27 0	36 0	18 0	24 0	18 22 0	17 6	19 0	
24	417	51 0	58 0	56 5	27 0	32 6	16 0	22 0	17 21 0	17 0	18 9	
July 1	379	30 0	37 6	55 10	27 0	35 0	17 0	21 6	17 0 21 0	17 6	19 0	
	517	50 0	58 0	55 7	26 0	32 6	18 0	22 0	18 22 0	17 0 20 0	18 6	

London.

		Wheat,		Rye.	Barley.		Oats.			Beans.		Pease.		Flour, 280 lb.		Quar. Loaf.	
		per.	qr.		Fd & Pol.	Potat.	Pigeon.	Tick.	Boiling.	Grey.	Fine.	2d.					
June	20	52	76	51	58	50	40	20	27	22	51	41	48	32	57	d.	d.
	27	50	75	34	58	50	40	20	26	22	50	41	48	33	57	11	10
July	4	50	75	34	58	50	40	20	26	22	50	41	48	33	57	11	10
	11	50	75	52	56	52	42	20	26	22	50	41	48	33	57	11	10

Liverpool.

		Wheat, 70 lb.		Oats, 45 lb.		Barley, 60 lb.		Rye, per qr.	Beans, per qr.	Pease, per qr.	Oatm. 240 lb.	
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.				Eng. 240 lb.	Irish. 196 lb.
June 11	13	10 9	2 0	5 6	4 9	6 0	5	36	42	34	56	55
21	10	10 6	2 0	5 6	4 6	5 6	5	36	43	31	52	55
28	4	0 10	9	2 0	5 6	4 6	5 6	35	40	56	43	34
July 5	4	0 10	9	2 0	5 6	4 6	5 6	35	40	56	43	34

England & Wales.

1825.	Whl.	Rye.	Barley	Oats.	Beans.	Pease.	Oatm.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
June 11	68 4	39 0	51 10	24 11	38 6	57 6	—
18	68 8	40 8	54 11	24 8	38 7	57 1	—
25	69 5	40 11	55 1	24 10	39 0	58 7	—
July 2	68 9	39 4	55 10	24 1	40 0	58 5	—

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE,

Kept at Edinburgh, in the Observatory, Caltonhill.

N.B.—The Observations are made twice every day, at nine o'clock forenoon and four o'clock afternoon.—The second Observation, in the afternoon, in the first column, is taken by the Register Thermometer.

1823.	Ther.	Baro.	Attach Ther.	Wind.	Weather.	Ther.	Baro.	Attach Ther.	Wind.	Weather.	
unc 1	M. 14 A. 55	29.68 .596	M. 37 A. 61	SW.	Dull, with slight rain.	16 16	M. 50 A. 70	29.99 .996	M. 73 A. 61	Cble.	Fair, sunsh. dull aftern.
2	M. 18 A. 55	.560 .510	M. 60 A. 60	W.	Foren. rain. calm rain	17	M. A. 7	.999 .985	M. 66 A. 70	NW.	Sunsh. and very warm.
3	M. 38 A. 55	.25 .555	M. 60 A. 58			18	M. A.	.998 .860	M. 68 A. 66	Cble.	Ditto.
4	M. 50 A. 55	.116 8.940	M. 38 A. 6			19	M. A.	.696 .580	M. 60 A. 39	Cble.	Shrs. morn. and aftern.
5	M. 37 A. 46	29.281 .465	M. 52 A. 56	Cble.		20	M. A.	.589 .619	M. 57 A. 57	N.	Morn. cold. day sunsh.
6	M. 38 A. 51	.566 .169	M. 57 A. 57	SW.		21	M. A.	.650 .632	M. 56 A. 58	N.	Ditto.
7	M. 16 A. 39	.275 .442	M. 60 A. 60	SW.		22	M. A.	.704 .750	M. 58 A. 59	N.	Sunsh. with shrs. rain.
8	M. 11 A. 58	.541 .575	M. 60 A. 60	SW.		23	M. A.	.682 .732	M. 60 A. 62	W.	Morn. rain, day sunsh.
9	M. 10 A. 51	.619 .879	M. 60 A. 60	SW.		24	M. A.	.610 .518	M. 61 A. 60	SW.	Dull morn. day sunsh.
10	M. 11 A. 61	.880 .840	M. 62 A. 61	SW.		25	M. A.	.726 .196	M. 61 A. 62	SW.	Showery.
11	M. 39 A. 66	.850 .896	M. 68 A. 70	SW.		26	M. A.	.166 .521	M. 39 A. 88	Cble.	Shry, with thin & light.
12	M. 32 A. 61	.958 .991	M. 60 A. 68	Cble.		27	M. A.	.164 .516	M. 60 A. 9	E.	Sunshine, warm.
13	M. 19 A. 66	.993 .116	M. 70 A. 61	Cble.		28	M. A.	.559 .165	M. 61 A. 65	SW.	Ditto.
14	M. 45 A. 58	.170 .170	M. 66 A. 71	NE.		29	M. A.	.550 .501	M. 61 A. 60	SW.	Morn. cold. day sunsh.
15	M. 47 A. 59	.187 .106	M. 66 A. 70	NE.		30	M. A.	.501 .596	M. 60 A. 61	SW.	Aftern. thin & light rain

Average of rain, 1.756 inches.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

FROM the 8th till the 24th of June, the weather was dry, clear, and warm, the mean temperature for that period being about 57° Fahrenheit. Some showers fell on the 25th, 26th, 27th, 30th, and 1st of the present month, amounting, in all, to about an inch in the rain gauge; since then the weather has continued dry, and the mean temperature is about 60°. Sowing of turnips was over, for the most part, before the rain on the 25th of June, and has been followed by a regular braud. Early-sown turnips have received the first hoeing, and in some instances the second hoeing is going forward. The growing crops every where look well. Wheat has been some time in flower, and though in some places the plants stand thin, the general appearance is favourable. Oats come in the ear in early situations, and promise a full crop. Barley, where early sown, is in full ear, and in the latest situations it is in a state of forwardness; the more than ordinary breadth under this species of grain, and the general luxuriance of the crop, give promise of more than an average return. Beans shew abundance of blossom, and pease are luxuriant. Potatoes on stubborn soils appear rather stunted, on easy lands, where the soil is in good condition, the stems are vigorous. The hay crop is now cut, and a great part secured in the tramp-riek; the weight is various, but hay is upon the whole a light crop. Pastures afford a good bite, and cattle are in good condition. In the corn-markets there is little doing in the way of speculation, and prices are stationary; a fall is anticipated about the end of September. Draught horses, at this advanced period of the season, are less in demand, and prices are somewhat lower. Cattle continue to fetch high prices, and lambs bring, in some of the large towns, prices out of all proportion with the value of other stock.

Perthshire, 11th July 1825.

Course of Exchange, London, July 12.—Amsterdam, 12 : 2. Ditto at sight, 11 : 19. Rotterdam, 12 : 3. Antwerp, 12 : 3. Hamburgh, 36 : 10. Altona, 36 : 11. Paris, 3 days sight, 25 : 20. Bourdeaux, 25 : 45. Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 151½. Madrid, 36¼. Cadiz, 36½. Gibraltar, 31. Leghorn, 50. Genoa, 45½. Lisbon, 51¼. Oporto, 51. Rio Janeiro, 48½. Dublin, 9½—Cork, 9½ ½ cent.

Prices of Bullion, ½ oz.—Foreign Gold in bars, £3. 17. 10½d.—New Dollars, 4s. 11¼d.

Premiums of Insurance at Lloyd's.—Guernsey or Jersey, 10s.—Cork or Dublin, 10s. 6d.—Belfast, 10s. 6d.—Hamburgh, 9s. 6d. a 10s. 6d.—Madeira, 15s. 9d. a 20s.—Jamaica, 25s. a 30s.—Home, 35s. a 40s.—Greenland, out and home, a gs.

Weekly Prices of the Public Funds, from June 22 to July 13, 1825.

	June 22.	June 29.	July 6.	July 13.
Bank Stock.....	233	232	—	231½
3 ½ cent. reduced.....	90¾	90¾	90½	91½
3 ½ cent. consols.....	—	—	87¾	90½
3½ ½ cent. do.....	98½	98½	—	99
4 ½ cent. do.....	—	—	—	104
Ditto New do.....	—	—	—	—
India Stock.....	—	—	273¼	—
— Bonds.....	53	62	—	55
Exchequer bills.....	34	47	46	35
Consols for account.....	91½	91¾	91½	—
French 5 ½ cents.....	102fr.—c.	102fr.50c.	103fr.—	103 fr.—

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ENGLISH BANKRUPTS, announced between the 23d of May and the 19th of June 1825 : extracted from the London Gazette.

- Archer, W. Fetter-lane, merchant.
 Argent, J. Church-row, Bethnal-green, carpenter.
 Backhouse, H. Lee's, druggist.
 Bindell, R. Liverpool, distiller.
 Boyes, J. Scarborough, grocer.
 Brooks, J. Bath, victualler.
 Brown, P. Scarborough, draper.
 Brownless, C. Leeds, book-binder.
 Bruce, J. Sweeting's-alley, stationer.
 Clay, T. Size lane, wine merchant.
 Clunes, D. Goodge street, upholsterer.
 Cook, C. and J. Booth, Manchester, merchants.
 Cowper, W. Millbrook, scrivener.
 Craven, T. and J. Parker, Heckmondwike, scribbling-millers.
 Crossley, T. Nicholas-lane, tea dealer.
 Dean, G. Bridgewater, chumaman.
 Eccleston, R. Bristol, wine-merchant.
 Eden, P. Woburn, draper.
 Folkard, W. King street, Cheapside, victualler.
 Fox, J. Birmingham, plater.
 Frampton, G. Weymouth, and Melcombe Regis, merchant.
 George, R. Richmond, tailor.
 Gaseigh, R. Richmond, tailor.
 George H. Bedwelty, Monmouth, shopkeeper.
 Goldscheider, J. London-wall, merchant.
 Goodwin, J. Holt, Worcester, miller.
 Griffiths, S. Liverpool, tea dealer.
 Hill, C. Egham, innkeeper.
 Hayden, J. Southampton, boot maker.
 Hazard, W. Liverpool, nail-manufacturer.
 Hills, J. High street, Mary-le-bone, farrier.
 Hope, H. A. Mark-lane, dealer.
 Jeffery, W. Davis-street, Hanover-square, horse-dealer.
 Jerman, S. Lambeth, tea-dealer.
 Johnston, T. jun. Liverpool, tailor.
 Knowles, T. Cheltenham, warehouseman.
 Lawrance, C. Drury-lane, tallow-chandler.
 Lawton, T. Greenacres More, near Oldham, pub-lican.
 Livingston, T. Stepney-causeway, baker.
 Mansel, W. (otherwise Sir W. Mansel, bart.) Downing street, picture-dealer.
 Mercer, W. Manchester, iron founder.
 Miles, J. Old street-road, oilman.
 Morley, W. Stapleford, lace manufacturer.
 Newnham, W. Bognor, builder.
 Oldfield, H. Devonshire buildings, New Dover-road, gas-light manufacturer.
 Phillips, T. Marchmont-street, Burton-crescent, merchant.
 Phillips, W. Chepstow, coal-merchant.
 Robinson, J. Manchester, copperas-manufacturer.
 Sharp, G. Leeds, cordwainer.
 Sherwin, J. Burslem, bookseller.
 Sloan, A. and M. Friedberg, Paternoster-row, dealers.
 Standen, C. and W. German, Long-lane, West Smithfield, tailors.
 Stones, D. and T. Ashworth, York, turners.
 Swift, W. and T. Swift, Aston, near Birmingham, toy-makers.
 Thomas, J. Stepney, master-mariner.
 Thornley, T. Manchester, pawnbroker.
 Unsworth, J. Liverpool, tailor.
 Vickery, J. Bristol, brush-manufacturer.
 Walsh, J. Norwich, linen draper.
 Warwick, J. and J. G. Young, Austin friars, wine-merchants.
 Willams, J. Twyford, butcher.
 Williams, W. H. Old street, corn-dealer.
 Wood, G. Manchester, tailor.
 Woodward, J. Nottingham, machine-maker.
 Vandall, E. Wynnyatt-place, Clerkenwell, horse-dealer.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SCOTCH BANKRUPTCIES and DIVIDENDS, announced June 1825; extracted from the Edinburgh Gazette.

SEQUESTRATIONS

Ednie, Christopher, flax-merchant in Dysart.
Greenfield, Archibald, butcher and cattle-dealer, Leith.
Galloway, John, builder in Leith.
Lawrie, John, and Thomas, spirit-dealers in Glasgow.
Miller, Walter, paper-maker, at Patrick Bank, near Paisley.
Reid, Alexander, junior, tailor and draper, King-Street, Glasgow.
Ross, Andrew, merchant and grocer in Tam.
Stevenson, John and son, dyers and calico-printers in Hutchesontown, Glasgow.

DIVIDENDS.

Hunter, Duncan, merchant in London, and Alexander Hunter, merchant in Glasgow; by Thomas Falconer, writer there.
Hynd, John, merchant, broker, and underwriter, formerly of Glasgow, thereafter of Greenock; by Alexander Murdoch, in Ayr.

DIVIDENDS.

Lowe, J. and J. merchants in Greenock; by John Frazer, merchant in Glasgow.
Livingstone, Arthur, merchant in Kilsyth; by Alexander Mein, accountant, Glasgow.
McNeil, James, baker, and lately brewer and distiller in Dumfries; by Robert Kemp, writer there.
Maclean, Murdo, mealmonger, or dealer in meal, at Tulloch of Lochcarron; by Mr J. H. Cameron, writer, Dingwall.
McCauley, John, and Sons, merchants, Glasgow; by Mr Garden, merchant there.
Rae, John, candlemaker, in Edinburgh; by William Sanderson, Stead's Place, Leith Walk.
Wylie, H. and M. manufacturers in Glasgow; by William Kerr, cotton yarn-merchant there.
Wright, Alexander, fish curer and dealer in herring, in Banff; by George Alexander, merchant there.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

1821. Dec. 25. At Graham's Town, Cape of Good Hope, Mrs Robert Turnbull, a daughter.
1825. May 25. At Jersey, the Lady of Major-General Sir Colin Halkett, K.C.B. and G.C.H. a daughter.
29. Mrs McKean, Northumberland-Street, Edinburgh, a daughter.
— At Edinburgh, the Lady of John Cay, Esq. advocate, a son.
June 4. The Lady of William Erskine, Esq. 14, Melville Street, Edinburgh, a daughter.
5. At Melfort House, Argyleshire, Mrs D. McDougall, a son.
— At London, the Countess of Kinnoull, a daughter.
7. At Tours, in France, the Lady of William Bowrin, Esq. of White Dale, Hants, a daughter.
9. At Craighleith House, Mrs Fleming, a son.
10. Mrs Corrie, No. 18, Royal Circus, Edinburgh, a daughter.
— In Lower Mount-Street, Dublin, the Hon. Mrs James Caulfield, R. N. a son.
— At Epissas, in La Vendee, France, Maria Beignon, the wife of a farrier, of four children, three boys and a girl. They were all baptized in the church, and cried during the ceremony; one of them, however, lived but twenty-four hours.
12. At Edinburgh, the Lady of Dr Fogo, of the royal artillery, a daughter.
— At Craighlands, the Lady of Alex. Allan, Esq. advocate, a daughter.
— At Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, the Right Hon. Lady Anne Wardlaw Ramsay, a son.
13. At Langley Park, near Montrose, the wife of John Burnet, man-on, was safely delivered of three daughters, who, with the mother, were all doing well.
— The Lady of Warren Hastings Sands, Esq. W.S. a daughter.
14. At Menie, the Lady of Major Turner, royal horse-artillery, a daughter.
17. At Glasgow, the Lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Hastings, a son.
18. At Largmean, the Lady of G. W. Laurence, Esq. a daughter.
— At Glassmount, Fife-shire, Mrs William Young, a son.
19. At Redford, the Lady of Alexander Hunter, Esq. a son.
— At Great King-Street, Edinburgh, the Lady of Sir J. J. Scott Douglas, Bart. of Springwood Park, Roxburghshire, a son and heir.
21. At Irvine, Mrs Fullarton of Fullarton, a daughter.
— At Eaglescarnie, the Lady of Major-General the Hon. Patrick Stuart, a son.

1825. June 24. At Strathairn Cottage, the Lady of Major Briggs, a son.

25. At 28, Royal Circus, Edinburgh, the Lady of Dr Hinton Spalding, Kingston, Jamaica, a son.

26. At Anernin House, the Lady of Rear-Admiral Adam, a son.

— Mrs P. Hill, junior, No. 8, Pitt-Street, Edinburgh, a daughter.

31. At Burntsfield House, near Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs Duncan, a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

1824. Sept. 7. At St. David's Church, Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land, Mr James Aitkin, late first officer of the Australian Company's Ship Triton, to Jane, eldest daughter of Marcus Synnot, Esq. of Ballymore, county of Armagh, Ireland.

1825. Jan. 27. At Madras, Captain George Dols, 15th regiment native infantry, to Miss Georgiana Heneretta Flower, eldest daughter of A. Flower, Esq. Honourable Company's civil service.

April 30. At Edinburgh, the Rev. John Alton, minister of Dolphinton, to Miss Mary Anne Smith, youngest daughter of the late Mr John Smith, Midhope.

May 23. Captain Forbes, 78th regiment, to Margaret, eldest daughter of the late John Urquhart, Esq. of Craigton.

30. At London, the Honourable Granville Dudley Ryder, second son of the Earl of Harrowby, to Lady Georgiana Augusta Somerset, third daughter of the Duke of Beaumont.

— At Edinburgh, William Gilles, Esq. of London, to Miss Clementina Carnegie, fifth daughter of the deceased Thomas Carnegie of Craigo, Esq.

— At Lanark, Mr Andrew Thomas Waterson, Sheriff-clerk Substitute for the Upper Ward, to Miss Charlotte Greig Murray, second daughter of Mr Robert Murray, Edinburgh.

— At Edinburgh, Thomas Brown, Esq. writer, to Harriet, youngest daughter of the late E. R. Thong, Esq. solicitor, Bedford.

31. At London, the Hon. Edward Geoffrey Stanley, M. P., eldest son of Lord Stanley, and grandson of the Earl of Derby, to Emma Caroline, second daughter of Edward Bootle Wilbraham, Esq. M.P. of Lathom House, Lancashire.

June 1. At Pinkerton, near Dunbar, Mr John Richardson, R. N. to Jane, youngest daughter of the late Adam Watson, Esq. of Press, Berwickshire.

— At Glasgow, Mr John Watson, merchant, to Margaret, only daughter of the late Mr Alexander Stewart, merchant.

— At Edinburgh, Lieutenant Alexander Sutherland, 11th British militia, to Elizabeth, daughter

of the late Captain Alexander Sutherland, 39th regiment.

June 1. At Glasgow, Mr Alex. Kirkwood, merchant, Campbellton, to Magdalene Cochrane, eldest daughter of the Rev. John Macfarlane, Bridge-ton, Glasgow.

— At Wellwood Lodge, John Winstanley, Esq. of Leyland, to Eliza Isabella, relict of Robert Wellwood, Esq. of Garock.

2. At Kimmel House, Alexander Henderson of Eddonhall, Esq. banker, Edinburgh, to Mrs Margaret Millar, relict of the late Major James Millar, and niece of Dugald Stewart, Esq.

— At Glasgow, George Mann, Esq. writer, Kelso, to Eliza, eldest daughter of the Rev. William Routledge, minister of that chapel.

— At St. George's, Hanover Square, London, David Scott, Esq. of the Bengal civil service, to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of William Crawford, Esq. of Upper Wimpole-Street.

— At Coldstream, Lieutenant Eglinton Montgomerie, of the 52d foot, to Mrs Anne P. Murray, daughter of the late Rev. Thomas Murray, minister of Channellkirk.

4. At Edinburgh, George Lindsay, Esq. Lieutenant R. N. to Helen, second daughter of the late George Buchanan, Esq. Glasgow.

6. At London, the Earl of Sheffield to Lady Harriet Lascelles, eldest daughter of the Earl of Harewood.

— At Glasgow, James Reid, Esq. to Janet, only daughter of Alex. Ewing, Esq. late of Balloch.

— At Glasgow, James Burns, Esq. merchant, to Margaret, fourth daughter of the late William Smith, Esq. merchant, Glasgow.

7. At Queen-Street, Edinburgh, the Rev. Alexander Christison, minister of Foulden, to Helen, youngest daughter of the late Rev. William Cameron, minister of Kirknewton.

— At Glasgow, Alexander Downie, Esq. to Isabella, eldest daughter of John Buchanan, Esq.

— At Newington, John Robertson Sibbald, Esq. surgeon, Edinburgh, to Eleanor, eldest daughter of the Rev. James Greig, Dalmeny.

8. At London, John Forbes, Esq. Captain in the Bombay army, to Eliza, youngest daughter of John Orrok, Esq. late Captain in his Majesty's 55d regiment.

— At Edinburgh, the Rev. Andrew Rogie, to Isabella, only daughter of the late Adam Summers of Hawick.

— At the Dowager Viscountess Duncan's, Lieutenant-General Sir John Hamilton Dalrymple, Bart. to the Honourable Adama Duncan, daughter of the late Lord Viscount Duncan.

— At Jedburgh, David Brown, Esq. of Rawflat, to Anne Maria, daughter of John Fitzwilliam Berford, Esq. Dublin.

9. At Edinburgh, Thomas Robert Robertson, Esq. W. S. to Helen, second daughter of the late John Elder, Esq. deputy-clerk of session.

10. At Edinburgh, the Rev. William Wilson, A.B. of St. John's College, Cambridge, to Miss Henrietta Lockhart, daughter of the deceased Charles Lockhart, Esq. of Newhall.

— At Peebles, Samuel Lindsay, A.M. of the High School, Edinburgh, to Grace, daughter of Mr Anderson, Peebles.

12. At Forfar, Thomas Carnaby, Esq. Sheriff-Clerk Depute, to Miss Susan Steel, daughter of John Steel, Esq. merchant, Forfar.

13. James Powell, Esq. merchant, Liverpool, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Beck, Esq. Balmangan, near Kirkcudbright.

14. At Milfield, near Falkland, George Lyon Walker, Esq. merchant, Glasgow, to Jenn, daughter of Harry Hope, Esq. of Milfield.

— At Rotheray, John Muir, Esq. Sheriff-substitute of Buteshire, to Miss Douglas, daughter of the late William Douglas, Esq. Glasgow.

— At Edinburgh, Lieutenant J. A. Kingdom, of the 51st regiment of foot, to Jessie, daughter of William Moffat, Esq. solicitor, Edinburgh.

— At Lerwick, Charles Ogilvy, junior, Esq. banker there, to Mattha, youngest daughter of Thomas Fea, Esq. Collector of the Customs at Lerwick.

— At Blantyre Manse, Lieut. William Wyllie, late of the royal marine artillery, to Margaret, youngest daughter of the late Mr Andrew Bruce, merchant, Edinburgh.

16. At Rushall, the seat of Sir Edward Poore, Bart., Frederick North, Esq. of Rougham, in the

county of Norfolk, and of Hastings, Sussex, to Janet, eldest daughter of Sir John Marjoribanks, Bart. M. P. for Berwickshire, and widow of the late Robert Shuttleworth, Esq. of Gawthorpe, Lancashire.

June 20. At London, Duncan Davidson, Esq. (grenadier guards,) younger of Tulloch, to the Hon. Elizabeth Diana Bosville Macdonald, second daughter of Major-General the Right Hon. Lord Macdonald.

21. At London, Donald Campbell, Esq. younger of Duntaffnage, Argyleshire, to Caroline Eliza, second daughter of the late Sir W. Plomer.

22. At Belfast, Robert Laddell, Esq. merchant, Leith, to Sarah, eldest daughter of the late John Nisbet, Esq. Ancroft, North Durham.

27. At Edinburgh, Mr Alexander Burr, merchant, to Margaret, eldest daughter of Mr David Macgibbon, builder.

Lately, At London, Sir John V. B. Johnstone, Bart. of Hackness, in the county of York, to Louisa Augusta Vernon, second daughter of his Grace the Archbishop of York.

DEATHS.

1824, Nov. 10. At Port, Macquarrie, New South Wales, John Rolland, Esq. of Auchmithie, Captain in his Majesty's 3d regiment of foot, and Commandant there.

1825, Jan. At Trichinopoly, Captain Henry Fullarton, of the Madras engineers.

11. At Rangoon, in consequence of wounds received in action with the Burmese, Ensign James Mill Geddes, of the 47th regiment of foot, youngest son of the late Lieutenant-Colonel William Geddes, of the 83d regiment.

21. At Mount Road, Madras, Andrew Scott, Esq. of the Honourable the East India Company's civil service.

March 5. At Cape Coast Castle, Ensign Charles S. Lizards, of the Royal African Colonial corps.

27. At Falmouth, in Jamaica, Lieut. George Roderick Urquhart, of the 53d regiment of foot, second son of the late Rev. John Urquhart, of Mounteagle, minister of Fearn, in Ross-shire.

April 2. At Kingston, Jamaica, Matthew, youngest son of James Lamont, of Knocklow, Esq.

21. At New Windsor, state of Maryland, Mrs Selkrig Bruce, relict of the late Mr Robert Dols, of Prora, East Lothian, in her 74th year.

28. At Newburgh, John Anderson, aged 85, one of the Magistrates of that place.

— Mrs Mary Macqueen, wife of Archibald Dunlop, distiller, Haddington.

23. At the house of her brother, Mile-end, in the neighbourhood of London, Mrs Henrietta Carruthers, eldest daughter of the late Robert Carruthers, Esq. of Howmans, Scotland.

— At Ardneave, Duncan Campbell, Esq.

— At Achnagairn, John Fraser, Esq. of Achna gairn, in the 84th year of his age.

29. At Edinburgh, Anne, third daughter of the late Mr Alex. Begbie, of Leith.

30. At Edinburgh, Miss Ann Thornton, late of Fountainbridge.

May 1. At Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret B. S. Kennedy, wife of John Kennedy, Esq. C. S. and youngest daughter of the late Neil Snodgrass, Esq. of Cunningham head.

— At Biction-house, Devon, after a few hours' illness, aged 77, the Hon. Lord Rolle, Baron Rolle.

3. At Peterhead, Miss Marjory Arbutnot, daughter of the deceased Nathaniel Arbutnot, Esq. of Hatton, in the 78th year of her age.

— At Nice, in Piedmont, Lieut. Gen. Matthew Baillie, late of Carnaroe.

— At Edinburgh, John Adamson, Esq. writer in Edinburgh.

— At his house, Grosvenor-Street, London, Sir John Cox Hopesley, Bart.

— At Balmacellan manse, Major S. Brown.

4. At Dollar, William Drummond, Esq. of Balmorie and Balfour spinning Mills, Fifeshire.

— At Poplar Cottage, aged 41, William Elton, Esq. late of Dumfries.

— At his house in Curzon-Street, London, Lieut. Gen. Brown, of the Hon. East-India Company's Service.

— At 51, George's Square, Edinburgh, Patrick Bennet of Whyteide, eldest and only surviving son of the late Rev. William Bennet of Duddingston.

May 4. At Arbuthnot, James Louison, jun. Esq., youngest son of William Roy, Esq. of Newthorn.

6. At Montrose, a poor woman, of the name of Elspet Black, at the advanced age of 100 years and five days. She retained all her faculties to the last.

— At West Bains, near Dunbar, G. Hay, Esq.

— In Berkeley Square, London, Lady Ann Bernard, widow of Andrew Bernard, Esq. the intimate friend of Dr Johnson. Her Ladyship was sister to the late Earl of Balcarras, and authoress of the ballad of "Auld Robin Gray," a poetic effusion which, for its beautiful simplicity, ranks among the first in the language.

— At Balduine, near Cupar Angus, Mr James Halkett, farmer, in the 85th year of his age.

— At Edinburgh, George Robinson of Clenniston, Esq. W.S., Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Exchequer for Scotland.

— At Aberdeen, Mrs Helen Leslie, relict of the late John Henderson, Esq. of Caskieben, aged 75.

— At Little Mill, Dumbartonshire, Captain Walter Allan.

— At Ayr, Mr John Brackenridge, writer.

7. At Trinity Grange, near Edinburgh, Mrs Isabella Chryatie, widow of Wm Simpson, of Ogl.

— At 5, North St David's Street, Edinburgh, Alex. Stevens, Esq. Laurehill, Moffat; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of his Dumfries, in the 57th year of his age.

8. At Craik, Robert Murray, Esq.

— At 53, North Bridge, Edinburgh, Mary Ann, daughter of Thomas Ewing, teacher, aged 13 months.

8. At Grange House, John Robert Bell, third son of George Joseph Bell, Professor of the Law of Scotland in the University.

— Mr Alexander Fraser, merchant, Edinburgh, in the 76th year of his age.

— At Raploch, near Stirling, Mr William Bow, preacher of the gospel, aged 91; and, on the evening of the same day, his brother James Bow, aged 85. It is also worthy of remark, that a sister died about three months ago, aged 83. The three ages, united amounts to nearly 260 years.

9. At Stockbridge, Edinburgh, Mrs Robina Wallace, wife of Alex. Spence, Esq. and daughter of the late John Wallace, Esq. of Dumbhead.

— At Dumbarton, Mr William Finlay, rector of the grammar-school.

— At Dunfriess Park, near Doonholm, Mrs Elizabeth Campbell, aged 89, relict of Mr Thomas Woodhouse, late merchant in Ayr.

10. At Restalrig House, near Edinburgh, in the 56th year of her age, Mrs Duncan, relict of the late Alexander Dumeen, Esq. of Restalrig.

11. At 3, Buccleugh Place, Edinburgh, Mr John Greig, bookseller.

— At Newabbey, James, eldest son of William Stewart, Esq. of Shambelly.

12. At Finlayston House, Archibald Campbell, Esq. aged 71.

— At North Leith, Anna Brown, relict of Capt. William Beaton, aged 71.

— At Newton House, Alexander Laing, Esq.

— At Glasgow, in his 55th year, Walter Davidson, Esq. late of St. Giles, near Quebec.

13. At Knole, after a few days illness, the Earl of Whitworth.

14. At Edinburgh, Mrs Marion Freer, widow of the Rev. Dr George Smith, minister of Galtston, Ayrshire.

15. In her 21st year, Mrs Jane Ross Tyrie, wife of Mr John Watt, merchant, Leith.

16. At Dalkeith, aged 26, Catherine Graham, wife of James Alexander, Esq. banker.

— At Invergowrie, James Clayhills, Esq. of Invergowrie.

17. At Laverock Bank Cottage, Trinity, Mary Telfer, relict of Mr Taylor, Customs, Leith.

19. At Morningside, Eliza, youngest daughter of John Mitchell, Esq. Doune, Perthshire.

— At Humber, parish of Kirkcaldy, Alexander Dudgeon, Esq.

— At Lasswade, Thomas Dundas Stirling, Esq. youngest son of the late Sir John Stirling of Glorat, Bart.

May 20. At Deal, H. McCulloch, Esq. brother of John McCulloch, Esq. of Parholme, in the county of Gallaway, and of Captain McCulloch, of his Majesty's ship Ramilies.

— At Cupar, Mrs Robina Coutts, wife of Mr James Spence, physician, Cupar.

22. At his house, Greenbank, Robert Maxwell, Esq. Provost of Rutherglen.

— Suddenly, at Hampstead, Mr D. Corri, well known as a composer and teacher of music, for the last 50 years, in London and Edinburgh.

— At Maize of Strichen, after a long and severe illness, in the 7th year of her age, Mrs Agnes Anderson, relict of the late Rev. Andrew Young, son minister of Aberdeen.

25. At Bath, the Right Honourable James Caulfield Brown, Lord Kilmaine, aged 61.

24. At Queensferry, Archibald Douglas Stewart, Esq. surgeon.

— At Leith, in the 85th year of her age, Mrs Jean Dobbie, relict of Mr James Grindlay, Boro'-townness.

— At Linton, Miss Adeline Buchan, daughter of the late George Buchan, Esq. of Kelloe.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Helen Russell, wife of Mr William McLean, merchant.

25. At Bristol, in his 72d year, John Ryland, D.D. pastor of the Baptist Church, and theological tutor of the Baptist Academy there.

26. At Cragie, Mrs Anna McPherson, wife of Mr Archibald Fyfe, Weekly Chronicle Office.

27. At Colinton Bank, Susannah Manson, only child of Mr Logan, W.S.

28. At Craggan, Captain James Grant, of Balhintosh, in the 88th year of his age.

29. At Heardy Place, Edinburgh, Jane, youngest daughter of James Harvey, Esq. of Castle Semple.

— At New House, near North Berwick, in his 80th year, Mr Alexander Miller.

— At Pitcorthly, Fifeshire, Miss Jane Ross, third daughter of David Ross, Esq. deceased, eldest son of the late Lord Ankersville.

— At Greenock, John Alexander, Esq.

30. At Lichfield, in the 78th year of his age, General Vyse, Colonel of the 5th, or Prince of Wales's dragon guards.

31. At Baker's Place, Stockbridge, Edinburgh, Mr John Gibson, builder, much regretted by his friends and very numerous acquaintance.

— At London, aged 82, George Chalmers, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A. Chief Clerk of the Office of Privy Council for Trade and Plantations; author of Caledonia, and various other works.

— At Glasgow, Alexander Riddell, Esq.

— At Aberdeen, Lieutenant William Willox, of the royal artillery, aged 63 years.

June 1. At Edinburgh, Lady Elizabeth Finch Hatton.

— At Greenwich, Major-General George Bridges, of the royal engineers.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Reay, relict of the Rev. John Reay, of St. Peter's Episcopal Chapel, Montrose.

— At Scouthall, Captain James Gunn, late of the 93d regiment of foot.

3. At Dunbarrie, Patrick Henderson, Esq.

4. At St. Andrew's, Laurence Gillespie, Esq. Assistant Commissary General to the Forces.

— At Glasgow, Captain John Campbell, R.N.

5. At Edinburgh, Mr Charles Sutherland, late merchant in Golsie, Sutherlandshire.

6. At Kincardine, John McLeay, Esq. surgeon, R. N. in the 33d year of his age.

7. At Edinburgh, in the house of his grandmother Lady Ramsay of Balmal, Alexander Ramsay Henry, second son of Alexander Henry Tailour of Borrowfield, Esq.

8. At Edinburgh, Sir William Ogilvie, Bart. heir-male of the family of Boyne, whose claim to the Banff Peerage is now in dependence before the House of Lords.

— At Portobello, Ann Flora McCallum, daughter of the late Alex. McCallum, Esq. of Lucca, Jamaica.

— At her house, Charlotte Street, Edinburgh, Miss Buchanan, eldest daughter of the late James Buchanan, Esq. of Drumpeller.

THE EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,

AND

LITERARY MISCELLANY,

BEING A NEW SERIES OF

The Scots Magazine.

AUGUST 1825.

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EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & COMPANY.

HIGH WATER AT LEITH.

<i>Days.</i>	<i>Morn.</i>		<i>Even.</i>		<i>Days.</i>	<i>Morn.</i>		<i>Even.</i>	
Sep. 1825.	H.	M.	H.	M.	Sep. 1825.	H.	M.	H.	M.
Th. 1	3	56	4	13	Fr. 16	4	32	4	53
Fr. 2	4	28	4	42	Sa. 17	5	15	5	30
Sa. 3	4	59	5	18	Su. 18	6	2	6	33
Su. 4	5	38	6	1	M. 19	7	5	7	41
M. 5	6	28	7	0	Tu. 20	8	22	9	7
Tu. 6	7	36	8	18	W. 21	9	49	10	28
W. 7	9	5	9	51	Th. 22	11	0	11	31
Th. 8	10	34	11	8	Fr. 23	11	54	—	—
Fr. 9	11	37	—	—	Sa. 24	0	16	0	35
Sa. 10	0	5	0	31	Su. 25	0	53	1	10
Su. 11	0	56	1	19	M. 26	1	26	1	43
M. 12	1	41	2	3	Tu. 27	1	58	2	13
Tu. 13	2	25	2	47	W. 28	2	27	2	43
W. 14	3	7	3	28	Th. 29	2	56	3	11
Th. 15	3	49	4	10	Fr. 30	3	27	3	43

MOON'S PHASES

Mean Time.

	D.	M.	H.
Last Quart...M.	5.	54	past
New Moon...M.	12.	43	—
First Quart...M.	19.	10	—
Full Moon...W.	27.	51	—

TERMS, &c.

<i>Sept.</i>	
1.	Partridge-shooting begins.
30.	Hare-hunting begins.

* * * The Correspondents of the EDINBURGH MAGAZINE and LITERARY MISCELLANY are respectfully requested to transmit their Communications for the Editor to ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & COMPANY, Edinburgh, or to HURST, ROBINSON, & COMPANY, London; to whom also orders for the Work should be addressed.

THE
EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,
 AND
'LITERARY MISCELLANY.

AUGUST 1825.

CHAMBERS'S TRADITIONS OF EDINBURGH

FROM the remote period at which Edinburgh became the metropolis of Scotland, till the union of the crowns in 1603, and for rather more than a century thereafter, while it continued the seat of a viceregal court, till the union of the kingdoms in 1707, the capital was necessarily the principal scene of the most important events in our annals. As the usual residence of the court, and a large majority of the nobility and gentry,—as the place where the great council of the nation most frequently assembled,—and as the seat of the courts of law, this city enjoyed, not merely the usual advantages of a capital, but possessed a disproportionate share of consequence from the degraded state of the country, and its total insignificance in a political point of view. Here, accordingly, the aspiring and ambitious “most did congregate;” proud barons, mitred churchmen, supple and complaisant commoners,—some who had fortunes to expend, others fortunes to acquire. Here the chief strength and force of faction was collected; here parties were successful or beaten; here intrigue thrived and prospered. On the streets of Edinburgh, and under the very nose of the sovereign, nobles who were at feud sometimes put their quarrels to the arbitrament of the sword; while others, more crafty or less warlike, sought to aggrandize their families by fishing in the troubled waters of faction, and playing at fast and loose with the different

cabals that alternately divided the court and the kingdom. To this great centre were attracted all the distinguished characters and leading interests that figured on the stage, or struggled for an ascendancy in the commonwealth. It was in Edinburgh that the morning star of the Reformation first dawned; it was in Edinburgh that the disciples of Calvin and Beza found their main support and stay; it was in Edinburgh that the ancient hierarchy received its death-blow; and it was there, also, that the great cause of civil and religious liberty at length triumphed. Even subsequently to the union of the crowns, it lost but little of its ancient consequence; and, during the troubled reign of Charles I., and the disastrous rule of his sons, continued to be the great theatre of the events, or rather crimes, of which that melancholy period was so prolific. Hence, up to the time of the union, the history of Edinburgh is virtually and substantially the history of Scotland; and there is scarcely a great name, or a memorable transaction, that is not associated with some local habitation or remembrance in the Scottish metropolis.

The paralyzing and baneful influence exerted by the Union, both on the capital and country, though it was at length counteracted by the course of events, and the natural progress of improvement, is sufficiently known to the readers of Scottish history; but still, though “de-

* Traditions of Edinburgh; or Sketches and Anecdotes of the City in former Times. By Robert Chambers. Edinburgh, 1825. William Chambers.

cayed in her glory, and sunk in her worth," Edinburgh continued to be the residence of the Scottish nobility, and the more distinguished men of letters, connected with the church, the bar, or the medical profession. It thus maintained its importance, in the eyes of Scotsmen, even after their own venal countrymen had bartered for English gold the independence of the nation. Nor was this all. About the middle of the last century, a constellation of genius and talent, of unequalled splendour, arose in the Scottish metropolis, which, while it eclipsed the inferior light of preceding luminaries, shone forth with a brilliancy and lustre, that drew all eyes to the quarter in which it appeared, and restored to Edinburgh something of its ancient consequence. It is scarcely necessary to mention the names of Hume, and Smith, and Robertson, and Blair, and Wallace, and Murray, and John Home the author of "Douglas," and Henry Home, Lord Kames, and others hardly less distinguished,—men who have established for themselves what the French call a *European* reputation, and whose works will probably be as lasting as the language in which they are written. But while the writings of these truly-eminent authors reflect honour upon Scotland at large, their reputation is more exclusively connected with the place where they resided, and mingled together in society, with an honest freedom from the pitiful jealousy and envy which have too frequently characterized the literary circles of other cities.

Hence it is, that almost every part of the ancient city has either been the scene of some achievement or transaction embodied in the enduring page of history, or the residence of some individual distinguished for his talents, his learning, his virtues, or his misfortunes. Of the former, many traditionary reminiscences,—of the latter, not a few curious local anecdotes, have been preserved; and the only matter of surprise is, that up to the present time no individual was found, possessed of sufficient industry, zeal, and ability, to collect these *disjecta membra*, and to rescue from oblivion many interesting memorials of the events and

characters of former times. So rapid has been the change produced by modern improvement, no less in the condition and texture of society, than in the size and external appearance of the capital, that this task was daily becoming more difficult; the vestiges of the olden time were disappearing as fast as the lofty tenements inhabited by the veterans and worthies of the last century; and unless some enthusiast, filled with the *amor patriæ* for which his countrymen are said to be remarkable, had opportunely stepped forward, much that has been happily brought to light would have inevitably and irremediably perished, and along with it a great deal of curious and interesting information, in regard to the manners, customs, dress, and modes of life, that prevailed among our forefathers.

Fortunately, in Robert Chambers, the author of the "Traditions of Edinburgh," we have at length found the identical patriot whom we so greatly desiderated. Indefatigably persevering in his researches into the historical antiquities of his native city, he has discovered much that was previously unknown to the public, and preserved more which, in the course of a few short years, would have been lost for ever. In the prosecution of his highly-praiseworthy labours, he has left no stone unturned, no ancient domestic unexplored, no veteran uninterrogated, no record unread; he has "remembered the forgotten," "dived into the depths" of what modern insolence and pride would call "dungeons," and found the relics of ancient baronial and prelatical magnificence scattered about in the dens of poverty and wretchedness. But he has done more than this. The result of his inquiries has enabled him to illustrate many obscure points in history, as well as to supply a body of materials which the future historian will not disdain to consult; and, to crown the whole, he has produced a book, which the frivolous may read for amusement, and the sober for instruction. Of course, a great proportion of his information is original; but where this is not the case, he has contrived to impart fresh interest to what was formerly known, and to

present old-established facts in somewhat of a new dress, and generally in connection with some locality, which is calculated to add to their force, and impress them more deeply on the memory. In short, we know of no book that gives so vivid a picture of the modes of life prevalent in Edinburgh, in the course of the last century especially, or so correct an idea of the astonishing change that has taken place in the manners as well as the condition of the inhabitants. Whether that change has, in all respects, been for the better, we do not presume to decide; but, either from inveterate prejudice, or a feeling of a less doubtful character, we always recur to these good old times with immeasurable delight; and, in spite of all the new-fangled modes and ideas that have gone abroad, cannot help thinking that our forefathers were not only as enlightened as, but enjoyed more real happiness than, their descendants, who live in palaces, dine when they should sup, fritter away their time at routs and card-parties, and believe themselves the *véritable taffetas* of polish and refinement.

The "Traditions of Edinburgh" are published in Parts, three of which form a volume. Four have already appeared; the three first containing memoranda of "Old Houses," and their former inhabitants, and the fourth some curious anecdotes of "Conspicuous Characters of the last Century." We shall now proceed to lay before the reader a few extracts taken at random; for the work is altogether so amusing, that it is indifferent what part we select for the reader's gratification.

After mentioning the circumstances which occasioned the building of Brown's and George's Square, the author subjoins some notices of the original inhabitants.

The inhabitants of these districts (Brown's and George's Square) formed, about fifty years since, a distinct class of themselves, and had their own places of polite amusement, independent of the rest of Edinburgh. The society was of the first description, including most of the members of the Mirror Club, and many other characters of high eminence in the law and in fashion. It was not till the New Town was pretty far advanced, that the *South*

side lost its attractions; nay, singular as it may appear, there was one instance, if not more, of a respectable gentleman living and dying in this district, without having once visited, or even seen the New Town, although, at the time of his death, it had extended nearly to Castle-Street.

In order to show more strikingly how much Brown's Square was thought of, as an improvement to the city, in these early times, we extract the *ipsissima verba* of a contemporary publication, in eulogium of its elegance. A correspondent in the Edinburgh Advertiser of March 6, 1764, congratulates his fellow-citizen, the Editor, on the improvements going on in Edinburgh, and "particularly upon the prevailing taste for elegant buildings, which gives a stranger an impression of the improvement of its inhabitants in the polite and liberal arts." He observes, "that very elegant square, called Brown's Square, which, in my opinion, is a great beauty and *offset* to the town, is now almost finished, and last week the parterre before it was railed in. Now, I think, to complete the whole, an elegant statue of his Majesty in the middle would be well worth the expense," and he proposes a subscription for it! It is certainly curious to compare this with the present state of Edinburgh. What would the inhabitants now think, if a proposal were made, to put up the intended equestrian statue of his present Majesty in that *very elegant square*?

As a proof, however, that Brown's Square was at one period both fashionable and elegant, we need only enumerate the following inhabitants, among many others:—Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville, who lived in that house upon the north side, next to the west corner,—Hay Campbell, afterwards President of the Court of Session, who bought the same house from the preceding, and occupied it for many years, till he removed to Park Place,—Lord Henderland,—Lord President Blair, and Lord Craig, when lawyers,—Lady Dalrymple of Binns,—Colonel Monypenny of Pitmilny,—Captain Drummond of Hawthornden,—Lord Justice-Clerk Miller, who lived and died in the centre house upon the north side, and left it to his son, the present Lord Glenlee, who still lives in it, and who—(*ultimus Romanorum!*)—has, for its sake, resisted the attractions of three successive New Towns, to which all his brethren have long since fled.

George's Square, at an early period, had many respectable and even noble inhabitants. Lady Jane Leslie, sister of the Earl of Rothes, and great-granddaughter of him who made such a con-

spicuous figure in the reign of Charles II. died at her own house here, so far back as 1771. Her Ladyship lived at Fountainbridge, a remote part of the suburbs, in 1768. Lady Elphinstone had a house upon the east side; Sir William Jardine one upon the north side. Walter Scott, Esq. W. S., father of the great Sir Walter, lived in the west side. Besides these, the following persons had houses in the Square:—The Duchess of Gordon; the Countess of Sutherland; the Countess of Glasgow; Lord Melville; Viscount Duncan; the Hon. Henry Erskine, Esq.; Lord Braxfield; Lord Kennet; Sir James Naesmyth of Posso; Mrs General Abercromby; Admiral Sir John Lockhart Ross; Miss Campbell of Monzie; Sir James Grant (*west side*); George Brown, Esq., Commissioners of Excise; Dr John Craigie; John Corbet, of Tolcross, Esq.; Mrs Douglas of Cavers (*east side*); Lord Stonefield, Judge of the Court of Session; Mrs Primrose of Castle-Huntly; and Mrs Pingle of Haining.

The following particulars will now be read with interest.

The greater part of the original New Town, and not a little of the second one, are built upon what was formerly called *Wood's Farm*, a tract of ground extending from Canonmills on the north to Bearfoord's Parks on the south, long in the possession of Mr William Wood, father of the celebrated Alexander Wood, Esq., surgeon in Edinburgh, who was better known by the familiar appellation of *Sandy Wood*. Mr Wood's farm-house was situated on the area between Queen's-Street and Heriot-Row, (western division,) on a spot now occupied by the Earl of Wemyss' garden. Many people still alive remember these fields bearing as fair and rich a crop of wheat as they may now be figuratively said to bear of houses.

Game used to be plentiful upon these grounds,—in particular, partridges and hares. The author of the *Man of Feeling*, and the present proprietor of Inverleith, have frequently shot both upon the spot where St. Andrew's Church now stands. But, indeed, game was very abundant every where around the town at that time. Woodcocks and snipes were to be had in all the damp and low-lying situations, such as the Well-house tower, the Hunter's-bog, and the borders of Canonmills Loch. Wild ducks were frequently shot in the Meadows, where in winter they are sometimes even yet to be found. Bruntsfield Links, and the ground towards the Braid Hills, abounded in hares. However, since the gentlemen of the county, about thirty years ago, en-

tered into a Game Association, very little game has been found any where.

Nearly along the line of Prince's-Street there ran a narrow road called the Lang Dykes. In former times it was called the Lang Gait, (*way*,)—not having at that time acquired the fences which might confer upon it the modern appellation. At the western extremity stood a retired abode, possessed by Lord Elphinstone. At the eastern extremity were sprinkled a few cottages, forming a sort of village, upon the spot now occupied by the Register-House, called *Multer's, Mutrie's, or Mutersic Hill*. Near this there was also in still remoter times a chapel of St. Ninian, the baptismal font of which was procured by the late eccentric Walter Ross, Esq. and built into his hermitage near the Dean. There was still another piece of antiquity in the neighbourhood, called Dingwall's Castle, of which very little had existed for many years. We have been told, that a fragment of the walls is still extant in a cellar in Shakespeare Square. Multer's Hill appears, from the following passage in Fountainhall's Diary, to have been at a former period more important as well as more populous than it latterly was: "The port at the foot of Halkerstone's Wynd was made about 1680, but was closed up 1700, at the Trades of Edinburgh then desired, because Robert Malloch had several tradesmen in his lands of Mutrie's Hill, which wronged the Trades of Edinburgh; and he having drained some of the north side of the North Loch, they took this measure for drowning the draining; but hearing the Lords of Session desired to cause them open the vent, they did it of their own accord, 21st February 1700." Not far from Multer's Hill, upon the spot now occupied by the centre of the Register House, stood a small cottage, where "Curds and Cream," and "Fruits in their Seasons," were sold. This little comfortable place of entertainment was popularly called "Peace and Plenty," and was much resorted to by a certain class of the citizens on Sunday evenings, as Newhaven, Portobello, and Duddingstone, are at this day. It was then considered a good walk out of town. The Theatre-Royal now stands nearly upon the place where the celebrated Whitefield used to harangue the populace, when he visited Edinburgh in the course of his evangelical tours. On coming to the city for the first time after the extension of the Royalty, and preparing, as usual, to preach in the Orphan Hospital Park, what was his surprise, and what was his indignation, on finding the spot which he had in a manner rendered

sacred by his prelections, thus appropriated to the service of Satan! The frantic astonishment of the Nixie who finds her shrine and fountain desolated in her absence, was nothing to that of Whitefield. He went raging about the spot, and contemplated the rising walls of the play-house with a sort of grim despair. He is said to have considered the circumstance a positive mark of the increasing wickedness of society, and to have termed it a plucking up of God's standard, and a planting of the Devil's in its place. But, perhaps, as Robert Burns says, in allusion to a similar circumstance,

"There was rivalry just in the job."

Upon the site of the Custom-house in Drummond Place was a country house, or cottage, belonging to Provost Drummond, and long inhabited by him. It came to the same end with "Peace and Plenty," when General Scott built the elegant mansion of Bellvue for his private residence. But the designation of the beautiful Square, with which it is surrounded, perpetuates the name of the first inhabitant.

Reverting to the Old Town, we find a most minute and curious account of the Palace and Oratory of Mary of Lorraine.

Perhaps there is no portion of the city so rich in curious old houses as a certain part of the Castle Hill, bounded on the east by Blyth's Close, on the west by Tod's Close, and including the intermediate alley called Nann's Close. In Blyth's Close is a private oratory of the Queen of James V.—afterwards Regent of Scotland. It is a stone building of three stories in height, and is accessible by a turnpike stair. Over the door is "*Laus et honor Deo*," with M. R., the cipher of the Queen. The lower flat seems to be now closed up as cellars. The upper flats are portioned off into small dwelling-houses, for the accommodation of people in humble life, and the lobby or passage, which is wide, with a ceiling of noble height, is common to all. Within the door of the second flat is the baptismal font anciently used in the chapel,—as usual, a small niche in the wall, about one foot wide and two feet high, ornamented and arched at the top. The remains of pilasters and arches are visible in the walls around the font: and in the ceiling, directly over head, is a round entablature—probably a coat of arms, as a coronet is still visible surmounting the rude, or rather defaced, outline of a shield. In the flat above, the appearance of the lobby is exactly the same as below, but

without the font. Arches are here also to be traced. The entablature upon the ceiling, which here occupies precisely the same situation with respect to the door as below, is much more distinct than in the second flat. On the shield are three fleur de lis, surmounted by a coronet. A small tablet below the shield bears the cipher of H. R. At the top of the spiral stair, which here terminates, the roof has been adorned with an entablature of the same size and description, but the mark of where it has been is all that remains.

In one of the little rooms upon the second flat, which now accommodates a whole family in humble life, there exists one of the most remarkable curiosities which we will have to notice. This is a door of black oak, carved in the style of the celebrated Stirling Heads, and containing, among other beautiful devices, portraits of the King and Queen, the whole in excellent preservation. There are four departments or panels in this exquisite piece of workmanship, on each of which is a circular entablature. The entablature in the uppermost panel, opposite the left hand of the spectator, contains a deer's head without tynes; that on the right has the representation of an eagle with expanded wings, grasping a star in the claws of its left foot: below each of these devices is a cherub, or winged head. The lower departments contain the portraits, which form by far the most interesting part of the curiosity. That of the King, which is under the deer's head, bears a strong resemblance to the common portraits of James V., and has all that free carriage of the head, and elegant slouch of the bonnet, together with the great degree of manly beauty with which this monarch is usually represented. He wears moustaches, as usual, but in other respects it may be said, that he is here drawn rather later in life than in most other portraits, which is implied by a comparative grossness of features, indicative of middle age. In the Queen's portrait, we have the head and bust of a female about forty years of age, dressed in a coif, or antique head-dress, and without any other remarkable ornament. This princess is said to have been beautiful, but there is here little appearance of any such qualification, though she exhibits considerable *en bon point*, the cheeks being very prominent, and the bosom bountiful. The circular entablatures on which these heads are carved, are surrounded with a foliage of long slender leaves, the appearance of which is not remarkable. Upon the whole, this may be declared a very flattering specimen of the arts in Scotland at the remote period when it was executed.

The door we have endeavoured to describe does not appear to have originally occupied this situation in the Palace, but rather some more important part of the building, before it was subdivided into small apartments for the use of the poor people who now occupy the whole. It is regarded as an object of great curiosity by tenants of the house,—though those who occupy the room told us, when we called to inspect it, that they had much better want a door altogether as have one of so curious a sort, seeing they never got either night's rest nor day's ease on account of it, and could sometimes scarcely *ca' the house their ain* for antiquarian gentlemen like ourselves who came to see it. When we ventured to suggest the expediency of charging a certain *honourium* from every visitor, in imitation of other exhibitors of palaces, they told us of an Irishman, their predecessor in the habitation, who became so incensed about the matter, that he would admit no person under half-a-crown, and at last threatened to burn the door for firewood, on finding the impossibility of substantiating his charges, which he was only prevented from doing at the interference of the landlord. "But for my part," said the good woman, as she wiped the dust from the Queen's nose with her apron, "I would scorn any such impositions—and I like the door very weel—only, ye see, Sir, it's black, and's *nae look of a thing*—and a good fir-deal door would answer our purpose as weel—but the landlord will be *nae* expense, as ye may see by the windows, that are maist of them broken:" here she pointed to the large window of the apartment, which had been an oriel one to the chapel in former times, though now patched and clouted with rags and brown paper, so as almost to exclude the light—"and I can assure ye, Sir, there's many grand folk come here to see the door; the Queer-ane Society came a' in a bundle ae day,—and maistly every ane o' them had silver spectacles, and were ilk ane mair civil than anither,—" &c. &c. We were obliged to acknowledge the poor woman's case sufficiently distressing, though we could not but think at the same time, that she had even more than the usual resource of those who are troubled with their visitors—we mean, that she had nothing to do but *show them the door*.

Nearer the head of Blyth's Close is another stair, leading up to the first flat of the same tenement, in which there is a large room, apparently a hall, with other rooms, all alike remarkable for the height of their ceilings. In the centre of almost all the ceilings are circular embellishments,

with coats of arms, and other devices, in stucco, evidently of beautiful workmanship, but obscured and rendered unintelligible by many successive coats of whitening, with which they have been overlaid by the latter inhabitants. In this hall, near the door, are the remains of a large antique chimney, built up in front, but having still two pillars visible, corresponding with modern *jamb's*. We were informed by the very intelligent inhabitant of this part of the Royal Tenement, that, when he first lived in the house, about twenty years ago, there was a small iron chain at the bottom of one of these pilasters; and the staple by which this chain had been attached, was pointed out to us still fixed in the wall. This it seems had been the customary chain, by which our ancestors confined the kitchen tongs and poker to their proper places, in primitive times;—and however ridiculous such a precaution may now appear, there is reason to believe that it was once extremely necessary,—at once to prevent their being used as weapons by the domestics, and to protect them from the rapacity of our Highland friends, who, according to the proverb, considered them their own property, on simply finding them by the fireside.

On the opposite side of the close is a building, said to have also formed part of the Queen Regent's mansion. There is no part of it remarkable, except the second flat, which is now a cooper's workshop. Here we find one vast room, with a high roof, and large windows, looking out into the alley. There is a large door opening out into a sort of balcony in front, which is said by the people of the house to have been the spot from which the priest distributed holy water to the devotees in the *close* below. Here we have a very fine and entire baptismal font, together with a large recess in the opposite wall, of superbly ornamented stone work, in which the Host was kept in former times, with the sacerdotal plate of the establishment, but which is now filled with adzes, hammers, formers, and other tools appropriate to the humble profession of the present occupant. Tradition affirms the Queen's dining-room to have been in the flat above the chapel; and the Queen's guard-house is pointed out in certain cellars now closed up at the head of the alley.

In Tod's Close, a little farther west, is another part of the same extensive premises. A stair enters on the right hand about ten yards down the *close*, leading to what seem to have been the *state apartments* of the Palace. It is to be remarked, that this is peculiarly termed the *house*



of Queen Mary by the inhabitants, while the portion we have already described is popularly denominated her *chapel*,—a distinction entirely justified by the internal appearance of the different tenements. Here there is, however, immediately within the door, a font, much resembling those in Blyth's Close, but which, probably, has only been one of those domestic repositories of holy water for the use of the family in passing out of, and into the house, and not adapted for any higher, or more sacred purpose. This font is of the finest Gothic structure, and is very entire. At the right hand side is a pillar in the same taste, on the top of which, about five feet from the ground, there formerly, and till within these few years, stood the statue of a saint presiding over the font. The lobby, in which these curiosities are to be seen, is high in the ceiling, and was very extensive before it was diminished by a whole apartment having been enclosed from it, in which a separate family now resides. A cupboard is shewn in the eastern wall, in which we were told there were, till about four years ago, shelves exhibiting a great deal of carved ornamental work, which were cleared out, in order to complete the conversion the recess was then destined to endure—into a coal-hole. One of the apartments in this flat is called the *Queen's Dead-Room*, having, it seems, been used as a depository for the dead previous to interment. Till within these few years, this room was all painted black, which doleful colour may still be observed beneath the thin coat of whitening with which the latter inhabitants have superseded it. We were here informed, that there was in former times, a passage of communication between this part of the Royal mansion and the Oratory, or Chapel, in Blyth's Close, embracing the intermediate tenements of Nairn's Close. The lobbies, passages, and stair-cases, in this part of the fabric, are of sumptuous spaciousness and elegance. Like the Chapel and Oratory, it is divided into small apartments of one or two rooms each, for the accommodation of families in humble life, but appears to be in general occupied by inhabitants of greater respectability than those we found in the other.

The palace of the Queen Regent bears nowhere any date, and no records appear to exist which could throw light upon its origin. It is scarcely possible that it can be older than 1544, when the city was destroyed by the English; nor can it have been erected subsequent to 1559, when the Queen died. Supposing its foundation to have taken place between these dates, it may be considered one of the

oldest private buildings in Edinburgh. It may, perhaps, be conjectured, that this Palace and Oratory were erected immediately after the above disastrous occasion in 1544, when the Palace of Holyrood-house was burnt, and when the Queen would naturally seek for a more secure habitation within the walls of Edinburgh, and in the neighbourhood of the Castle.

To this we shall add the account of the "lodging successively occupied by the Abbot of Melrose, Sir George Mackenzie, of Roselhaugh, and Lord Strichen."

One of the most interesting old houses in Edinburgh is that tenement at the foot of Strichen's Close, High Street, (first alley west of Blackfriars' Wynd.) This fabric, or some one for which it has been substituted, was, at the Reformation, the town lodging of no less a personage than the Abbot of Melrose. It had large gardens attached to it, which reached down to the Cowgate, and up the opposite declivity to the back of the Kirk of Field-garden, which occupied the present line of Infirmary-Street; so that it must then have been a building of greater importance, and more isolated than now, which appears probable from the rareness of buildings in this quarter of the city, as represented in the old map republished by Mr Kirkwood. It is, in all probability, the oldest house in this part of the High-Street, though not retaining altogether its original form and appearance.

The numerous houses now built upon the site of the Abbot's garden, including the greater part of Cant's, Dickson's, and Robertson's Closes, with a considerable portion of the Cowgate, are to this day held in feu of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, as come in place of the abbot, by virtue of charters granted to them by Queen Mary and James VI., which were ratified by Parliament. Robertson's Close, which would be the western boundary of the Abbot's garden, south of the Cowgate, was called Melrose Wynd for a century after the Reformation, from the circumstance of the ground having originally belonged to the above ecclesiastic.

The Abbot of Melrose's house afterwards belonged to, and was possessed by, a still greater personage, viz. Sir George Mackenzie, King's Advocate for Scotland during the reigns of Charles II. and James II.—who, though the most learned and virtuous man of his time, has been branded with ignominy by the popular voice, on account of the share which his office compelled him to take in the prosecution of the fanatical delinquents of that un-

happy time. He got a charter of this house from the Magistrates on the 9th of March 1677, in which it is thus described: "That tenement of land, or great building, commonly called the Abbot of Melrose's lodging, presently possessed by the said Sir George Mackenzie, with the pertinents thereof, formerly belonging to the said Abbot of Melrose, lying in the burgh, on the south side of the High-Street thereof, bounded by the lands of the umquhile Robert Rynd, and the umquhile Earl of Morton, on the east, Cant's Close on the west," &c. It also appears, from old writings and charters connected with the house, that the tenement fronting the street, by which it was bounded on the north, had been, before the Reformation, the lodging of the Provost of Crichton, an ecclesiastical dignitary of great importance. But the Provost's lodging is now entirely gone, and the present edifice fronting the street is comparatively modern. Perhaps the circumstance of these two ecclesiastics' houses, and that of the Bishop of Orkney, on the opposite side of the High-Street, being all so near to Blackfriar's Wynd, which was a perfect nest of churchmen, may confirm the theory of this spot having been remarkable in ancient times for the residence of the religious.

On the death of Sir George Mackenzie's only son, in 1707, his estates devolved, after a long course of keen litigation, upon the second Earl of Bute, his grandson by the eldest daughter, whose widow, (Lady Anne Campbell, only sister of the great John Duke of Argyll,) married in 1731, for her second husband, Alexander Fraser of Strichen, a Lord of Session and Justiciary, and General of the Scottish Mint, whom we accordingly find occupying this house during a great part of the last century. The Close, which had before this time been called Rosehaugh Close, in honour of Sir George Mackenzie, was now designated Strichen's Close, which name it still retains.

Lord Strichen, besides his descent from Simon, fifth Lord Lovat, was allied to many noble families, in particular those of Moray, Lauderdale, and Crawford. He was uterine brother to the celebrated John Earl of Crawford, who was the most generous, the most gallant, the bravest, and the finest nobleman of the time. He was admitted a Lord of Session 5th June 1730, and filled that situation with great respectability till his death, 15th February, 1775.

Lord Strichen was remarkable for having sat the unusually long period of forty-five years on the Bench. At the time of the Douglas cause, (1768,) he was the

oldest Judge on the Bench,—being of no less than twenty-four years longer standing than any of his brethren. He was the last of an *old school*, long antecedent to what the present generation consider as such. Being in 1736 appointed a Lord of Justiciary, he went to Inverness on the Autumn Circuit, and was met, a few miles from town, by his kinsman the celebrated Lord Lovat, attended by a great retinue, who conducted him into town, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, all of whom rejoiced to see their countryman returning to them in such an honourable capacity.

The house next to Lord Strichen's on the east was possessed by John Grieve, Esq., merchant in Edinburgh, Lord Provost of the city in 1782. He afterwards removed from it to a house in Prince's-Street, front of Hanover-Street, where he became instrumental in raising the Earthen Mound, the east side of which, where it was commenced, may be observed to be a little eastward of the line of Hanover-Street, and opposite Provost Grieve's door, being particularly intended for the convenience of this gentleman. Lord Strichen's house is in much the same order in which he left it, and may be considered a good and tolerably entire specimen of the houses inhabited by the great about forty years ago. It finally became the property of Mr Walker of Coates, who sold it to Mr Johnstone, its present proprietor and part possessor.

There are some curious memorabilia of the West Bow. We extract the following:

In early times, it appears, the inhabitants of the West Bow were peculiarly zealous in the cause of the Covenant. Pitcairne, Pennycuik, and other poets of the Cavalier or Jacobite faction, distinguish the matrons of this street by satirical epithets, such as the "Bowhead-Saints," the "godly plants of the Bowhead," &c. We also see that many of the polemical pamphlets and sermons of the Presbyterian divines since this period, have been published in the Bow.

By far the most curious publications of the latter sort, were those of one William Mitchell, a crazed White-Iron-smith, who lived in a cellar at the Bow-head, and occasionally held forth as an orator or preacher. What his peculiar tenets were we do not strictly know, but understand them to have been founded upon the opinions held by the rigid party of the Church of Scotland before the Revolution. Mr Mitchell was altogether a strange mixture of fanaticism, madness, and humour. He published many pamphlets

and single sheets, very full of amusing nonsense, and generally adorned with a wooden cut of the Mitchell arms. Some of his poetry was re-printed about twenty years ago, by Messrs Oliver & Boyd, in small parcels, and sold at one penny. His verses possess humour, equal to that of (his contemporary) Allan Ramsay's, but are debased by great coarseness and obscenity.

giving

he made into a story, that the "King's Court is six times bigger than the King of Britain's; his guards have all feathers in their hats, and their horse-tails are to their heels; and their king is one of the best-favoured boys that you can look upon,—blythe lyke, with black hair; and all his people are better natured in general than the Scots or English, except the priests. Their women seem to be modest, for they have no fardingales. The greatest wonder I saw in France, was to see the braw people fall down on their knees on the clarty ground, when the priest comes by carrying the cross, to give a sick person the sacrament."

The Tinklerian Doctor (for such was his popular appellation,) appears to have been fully acquainted with an ingenious expedient, which we observe practised by many publishers of juvenile toy-books in our own day,—namely, that of self-recommendation. As in certain sage little histories of Tommy & Harry, King Pepin, &c., we are sure to find that "the good boy who loved his lessons" always bought his books from "kind, good, old Mr J. Newberry, at the Corner of St. Paul's Church Yard, where the greatest assortment of nice books for good boys and girls is always to be had,"—so, in the works of Mr Mitchell, we find some sly encomium upon the Tinklerian Doctor, constantly peeping forth; and in the pamphlet from which we made the above extract, we have, moreover, a plentiful advertisement or puff of his professional excellence as a white-smith. "I have," he says, "a good penny-worth of pewter spoons, fine like silver, none such made in Edinburgh, and silken pocks for wigs, and French white pearl beads,—all to be sold for little or nothing." *Vide* "A Part of the works of that Eminent Divine and Historian, Doctor William Mitchell,

himself as a much wiser man than the Archbishop of Canterbury, all the Clergymen of his native country, and even the Magistrates of Edinburgh! One of his last productions was a pamphlet on the murder of Captain Porteous, which he concludes by saying, in the true spirit of a Cameronian martyr, "If the King and Clergy gar hang me for writing this,

for, whatever may be said, there is fully as much pleasure and advantage, as pain and loss, in what sectarians are pleased to call martyrdom.

The abode of this singular enthusiast has been pointed out to us, as that low cellar on the west side of the Bow-head, (No. 19,) now occupied by Mrs Philip, a dealer in small wares; here he is said to have delivered his lectures to the élèves of the Bow-head University.

The profession of which the Tinklerian Doctor subscribed himself a member has long been predominant in the West Bow. We see, from a preceding extract, that it reckoned dagger-makers among its worthy denizens in the reign of James VI.; but this trade has long been happily extinct every where in Scotland; though their less formidable brethren the white-smiths, copper-smiths, and pewterers, have continued down to our own day to keep almost unrivalled possession of the Bow. Till within these few years there was scarcely a shop in this crooked street occupied by other tradesmen; and we can easily imagine, that the noise of so many hammermen pent up in a narrow thoroughfare would be extremely annoying. So remarkable was it for this, that country people used to ask any acquaintance lately returned from town, if he went to hear "the tinklers o' the Bow,"—reckoning them to form one of the most remarkable curiosities of Auld Reekie. Yet, however disagreeable their clattering might seem to the inhabitants of the peaceful plain, we are credibly informed, that the people who lived in the West Bow became perfectly habituated to the noise, and felt no inconvenience whatever from its ceaseless operation upon their ears. Nay, they rather experienced inconvenience from its cessation, and only felt annoyed when any period of rest ar-

Divinity, Humanity, History, Philosophy, Law, and Physick; Composed at various Occasions for his own Satisfaction and the World's Illumination." In his works he does not scruple to make the personages whom he introduces speak of

all the rest of the people for rising early on Sunday which, in certain contiguous towns, is rather a singular truth was, that the people would not in their beds after five o'clock

of the customary noise which commenced at that hour on work days. It is also affirmed, that when the natives of the West Bow removed to another part of the town, beyond the reach of these dulcet sounds, which so long had given music to their morning dreams, sleep was entirely out of the question for some weeks, till they got habituated to the quiescence of their new neighbourhood. An old gentleman once told us, that having occasion to lodge for a short time in the West Bow, he found the incessant clanking extremely disagreeable, and at last entered into a paction with some of the workmen in his immediate neighbourhood, who promised to let him have another hour of quiet sleep in the mornings, for the consideration of some such matter as half-a-crown to drink on Saturday night. The next day happening (out of his knowledge) to be some species of Saint Monday, his annoyers did not work at all; but such was the force of a habit acquired even in three or four days, that our friend awoke precisely at the moment when the hammers used to commence; and he was glad to get his bargain cancelled as soon as possible, for fear of another morning's want of disturbance.—Such a dispersion has taken place in this modern Babel, within the last few years, that there are now (1824) only two tin-plate workers in the whole Bow.

Nor must we omit the account of the “Templars’ Lands.”

At the foot of the West Bow, on the west side,—on the east side of the Grassmarket, running from nearly the middle of the Bow and terminating at the Cowgate-head,—on the south-east corner of the Grassmarket, terminating at the Gray Friars’ Gate,—and at the foot and east side of the Castle Wynd,—are numerous tenements, which being built upon ground originally the property of the Knights Templars, were distinguished in former times by small crosses planted on their fronts and gables. These have of late years gradually disappeared, and there is now only one edifice so distinguished. A few Temple lands are also scattered up and down the north side of the Grassmarket.

The Templars, to whom these lands originally belonged, came into Scotland in the reign of David I., and were not long in the country till they attained as great a proportion of the wealth and power of the state as they had previously appropriated to themselves in every other European country. There was scarcely a parish wherein they had not either lands, farms, or houses. In Edinburgh a great many buildings belonged

to them. When any of their grounds were fencd out to secular persons, it was strictly a part of the bargain, that the houses erected thereon should wear the badge of their order, in token of their superiority over the ground, and of the tenants being liable to answer only to their Courts. Thus they exercised a jurisdiction over their own lands, distinct from all other authorities.

In the year 1312, Pope Clement V. in a general council held at Vienne in France, suppressed the order of the Knights Templars, on account of the licentiousness and alleged criminality of their conduct; decreeing at the same time all their property, of whatever description, to be given to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. These Knights, who were nearly of the same description with the Templars, continued in possession of the lands in Scotland till the Reformation, when all religious orders were suppressed. Their entire possessions in Scotland were then granted by Queen Mary to Sir James Sandilands, the last preceptor of their order in Scotland. He was appointed to this high office in 1538, but embraced the principles of the Reformers in 1552, and resigned all the property of the order into Queen Mary’s hands, who, in consideration of his great merit and services, erected these Temple Lands into the Barony of Torphichen in his favour. This grant was burdened with the payment of 10,000 golden crowns and an annual feu-duty of 500 marks, which rendered the Queen’s gift of little value, all things considered. He was succeeded in his title and estate by his grand-nephew, James Sandilands of Calder, ancestor of the present Lord Torphichen.

In 1617, the Temple Lands and tenements in Mid-Lothian, with most part of the Barony of Torphichen, were acquired by the celebrated Sir Thomas Hamilton, then Lord Binning, and by him erected into the regality of Drem. This regality finally came into the possession of the Hon. John Hamilton, great-great-grandson of the above, who was obliged to dispose of his right of superiority over the Lands in 1747, when the hereditary jurisdictions were abolished by Act of Parliament. For the superiority of Drem he demanded the compensatory sum of £.3000, but received only £.500. Previous to this period, the Baron of Drem had been in the habit of exercising all the judicial rights with which he was invested, over the inhabitants of the few tenements at the foot of the West Bow, his bailiff holding occasional courts in any of the houses he pleased to pitch

upon; and as several artizans, not free of the trades of Edinburgh, were harboured in this place, it was a great eye-sore to the Magistrates and Town Council. Large sums had been frequently offered by them for the Baron's right, but never accepted; and it was a subject of great triumph and exultation, when the act of 1747 at length rid them of the grievance without the least expense.

Opposite to the flat-roofed Temple Land on which the cross is still to be seen, is an alley termed Campbell's, or Hunter's Close, and which also goes, we understand, by several other names. It was over the mouth of this close that Captain Porteous was hanged, upon a dyer's pole, which projected straight out into the street.

The following ludicrous incident happened to a well-known Judge, while an inhabitant in one of the houses of the Luckenbooths.

While Lord Coalstoun lived in this house, a strange accident one morning befell him. It was at that time the custom for Advocates, and no less for Judges, to dress themselves in gown, wig, and cravat, at their own houses, and to walk in a sort of state, thus rigged out, with their cocked hats in their hands, to the Parliament House. They usually breakfasted early, and when dressed, were in the habit of leaning over their parlour windows, for a few minutes before St. Giles' bell sounded the starting peal of a quater to nine, enjoying the agreeable morning air, and perhaps discussing the news of the day, or the debauches of the preceding evening, with a neighbouring Advocate, on the opposite side of the alley. In this manner, the Advocates' Close, or even one less filled with the sons of Themis, would sometimes resemble a modern coffee-room more than any thing else. It so happened, that one morning, while Lord Coalstoun was preparing to enjoy his matutinal treat, two girls, who lived in the second flat above, were amusing themselves with a kitten, which, in thoughtless sport, they had swung over the window, by a cord tied round its middle, and hoisted for some time up and down, till the creature was getting rather desperate with its exertions. In this crisis, his Lordship popped his head out of the window directly below that from which the kitten swung, little suspecting, good easy man, what a danger impended, like the sword of Dionysius, over his head, hung, too, by a single—not hair, 'tis true, but scarcely more responsible material—*garter*,—when down came the exasperated animal

at full career, directly upon his senatorial wig. No sooner did the girls perceive what sort of a landing-place their kitten had found, than in terror and surprise they began to draw it up; but this measure was now too late, for along with the animal, up also came the Judge's wig, fixed full in its determined talons. His Lordship's surprise on finding his wig lifted off his head, was redoubled, when, on looking up, he perceived it dangling its way upwards, without any means, visible to him, by which its motions might be accounted for. The astonishment, the dread, the almost *awc* of the Senator below,—the half mirth, half terror of the girls above,—together with the fierce and relentless energy of retention on the part of puss between, altogether formed a scene to which language cannot do justice, but which George Cruickshank might perhaps embody with considerable effect, in one of those inimitable sketches which he is pleased to call Points of Humour. It was a joke soon explained and pardoned; but assuredly the perpetrators of it did afterwards get many lengthened injunction from their parents, never again to fish over the window, with such a bait, for honest men's wigs.

We cannot pass the "*Aedes Joannis Patersoni*," the account of which is extremely interesting.

In the "*Selecta Poemata*" of Dr Pitcairn, we find a distich "In *aedes Joannis Patersoni*," to the following effect:—

"Cum victor ludo, Scotis qui proprius, esset,
Ter tres victores post redimitos avos,
Patersonus, humo tunc educat in altum
Hanc, quæ victores tot tulit una, domus:"

which may be thus translated, "In the year when Paterson won the prize in golfing, a game peculiar to the Scotch, in which his ancestors had nine times gained the same distinction, he raised this lofty house from the ground,—a victory more honourable than all the rest." To this a note of illustration is found at the 238th page of the 1st volume of Gilbert Stuart's "*Edinburgh Magazine and Review*," published 1774,—to the following effect: "This seems the least spirited of all the epigrams of Pitcairn. It has the good fortune to be recorded in gold letters on the house itself, near the foot of the Canongate, almost opposite to Queensberry House. It is probable that what the Doctor meant as a jest, Paterson believed to be a serious panegyric."

Tradition gives a somewhat different colour to this circumstance. Among many stories which we have heard re-

lated, the following seems the most probable. During the residence of the Duke of York in Edinburgh, of which we have already given a sketch, that prince frequently resorted to Leith Links, in order to enjoy the sport of golfing, of which he was very fond. Two English noblemen, who followed his court, and who boasted of their expertness in golfing, were one day debating the question with his Royal Highness, whether that amusement were peculiar to Scotland or England; and having some difficulty in coming to an issue on the subject, it was proposed to decide the question by an appeal to the game itself; the Englishmen agreeing to rest the legitimacy of their national pretensions as golfers, together with a large sum of money, on the result of a match, to be played with his Royal Highness and any Scotsman he could bring forward. The Duke, whose great aim at that time was popularity, thinking this no bad opportunity both for asserting his claims to the character of a Scotchman, and for flattering a national prejudice, immediately accepted the challenge; and, in the meantime, caused diligent inquiry to be made, as to where the most efficient partner could be found. The person recommended to him for this purpose was a poor man, named John Patersone, a shoemaker, who was not only the best golf-player of his day, but whose ancestors had been equally celebrated from time immemorial. On the matter being explained to him, Patersone expressed great unwillingness to enter into a match of such consequence; but, on the Duke encouraging him, he promised to do his best. The match was played, in which the Duke and his humble partner were of course victorious; and the latter was dismissed with a reward corresponding to the importance of his service—being an equal share of the stake played for. With this money he immediately built a comfortable house in the Canongate, in the wall of which the Duke caused a stone to be placed, bearing the arms of the family of Patersone, surmounted by a crest and motto, appropriate to the distinction which its owner had acquired as a golfer.

Dr Pitcairn, who would naturally take an interest in this transaction, appears to have commemorated John Patersone's achievement, by the stanza which we have quoted. The plain flat slab upon which the epigram was engraved, is still to be seen in the front wall of the second flat of the house, though the gilding mentioned in the note is now gone. Under the distich there is placed a singular motto, viz., "I hate no person," which, as it proves to be an anagrammatical trans-

position of the letters contained in the words "John Patersone," leaves no room for doubt as to the name of the hero who figures in the several legends to which the fact in question has given rise.

The coat of arms alluded to is placed near the top of the house, and bears—three pelicans vulned—on a chief, three mullets—Crest—a dexter hand grasping a golf-club—Motto "*Fa and sure.*"

Part Third contains some original anecdotes of the Smollett family, of the celebrated novelist himself, and of the characters in *Humphry Clinker*, to which, notwithstanding the length of the preceding extracts, we gladly give a place. The town residence of this family was at the head of St John's Street.

We have mentioned, *passim*, in an early part of this work, the town residence of the Smollett family, at the head of St. John-Street,—“the second flat of the tenement facing the Canongate, entered by a common stair behind, immediately within the pend.” We are reduced to make it the head of a separate article, in order to give a few original anecdotes of the family, of Smollett himself, and of the characters in “*Humphry Clinker*.”

The novelist's mother passed several years of her widowhood in this house. She was a proud, ill-natured-looking woman; but her temper was in reality much better than her physiognomy bespoke. She was enthusiastically devoted to cards. One of the magistrates of Edinburgh, who was a tallow-chandler, paying her a visit one evening, she saluted him with, “Come awa', baillie, and tak' a trick at the cartes.”—“Troth, madam,” says he, “I ha' na a bawbee i' my pouch.”—“Tut, man, ne'er mind that; let us play for a pund o' can'le!” She was a shrewd, intelligent, and what one might call a clever old lady. She had a very high nose.

During his last visit to Edinburgh,—the visit which occasioned *Humphry Clinker*,—the Doctor lived in his mother's house. A person who recollects of seeing him there, describes him as dressed in black clothes, tall, and extremely handsome, but quite unlike the portraits fastened upon the public at the fronts of his works, all of which are disclaimed by his relations. The unfortunate truth is, that the world is in possession of no genuine likeness of Smollett! He was very peevish, an account of the ill health to which he had been so long a martyr, and used

to complain much of a severe ulcerous disorder in his arm.

His wife, as we know from authority, was a Creole, with a dark complexion, though, upon the whole, rather pretty,—a fine lady, but a silly woman. It is not true, what has sometimes been said) that she was the *Tabitha Bramble* of the novel.

There can be little doubt that Matthew Bramble was intended for himself. Jerry Melford was a picture of his sister's son, Major Telfer. Liddy was his own daughter, who was destined by her friends to marry the Major, but died, to the inexpressible grief of her father, before that scheme was accomplished. The beautiful *Miss R——n*, whom Jerry admired so much in the gay circles of Edinburgh, was Miss Eleonora Renton, daughter of Renton of Jamerton, and Lady Susan Montgomery, one of the Jacobine Countess of Eglintoune's pretty daughters. The object of Jerry's admiration was therefore a beauty by a sort of *jus divinum*, or divine right; it being just as much a matter of course for the daughters and grand-daughters of old Lady Eglintoune to inherit her personal charms, as for a legitimate male heir to succeed to an estate, a title, or a throne. A sister of Miss E. Renton married Mr Telfer, elder brother of the Major, who afterwards took the name of Smollett, in order to succeed to the estate. She herself was wedded to Mr Sharpe of Hoddam, and thus became the mother of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., a gentleman whose "ingenuous and indefatigable" exertions in the cause of *virtu*, entitle him to the designation of The Scottish Walpole.

Dr Anderson, in his life of Smollett, speaking of the pillar erected to the novelist's memory at Bonhill, says, at page 137, "Lord Kames himself, Dr Moore informs us, wrote an inscription in English for this pillar, of which the late Lieut. Colonel Smollett shewed him a copy; but the Latin one was preferred. Though the fact seems to be indisputable, yet it is remarkable, that Lord Kames, neither at that time, nor any future period, ever mentioned this English inscription to his friend and neighbour, Mr Ramsay of Ochtertyre."—Boswell also mentions in his "Journal," that Lord Kames proposed such an inscription, and that upon its being spoken of to Johnson, the idea of any thing but a Latin one met with the lexicographer's contempt. No mention is made, however, of Lord Kames having written an English inscription; and indeed the fact that he did so, has never been more than conjectured by the public. We can now bring the truth to light, by producing a copy of the actual inscrip-

tion, taken *verbatim* from the original in Lord Kames' hand-writing, now in the possession of a relative of the novelist, who is quite capable of appreciating so curious and valuable a document.

"No circumstance is trivial in the history of eminent men! Behold, Passenger! the birth-place of THOMAS SMOLLETT, who by nature was destined to banish spleen, and promote cheerfulness, sweet balm of life! His grave, alas! is in a distant country.

"How dismally opposite is an Alexander or a Louis, men destined by nature for depressing the spirits of their fellow-creatures, and for desolating the earth!

"This Pillar, erected by JAMES SMOLLETT of Bonhill, is not for his cousin, who possesses a more noble Monument in his literary productions, but for thee, O Traveller! If literary fame be thy ruling passion, emulation will enliven thy genius: Indulge the hope of a Monumental Pillar, and, by ardent application, thou mayest come to merit the splendid reward."

When Smollett was confined in the King's Bench prison for the libel upon Admiral Knowles, he formed an intimacy with the celebrated Tenducci. This melodious singing bird had recently got his wings clipped by his creditors, and was mewled up in the same cage with the novelist. Smollett's friendship proceeded to such a height, that he paid his debts from his own purse, and procured him his liberty. Tenducci afterwards visited Scotland, and was one night singing in a private circle, when somebody told him that a lady present was a near relation of his benefactor; upon which the grateful Italian prostrated himself before her, kissed her hands, and acted so many fantastic extravagances, after the foreign fashion, that she was put extremely out of countenance.

In Part Fourth there are many interesting particulars of "Last Century Characters." We shall confine ourselves to two; and, first, of Lady Lovat.

She was of small stature, had been thought a beauty, and retained, in advanced old age, much of her youthful delicacy of features and complexion. Her countenance bore a remarkably sweet and pleasing expression; she was always smiling, or, as a faithful friend once remarked in describing her, she seemed to be constantly pronouncing the word—*pears*! Her head was fine, somewhat low above, and projecting far behind. When at home, her dress was a red silk gown, with ruffled cuffs, and sleeves puckered like a man's shirt,—a *fly-cup*

encircling the head, with a *mob-cap* laid across it, falling down over the cheeks, and tied under the chin,—her hair dressed and powdered,—a double muslin handkerchief round the neck and bosom,—*lammer-beads*,—a white lawn apron, edged with lace,—black stockings with red *gushets*,—high-heeled shoes. She usually went abroad in a chair,—as we have been informed by the daughter of a lady who was one of the first inhabitants of the New Town, and whom Lady Lovat regularly visited there, once every three months. As her chair devolved from the head of Blackfriars' Wynd, any one who saw her sitting in it, so neat, and fresh, and clean, would have taken her for a queen in wax-work, pasted up in a glass case.

Her ladyship was the fifth daughter of the Honourable John Campbell of Mammore, who was second son of Archibald ninth Earl of Argyll, and brother of the first Duke. She was born, as she herself used to tell her friends, in *the year ten*, that is, 1710; consequently at the period of her death, in 1796, she was eighty-six years of age. Like many other Scottish ladies of quality in her time, she received a very imperfect education, and, what will appear very strange to the accomplished ladies of the present age, actually could not write, till advanced in life, when she acquired the art at her own hands, without the assistance of a master. In her youth she had been frequently in London with her noble relations, and yet had received no instruction in this common and familiar branch of education. She afterwards attained to have a neat hand, but could never spell properly.

She was residing at Barnbogle Castle, with her sister Lady Roseberry, when Lord Lovat first paid his addresses to her. Knowing his bad character, (his lordship, in his first connexion, had not been particularly *uxorious*;) and disliking his person, she rejected him with abhorrence. But his suit being, it is supposed, favoured by the young lady's relations, he did not give up his point; and, it is said, he finally laid a scheme for the accomplishment of his desires, which, if our tale be true in all its circumstances, adds another crime to the dark list already arrayed against him. He addressed a letter to Miss Campbell, as from her mother, informing her that she was just come to town, and was then lying dangerously ill in a lodging in the Lawnmarket, which was particularly described; and the letter concluded with an earnest request, that Primrose would immediately come to see and attend her.

Lady Roseberry ordered the carriage to be instantly got ready, and urged her sister to hasten to her mother. On arriving in the Lawnmarket at the house described, which was *down a close*, a servant made his appearance, received the young lady's luggage, and showed the way up stairs; meanwhile, the carriage was dismissed. On entering the house, what was Miss Campbell's surprise, when, instead of her mother, she was introduced to the presence of the detested Lovat, who immediately proceeded to entreat her love! She declared, with tears and protestations, her aversion to his hand; but he only persisted the more earnestly, and, to increase her distress, told her that she was now in a house of bad fame, from which, after it should be known, in whose company she had been, it would be impossible again to go forth into decent society. She, however, continued to resist his solicitations, till a hopeless confinement of several days reduced her to despair, when she at last consented to the match.

After the nuptials, Lord Lovat took her to the north, and proceeded to treat her with all the cruelty which he had exercised towards his former spouse. She was locked up in a room by herself, from which she was not permitted to come forth even at meal-times. He would not permit her to sit at table with himself, but sent her a scanty supply of coarse food, which she was obliged to devour in solitary confinement. When pregnant of her son Archibald, his lordship sometimes came into the room, and told her sternly, that, if she should give birth to a female child, he would "put it on the back of the fire."

Lord Lovat's son by his first wife, who was not much older than Archibald, was a very sickly child; and, when his lordship went to the lowlands, he usually told his unhappy spouse, that, if he found either of the boys dead when he returned, he would shoot her through the head. The result was, that she made their health her only care and study, and, by dint of good nursing, recovered her pining stepson, who ever after acknowledged her kindness as the means of saving his life, and looked up to her with all the filial reverence due to a real parent. Lady Lovat at that period acquired habits which she never afterwards lost, and, to the end of her long life, was noted among her friends and dependants, for her skill as an "old Lady of the Faculty."

The means by which she escaped from the cruel jurisdiction of her husband, were, we believe, singular. Getting possession of writing materials, she addressed

a letter to her friends, informing them of her dreadful situation,—rolled it up in a clow of yarn,—and dropped it over the window to a confidential person, who conveyed it to its destination. Upon the interference of her own family, a separation soon after took place.

Lord Lovat seems to have sunk into a sort of despondency after she left him; for we have heard, that he lay two years in bed previous to the Rebellion. When the news of the Prince's landing was communicated to him, he started up, and cried, "Lassie, bring me my brogues—I'll rise noo!"

When Lord Lovat was confined in the Tower, previous to his trial, his lady, forgetting all her injuries, and thinking only of her duty as a wife, proposed to come to London and attend him in person. But he returned an answer, in which though he professed gratitude and affection, he positively rejected her offer, which, he said, he could not take advantage of, after what had happened. This, her ladyship afterwards said, was the only occasion of his ever addressing her in language appropriate to the conjugal relation which she bore to him.

After his death, there arose some demur about her jointure, which was only £.190 *per annum*. It was not paid to her for several years, during which, being destitute of other resources, she lived with one of her sisters. Some of her numerous friends—among the rest, Lord Strichen—offered her the loan of money, to purchase a house, and suffice for present maintenance. But she did not chuse to encumber herself with debts which she had no certain prospect of repaying. At length the dispute about her jointure was settled in a favourable manner, and her ladyship received in a lump the whole amount of past dues, out of which she expended £.500 in purchasing a house at the head of Blackfriars' Wynd, and a further sum upon a suit of plain substantial furniture for the same.

Her ladyship was charitable in the highest degree; and it would astonish a modern dowager, to know how much good she contrived to do with her small jointure. With £.190, it is said, she was much more generally admired for her benevolence, than the late lady of Lovat, who had a jointure of £.4000. Had not the necessaries of life been much cheaper in those days than in ours, it is impossible to imagine the means by which she contrived to be so universally liberal. She kept a waiting-maid, a cook, and a foot-boy; and gave protection to all the destitute ladies of rank, who pleased to come about her. Scarcely a day passed

without its guest; and she, in a manner, kept open house for all sizes, sexes, and descriptions of Highland cousins, even unto the tenth generation, who happened to visit Edinburgh. All were sure of a good homely dinner at lady Lovat's; and not only was her tea-table accessible to every stupid old crone about town, but, whenever her ladyship heard of any respectable gentlewoman, who had the misfortune to be left unprovided for by their relations, she would seek them out, offer her house as their future home, and treat them quite as her equals or friends. The Honourable Mrs Elphinstone, or *the Mistress*, as she was called, lived with Lady Lovat on this footing for many years. She was the daughter of Sir Gilbert Fleming of Farn, one of the oldest and most respectable Scottish Baronets, and was left without provision by her husband, the Master of Elphinstone. Lady Lovat took this unfortunate person home, assigned her certain apartments in her house, and, till the day of her death, treated her with the kindness and respect due to her birth and misfortunes. Her ladyship, also, at one time, gave protection to her niece, Lady Dorothy Primrose, to whom she assigned one half of her house, namely, that part which fronted to the High-Street, while she contented herself with the apartments behind, of which the windows looked into Blackfriars' Wynd. It will be observed from this, that her ladyship's house extended throughout the *double land* recently burnt down, and comprised, in reality, two houses, of which the entrances went off from opposite sides of the *scale-stair*, common to both. * * *

Lady Lovat used to spend a good deal of money in patronizing the spinning-wheel. She employed a considerable number of women, in preparing the webs of homespun linen, which she was always now and then presenting to her friends. The management of these eternal webs was her ladyship's principal occupation; and, like the other good housewives of the last century, she made it a point to have as much good linen laid by to rot, as would have purchased the whole furniture of any modern house.

Lady Lovat's character was strongly marked by enthusiastic piety, and a reliance upon the doctrine of predestination, amounting almost to fatalism. Under the severe and manifold afflictions which it had been her lot to experience, she did not seem to feel much annoyed; and it is said that this did not arise, as many supposed, from stoical indifference, or physical want of sensibility, but from a notion she entertained of all her calamities

being sent by Heaven, as *trials*, or *tests*, in which light she considered that they ought to be received with patience and resignation. When a tenement nearly opposite to her's, in Blackfriars' Wynd, took fire, in 1791, and threatened destruction to all around, her ladyship did not think it incumbent upon her to make any attempt to save either herself or her dwelling, but sat at a window, in her usual quiet manner, knitting a stocking, and watching the progress of the flames. The Magistrates and Ministers came in person, with a sedan, and beseeched her to remove; but she said, that, if her hour was come it would be vain to think of eluding her fate, and if it was *not* come, she was quite safe where she was. All that they were permitted to do for her, was to get wet blankets hung over her windows, by which means the house was protected from the sparks.

She had a very strong sense of honour in all her dealings; and, what is singular, would not cheat even a tax-gatherer! When this detested person called to take account of her windows, she made a point of showing him into a dark closet at the back of her house, in which there was an aperture opening upon a *score-hole* behind, and scarcely giving any light. This the censor of window-lights said he would excuse to her ladyship, on the plea that it was of no use to her as a window. But she insisted upon it being included; though it was not without considerable demur that he could be prevailed upon to take account of it.—Moreover, whenever her chimney caught fire, she *took the first word of flying* with the sweeps and Town Guard, by sending her fine before they had time to come and demand it!

She was very intimate with Lady Jane Douglas; and one of the strongest evidences in favour of the present Lord Douglas being the son of that lady, was the following very remarkable circumstance: Lady Lovat, passing by a house in the High-Street, saw a child at a window, and remarked to a friend who was with her, "If I thought Lady Jane Douglas could be in Edinburgh, I would say that was her child—he is so like her!" Upon returning home, she found a note from Lady Jane, informing her, that she had just arrived in Edinburgh, and had taken lodgings in ——— *Land*, which turned out to be the house in which Lady Lovat had observed the child, and that child was young Archibald Douglas. Lady Lovat was a person of such strict integrity, that no consideration would have tempted her to say what she did not think; and at the time she saw the child, she had not an idea of Lady Jane being in Scotland.

Such was the generosity of her disposition, that, when her grandson Simon was studying law, she at various times presented him with £50, and, when he was to pass as an advocate, she sent him £100. It was wonderful how she could spare such sums from her small jointure. Whole tribes of grand-nephews and grand-nieces experienced the goodness of her heart, and loved her with almost filial affection. She frequently spoke to them of her misfortunes, and was accustomed to say, "I daursay, bairns, the events of my life wad make a good novell; but they have been of *sae* strange a nature, that I am sure naeboddy wad believe them." She meant, we suppose, that the incidents would not have the *vraisemblance* necessary in a fictitious work.

Her ladyship contemplated the approach of death with great fortitude, and, according to the custom of many Scottish ladies of her time, made preparations for her own funeral. Not only were her grave-clothes ready, but she had been long in the habit of having the stair of her house annually white-washed and painted, in order that it might make a decent appearance to the company who should assemble at her obsequies. When on her death-bed, her son asked if she wished to be buried in the family-vault at Beaufort Castle. She answered, "Deed, Archy, ye needna put yerell to ony fash about me, for I dinna care though ye should lay me aneath that hearth-stane!"

Her ladyship's house in Blackfriars' Wynd was occasionally honoured by the visits of the Duke of Argyll, and other noble personages, when they happened to be in town. It was a *land* of great distinction. Lord E—— resided in one of the *flats*. We deeply regret that it is now altogether destroyed, and that localities of this sketch cannot be visited by the antiquary or the enthusiast. It was laid in ruins (February 1825) by one of that series of frequent and extensive conflagrations, which rendered the winter of 1824-1825 so memorable in Edinburgh.

The following is the author's account of a very different, but no less singular personage, viz. James Wilson, *alias* Claudero.

He was a native of a place called Cumbernauld, in Dumbartonshire, and at an early period of his life showed such marks of a mischief-loving disposition, as procured him the enmity of his duller and more decent fellow-villagers. The occasion of his lameness was a pebble thrown from a tree at the minister, who, having been previously exasperated by his tricks, chased him to the end of a closed lane,

and with his cane inflicted such personal chastisement as rendered him a cripple, and a hater of the whole body of the clergy, all the rest of his life. He went with a crutch under one arm and a staff in the opposite hand; one withered leg swinging entirely free of the ground.

At what period of his life he came to reside in Edinburgh we have not discovered. Some of his poems are occasioned by circumstances which took place in the city so early as 1753, and he must have continued to dwell in the town till after 1788, his name appearing in Peter Williamson's Edinburgh Directory for that year. He lived by teaching a School, which he kept at the bottom of the High-School Wynd in the Cowgate. He was unmarried, and tyrannized over his wife, who was as complete a shrew as any poor poet could have been blessed with.

He was a satirist by profession; and when any person wished to have a squib played off upon his neighbours, he had nothing to do but call upon Claudero, who, for half-a-crown, would produce the desired effusion, composed, and copied off in a fair hand, in a given time. He liked this species of employment better than writing upon his own bottom, the profit being more certain and immediate. When in want of money, it was his custom to write a sly satire on some opulent public personage, upon whom he called with it, desiring to have his opinion of the work, and his countenance in favour of a subscription for its publication. The object of his ridicule, conscience-struck by his own portrait, would wince and be civil, advise him to give up thoughts of publishing so crude a production, and conclude by offering a *douceur* of one or two guineas, to keep the poet alive till better times should come round. At that time there lived in Edinburgh a number of rich old men, who had made fortunes in no very honourable way, in public capacities, abroad; and whose characters, labouring under strange suspicions, were wonderfully susceptible of Claudero's satire. These the way used to bleed profusely and frequently, by working upon their fears of public notice, to the improvement of his own finances, and the little injury of theirs. One person, from his lameness, popularly called *Clinchie* Arbuthnot, was the frequent object of this singular species of persecution.

In 1766, Claudero published a volume entitled "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, by Claudero, son of Nimrod the Mighty Hunter," &c. &c. We extract the Preface entire, as being worthy of preservation. "Christian Reader,—The following Miscellany is published at the desire

of many gentlemen, who have all been my very good friends: if there be any thing in it amusing or entertaining, shall be very glad I have contributed to your diversion, and will laugh as heartily at your money as you do at my works. Several of my pieces may need explanation; but I am too cunning for that; what is not understood, (like Presbyterian preaching,) will at least be admired. I am regardless of critics: perhaps some of my lines want a foot; but then, if the critic look sharp out, he will find that loss sufficiently supplied in other places, where they have a foot too much; and, besides, men's works generally resemble themselves; if the poems are lame, so is the author, CLAUDERO."

The most remarkable poems in this volume are—"The Echo of the Royal Porch of the Palace of Holyrood-house, which fell under Military Execution *anno* 1753,"—"The last Speech and Dying Words of the Cross, which was hanged, drawn, and quartered, on Monday the 15th of March 1756, for the horrid crime of being an incumbrance to the street,"—"Scotland in Tears for the horrid Treatment of the King's Sepulchres,"—"An Elegy on the much-lamented Death of Quaker Erskine,"—"A Sermon on the Condemnation of the Netherbow,"—"Humphry Colquhoun's Last Farewell," &c. Claudero seems to have been the only man of his time who remonstrated against the destruction of certain venerable edifices then removed from the streets which they ornamented, to the disappointment and indignation of all future antiquaries. There is much wit in his sermon upon the destruction of the Netherbow, and a few passages may amuse a new generation. "What was too hard for the great ones of the earth, yea even queens, to effect, is now accomplished. No patriot Duke opposeth the scheme, as did the great Argyll in the grand senate of our nation; therefore the project shall go into execution, and down shall Edina's lofty porches be hurled with a vengeance. Streets shall be extended to the east, regular and beautiful, as far as the Frigate Whins, and Portobello shall be a lodge for the captors of tea and brandy. The city shall be joined to Leith on the north, and a procession of wise masons shall there lay the foundations of a spacious harbour. Pequin or Nanquin shall not be able to compare with Edinburgh for magnificence. Our city shall be the greatest wonder of the world, and the fame of its glory shall reach the distant ends of the earth.—But lament, O thou descendant of the royal Dane, and chief of the tribe of Wilson for thy shop, con-

tigious to the porch, shall be dashed to pieces, and its place will know thee no more!—No more shall the melodious voice of the loyalist Grant be heard in the morning, nor shall he any more shake the bending wand towards the triumphal arch. Let all who angle in deep waters lament, for Tom had not his equal.—The Netherbow Coffee-house of the loyal Smeiton can now no longer enjoy its ancient name with propriety; and from henceforth, *The Revolution Coffee-house* shall its name be called.—Our gates must be extended wide for accommodating the gilded chariots, which, from the luxury of the age, are become numerous. With an impetuous career, they jostle against one another in our streets, and the unwary foot-passenger is in danger of being crushed to pieces. The loaded cart itself cannot withstand their fury, and the hideous yells of *Coal Johnnie* resound through the vaulted sky. The sour-milk barrels are overturned, and deluges of Corstorphin cream run down our strands, while the poor unhappy milk-maid wrings her hands with sorrow.”—To the sermon are appended the Last Speech and Dying Words of the Netherbow, in which the following laughable declaration occurs: “May my Clock be struck dumb in the other world if I lie in this; and may MACK, the reformer of Edina’s lofty spires, never bestride my weather-cock on high, if I deviate from truth in these my last words. Though my fabric shall be levelled with the dust of the earth, yet I fall in hope that my weather-cock shall be exalted on some more modern dome, where it shall shine like the burnished gold, reflecting the rays of the sun to the eyes of ages unborn. The daring Mack shall yet look down from my cock, high in the airy region, to the brandy shops below, where large grey-beards shall appear to him no bigger than mutchkin bottles, and mutchkin bottles shall be in his sight like the spark of a diamond. Many, alas! have been my crimes; but the greatest of all was, receiving the head of the brave Marquis of Montrose from the hands of base dastardly miscreants! * * * *.” We can only afford room for one of his versified compositions, “Humphry Colquhoun’s Farewell,” which is remarkable as being the ground-work of that beautiful lyric by the Master-Spirit of the age, entitled “Mary,” and sung in “The Pirate” by Claud Halcro, whose name, and

wayward poetical character, were perhaps suggested by those of Claudero.

Farewell to Auld Reekie,
Farewell to lewd Kate,
Farewell to each —,
And farewell to curs’d debt;
With light heart and thin breeches,
Humph crosses the main,
All worn out to stitches,
He’ll ne’er come again.

Farewell to old Dido,
Who sold him good ale;
Her charms, like her drink,
For poor Humph were too stale:
Though closely she urged him,
To marry and stay,
Her Trojan, quite cloy’d,
From her sail’d away.

Farewell to James Campbell,
Who play’d many tricks;
Humph’s ghost and Lochmoidart’s
Will chase him to Styx;
Where in Charon’s wherry
He’ll be ferried o’er
To Pluto’s dominions
’Mongst rascals great store.

Farewell, pot-companions,
Farewell, all good fellows,
Farewell to my anvil,
Files, plier, and bellows.
Sails, fly to Jamaica,
Where I mean long to dwell,
Change manners with climates,—
Dear Drummond, farewell.

From these profuse extracts, the reader will be enabled to form his own judgment of the little work to which we have been directing his attention, and which we now beg leave to recommend to the perusal of all true Scotsmen. If there be any force in the old and trite remark, *omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*, it is not easy to over-rate Mr Chambers’s merits. Let him pay a little more attention to his style, or employ the pruning-knife of some “slender clerk,” to lop off a few of the more offensive Scotticisms which, even in a work so exclusively national, may be well spared, and he will entitle himself to the unqualified suffrages of all those whose favour is worth the cultivating.

DUELLING, AND THE LAW REGARDING IT.

THE important subject of *Duelling*, and the law regarding it, attracted our attention on the publication of the little work whose title is noted below *; and we then wrote Observations on that topic, exerting, at the same time, our office of Reviewers as well as Journalists, and submitting the Treatise to our critical ordeal. No battles happening to occur, however, in the mean time, to lead us more immediately to it, and the current events of the day pressing on us for discussion, we laid our papers on it aside; nor have we, till now, found leisure to resume consideration of them. What we prepared, however, with some care, may probably interest our readers; and as the subject must be of consequence at all times, we now give them our remarks upon it.

It seems to be certain that there were no duels among the ancient Greeks; and the speech of Themistocles to the Spartan General, "Strike, but first hear me," is known to every school-boy. Among the Romans, they appear to have been almost as little practised. The battle of the Horatii and Curiatii is the only thing of the kind which occurs among them where a pitched battle took place, and even that was of a different description from the proper duel. There was, it is true, an attempt at single combat on the part of Mark Anthony, who challenged Augustus when still Octavius; but that future Emperor, who had a strong development of *cautiousness*, got slyly out of the scrape. "What!" said he; "is Anthony weary of life, and has he no other way of escaping from it but on the point of my sword?" a *jeu-d'esprit* which, however well it might have passed in the old world, would now have sent him to *Conventry*.

It is not among the great and refined nations of antiquity we must look for the origin of this practice: almost all the institutions of the modern European world migrated from the forests of Germany with the rude hordes who over-ran the Roman

Empire, and let us enquire whether any seed or germ of this usage can be found to have existed there. Now, we learn from Paterculus, that, "wherever the Romans proceeded on evidence, the Germans resorted to arms." Barbarians are governed by customs, and these are carried by them wherever they go; the one now alluded to was, therefore, taken by the Germans into their new settlements; and as they advanced, it gave rise to the judicial combat which was the principal means of trying all matters of dispute. As in other courts, there was a form of process here too; and in *limine litis*, the parties were ordained to hear mass, and to make oath "that they had no charms or witchcraft about them." The fire and water ordeal (into the nature of which it is unnecessary that we should enter here) were the more ordinary modes of settling contested claims among men of humble origin. "The right of the sword," as it was styled, or the privilege of determining differences by arms, belonged more particularly to knights and gentlemen, who strove in complete steel. This mode of trial was, as well as the others, held to be an ordeal; and as the Deity was supposed in those to save from drowning or burning the party who was right; so, in the trial by battle, he was believed to give victory to him who ought in justice to be successful.

According to this method, cases of all descriptions were tried, even those which were apt to suppose to be most remote from such procedure. Thus, the veracity of writings was not unfrequently the subject of such contests; and the right of succession of the son of an eldest son deceased, in preference to a second son, was actually decided, not by discussion, but by single combat; and that determination was the regular source of the law of primogeniture. But not only were questions of great importance decided in that manner: those of small patrimonial interest had the same rules applied to them.

* *Remarks on Duelling*, comprising Observations on the Arguments in defence of that practice; by George Buchan of Kelso, Esq. Waugh & Innes.

for Lewis the Young, in France, forbade the combat in civil suits for any debt not exceeding *five pence*, and of course permitted it for all sums above it; and in the reign of St. Lewis, a debt not exceeding *twelve farthings* was deemed sufficient to authorize it.

In warlike ages, when tilts and tournaments were common as matters of mere amusement and luxury, it is easily conceived, that modes of trying disputed rights, which were so consonant to general taste, would be usually resorted to, where the litigants were men of rank. When any of the parties were women or children, champions were engaged to fight for them, as we employ counsel at the present day to plead causes for those who cannot do so themselves.

Such being the Courts for the trials of differences, and such the mode of procedure, let us now remark, that the grievances which men suffer from one another are of two kinds: one description of them relates to attacks or claims made on their *property*, and the other has reference to injuries done to their *feelings*, or self-esteem; and according to the customs of those times, both kinds, of course, were the subject of martial contest. It is easy to see that those of the latter kind would, even more readily than the others, come to be decided in that manner; as personal insult, by raising the angry passions more directly than mere patrimonial claims, are more likely to lead to personal chastisement.

This view, therefore, accounts for the origin of *duelling*, properly so called, but express law also permitted it; and it was an ancient enactment, that if any man shall say to another these reproachable words, "*you are not a man equal to other men*," or "*you have not the heart of a man*," and the other shall say, "*I am a man as good as you*," LET THEM MEET IN THE HIGHWAY." The meeting here directed was for contest with arms; and thus we see that the duel, when proceeding from insult and personal quarrel, was not only founded on the general customs, or what might be called the common law of the times, but was sanctioned by express regulations.

The use of single combat gave way to the institution of Judges; and those of early times, after the introduction of the feudal law, were, in all the European nations, the great officers of the crown, constituting the *aula regum* in the several countries. These *aulæ* were transformed into the regular courts. In this way, the *aula regis*, or *cours du Roi* of France, was changed into the several Parliaments: the aulic council of Germany into the law-courts of that country; and the *aula regis* of both kingdoms of our own country, consisting of the Chancellor, Justiciar, Chamberlain, and others, came, in England, to form the several courts of Westminster Hall, and, in Scotland, those of the Session, Justiciary, and Exchequer.

This was the progress of judicial procedure, and the origin of courts of law; and let us enquire what would be the description of causes which would be sent to them for their decision? It would include all those for the punishment of crimes against the State, claims for the Sovereign's revenue, and cases of ordinary patrimonial interest; but men having been accustomed to punish *personal insult* with *their own hands*, they would still adhere to the same mode; particularly as there is a something in human nature which would render that mode of doing so far more agreeable to wounded feelings than all the apparatus and delay of courts.

While, therefore, all the other species of dissension came to be settled by the Judges of the land, and while the adjustments of such quarrels were determined by the interference of others, in matters of insult, or when honour was held to be concerned, men were permitted to retain the means of redress in their own power; and (to use the language of the old enactment which we have alluded to above) they preserved the right to *meet their enemy on the highway*, and decide the matter in personal contest. Man, as Lord Kames would have said, is a pugnacious animal; and this species of fighting being thus, in a manner, sanctioned, it is obvious that duelling would increase; more particularly, as sovereigns found it useful in preventing what were called *private wars*, or wars be-

tween clans or families. It soon, however, came to such a height, in most of the countries of Europe, that it was necessary to repress it as far as possible. In *France*, the first prohibition of it was by Henry II.; but as De Massi remarks, "through an unaccountable propensity in human nature to act in opposition to what is forbidden, the spirit of it extended itself in proportion as the royal authority had declared against it;" and it afterwards increased to such an extent, that during the first eighteen years of the reign of Henry IV., there were in France actually no less than 4000 men slain in duels, which is equal to 223 annually, and more than four every week. In the subsequent reign of Louis XIII., the most sanguinary enactment was made against the practice; and persons wounded in duels were actually dragged forth and hanged on gibbets; yet duelling continued still to be so common, that, as we are told, it was customary, on meeting in the morning, to ask *who fought yesterday*: at last, during the reign of Louis XIV., the practice is said to have been for some time effectually repressed. This was accomplished by a resolution entered into by most of the men of rank in the kingdom, neither to give nor accept challenges, and by means of additional severe edicts of the King, to which he adhered with unremitting constancy. What were the exact terms of this strict law we know not; but, while pardon was always refused to the survivor, the dead body of the party slain was dragged through the streets on a hurdle, with the greatest ignominy.

In *Sweden*, also, the severest laws were made against the practice; and in a note below, a most interesting anecdote is given of adherence to them, from the Life of Gustavus Adolphus, by Harte*.

As to the *English* law on the subject, "wherever two persons, in cool blood," says Jacob, "meet and fight upon a precedent quarrel, and one of them is killed, the other is guilty of *murder*, and cannot excuse himself by alleging that he was first struck by the deceased, or that he had declined to meet him,—was prevailed upon to do it by his importunity, or that it was not his intent to kill, but only to vindicate his reputation, &c. 1 Hawk. P. C. 81."

In *Scotland*, the two Statutes against duelling are 1600, c. 12, in the reign of James the Sixth, and 1696, c. 35, in the reign of King William; and as they are those of our own country, and sufficiently short, we shall give the words of them. By the first (1600) it is enacted, "That no person, in tyme comming, without his Highnes Licence, fight any singular combat, under the paine of death, and his moveable gear escheat to his Hignes use, and the provoker to be punished with a more ignominious death nor the defender, at the pleasure of His Majesty." By the latter Act (1696) it is declared, that "Whosoever, principal or second, or other interposed person, gives a challenge to fight a duel or single combat, or whosoever accepts the same, or whosoever, either principal or second, on either side, engages therein, albeit no fighting ensue, shall be punished by the pain of ba-

* Gustavus Adolphus, the King, had strictly prohibited duelling; but in one of the Russian campaigns, a quarrel having arisen between two officers of high command, they agreed to request an audience of His Majesty, and they besought his permission to decide the affair like men of honour. His Majesty was extremely enraged, but repressed his passion with so much art, that they easily mistook him: with apparent reluctance, he told them that he blamed them for their mistaken notions concerning fame and glory: yet, as their unreasonable determination appeared to be the result of deliberate reflection to the best of their deluded capacity, he said that he would allow them to decide the affair at the time and place fixed on; adding, that he should be himself an eye-witness of their extraordinary valour and prowess. At the hour appointed, Gustavus arrived, accompanied by a small body of infantry, whom he formed into a circle round the combatants. "Now," said he, "fight till one man dies;" and calling his Provost Marshall to him, directed, that whenever one was killed, he should behead the other. This speedily brought both down to their knees to beg forgiveness. The King pardoned them, directing that they should embrace one another. They did so, and remained friends through life.

nishment, and escheat of moveables, without prejudice to the Act already made against the fighting of duels."

These are the *express laws* against duelling in those countries with which we are best acquainted; and let us next enquire how they have been in general modified and moulded in the progress of manners, and by THE PRACTICE OF COURTS OF LAW.

The hostile passions of mankind will always have vent: in those countries, therefore, where duelling is most repressed by severe edicts, assassination has been ever found most to prevail; and the dagger and the stiletto have supplied the place of the pistol and the rapier. In France, where people are somewhat more civilized than in some other countries, the *rencontre* is adopted; and to avoid the danger of an unpleasant call from the *Procureur du Roi*, and the serious consequences which would follow a regular challenge, when any man of honour thinks himself affronted, he whispers the aggressor to meet him at a set time and place, where the one jostles the other as if by chance, each of them draws his sword, and as regular a combat takes place as if it were fought in Hyde Park; with this important difference, that there are generally no seconds present, and therefore a greater chance exists of one of these barbarous murders happening by unexpected attack, which are almost totally exploded from the British duel, and which are punished here with the greatest severity of the law, whenever they occur.

AS TO THE PRACTICE IN BRITAIN, we preface what we shall say on it by remarking, that, with regard to the execution of the laws in general, there is the greatest difference between countries which have *despotic* governments, and those which are *free* and have *trial by jury*; that in the first of these, the severest laws standing in the Statute-books may be put in execution at any time, according to the temper or the caprice of the monarch or his ministers, though at total variance with existing manners; and they are in general either rigidly observed, or allowed, through negligence, to go into disuse, and to be evaded, as we have just seen exemplified in the case of

France. But in free countries, such as our own, where the rights of individuals are tried by their fellow-subjects, and where no decision as to their safety can take place without the award of juries, *regulations are moulded according to advancing manners, without express enactments, which are not always readily obtained*; and the law, as applied to the affairs of mankind, actually undergoes correspondent changes.

Of this there are many instances, particularly in England, where the Statute-book is much more sanguinary than ours; and we have been indebted for a pretty full collection of them to Sir Samuel Romilly, who made it, in his humane, but, alas! too unsuccessful attempts, to amend the criminal code.

Thus, by certain Acts of William III., stealing to the value of *five shillings*, in a shop or stable, is punishable with death; and by the Act 12 of Queen Anne, pilfering in a dwelling-house to the value of *forty shillings* is subjected to the same severe doom. But what has been the fate of these laws? They are, no doubt, still on record, still theoretically in existence, but they are abrogated in practice, by advancing civilization, and almost uniformly evaded by a device, which jurymen even, in some degree, at the expense of their consciences, constantly adopt. The articles stolen, though of greater, are found to be of less value than these statutory sums, and the thieves thus escape the too severe punishments. Some of the most whimsical instances of this have occurred. Thus, in a prosecution under the first of these Acts, the jury found on oath, that 43 dozen of pairs of stockings which had been stolen were worth no more than 4s. 10d., and under the other Statute they found that a ten-pound Bank-of-England note was in value only 39s. We may mention two other instances where juries of themselves changed the law, the one in England, and the other in our own country. By the English Act of Queen Elizabeth, for repressing vagrants, death was awarded against any person above fourteen years of age associating for a certain time with gypsies; and by a Scotch Act of Parliament, death was directed

to be awarded against any woman who had been pregnant, as guilty of child-murder, where she had not mentioned her situation, and had made no preparation for the birth. The last of these is abrogated by Statute, though we believe the other remains still unrepealed; but neither of them, in truth, waited the slow operations of the Legislature, for both were practically put an end to by civilization, and the humanity of juries.

We trust that this little digression will not be considered to be inapplicable to our subject when we add, that though the laws against duelling, in the civilized countries, still generally stand frowning on their Statute-books, with all their original apparent rancour, yet, in modern days, if they have not been actually abrogated, they too have been generally disarmed of their fierceness in practice, and that, particularly in Britain, (where, as we have seen, laws are gradually adapted to the manners and customs of the times, by the plastic hands of inquests,) they have been softened to a very considerable extent.

This position we shall fortify by the *DICTA* of Judges, and establish by the authority of *DECIDED CASES*.

Thus, in *England*, on occasion of the trial, before Baron Hotham, of Roe Purfoy, for the killing of Colonel Roper, in a duel in 1791, that eminent Judge, in recommending a verdict for the prisoner, stated, that though the acquittal which he suggested to the Jury might "trench on the rigid rules of law, yet the verdict would be lovely in the sight both of God and man."

In *Ireland*, in 1808, Baron Smith, in trying Alcock for the killing of Colclough in a duel, stated himself as wavered in doubting whether the severe doctrine on the subject is not an anomaly existing in theory, but almost abrogated in practice, by the acuteness of Judges, the humanity of Jurors, and the mercy of the Crown.

And in *Scotland*, Lord Justice Clerk Hope, (now President of the Court of Session,) on the trial of Dr Cahill, for killing Captain Rutherford in 1811, said, that "*it is impossible to disguise the truth, that the manners of the times, and the feelings of mankind, are in direct opposition to*

the laws of the land." To these we may add, what, though not pronounced on a trial, was the remark of an eminent Judge, as well as a philosopher—we allude to the observation of Lord Kames, in his *Sketches of the History of Man*, that "the Acts against duelling have been effectual only in furnishing excuses to those who wished to decline fighting."

Of the many decided cases to which we might refer to establish our position, we shall allude, in the shortest manner, to three, where the persons tried for duelling had been the *challengers*, and to other three where they had been the *challenged*. They are generally recent, and were decided respectively in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The direct inferences from them, and from two additional ones, also to be briefly mentioned, will shew precisely, not how the law stands in obsolete statutes and antiquated decisions, but how it is *PRACTICALLY APPLIED TO THE AFFAIRS OF MEN AT THIS DAY*.

The cases of the first description, and where the persons tried were *challengers*, are,

1st, That of Captain M'Namara, for killing Colonel Montgomery in a dispute about striking a dog; there an *English Jury* held that Montgomery had first insulted M'Namara, and acquitted the latter person.

2d, That of Lieutenant Rae, for killing Lieutenant M'Vean in a duel in 1798. M'Vean had given the lie to Rae in the public mess-room, and being desired by the corps to make an apology, did it in so improper a manner, that they considered themselves insulted by it. Rae challenged the other and killed him, but was acquitted by an *Irish Jury*.

3d, That of Mr James Stuart, for killing in a duel Sir Alex. Boswell, two years ago, the circumstances of which case are too well known to require to be recited here. Mr Stuart, though the challenger, was acquitted by a *Scotch Jury*.

In all these cases the Juries *acquitted* the parties, although they were the challengers; holding the insults received by them to have been such that gentlemen could not pass them by and be received into good company, according to the manners of the times.

The three cases alluded to, where the persons who killed their antagonists, and were tried for doing so, and acquitted, were the *challenged*, are the following :

1st, That of Roc Purefoy, above mentioned, tried before Baron Hotham in 1791 in *England*, for killing Colonel Roper in a duel, to which the Colonel had challenged him.

2d, That of Mr Alcock, above-mentioned, tried in *Ireland* before Baron Smith, for killing Mr Colclough, who had challenged him.

3d, That of Dr Cahill, tried in *Scotland* in 1811, for killing Captain Rutherford, who had given him a challenge.

In these three cases, the Juries *acquitted* the several persons tried, because they had received challenges, and it was held that fighting was actually necessary in their self-defence; as, had they not done so, they must have been secluded from good society.

In all these six cases the duels were what has been termed *fair*; that is, they were fought regularly, in presence of seconds, and on the field no improper advantage was taken by any one of the combatants over the other.

The other two cases now to be mentioned are of a very different description, because they wanted those saving qualities.

1st, The case of Campbell. There the parties fought in a private room, and without seconds; and it appeared in proof that the unfortunate person who was slain had, before he expired, said, that the other was "a bad man, and had hurried him." In these circumstances the survivor was *condemned and executed*.

2d, Another case, in which the names of the parties have been forgotten, where the one going up to the other on the field apparently to salute him, or for some other peaceful purpose, unexpectedly raised his pistol and shot him dead. He was *found guilty of murder, executed, and dissected*.

From all those cases we may draw the following conclusions, with regard to the law of duelling, as it exists in practice in this country at the present time :

First, That if one gentleman shall, in society, give another the lie, or otherwise grossly insult him, if the

injured person challenge him, and if they fight fairly, in presence of seconds, should the injured man kill the aggressor, a Jury will probably acquit him.

Secondly, If one gentleman shall receive from another a challenge; if they shall go out and fight fairly, in presence of seconds, should he that has been challenged kill the challenger, a Jury will probably acquit him.

But, *Thirdly*, Without reference to who has been the challenger or the challenged, if the parties have not fought fairly, and in presence of seconds, should one of them fall, the survivor will probably be condemned and suffer death; especially if it appear to the Jury that any undue advantage has been taken on the field by him over the other.

Such being the present state of our law, let us next observe the progress by which it has arrived at it, tracing it rapidly from the days of those severe statutes which have been recited.

The first act of our own Legislature quoted by us was in the reign of James VI. Duels exist most among men of nearly the same rank, but, during the subsequent period, the reign of Charles I., the cavaliers were too much engaged in keeping the round-heads in order, to have leisure to quarrel with one another. There were, therefore, few duels at that time. During the usurpation, Cromwell's parliament made an ordinance against duelling, but it was rescinded with the rest of his laws, and, in the gay and sprightly days of Charles II. it again prevailed. In the reforming times of King William, as we have seen, an Act was passed against even challenging, but little attention was paid to it. In the reign of Queen Anne, (in 1712), a desperate duel was fought between the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun, which proved fatal to both parties. A bill was therefore brought into parliament, for more effectually preventing such contests, and Her Majesty even made a speech there commendatory of it, but it was thrown out on the second reading.

In the course of this sketch, it is now interesting to remark *how very few the duels have been in Britain in our own time,—how few trials*

have arisen out of them,—and *how seldom* these trials have terminated fatally for the persons subjected to them. Mr Gilchrist, in his collection of the principal duels fought since the accession of George III. to very near the present time, mentions, that the combats have been one hundred and seventy-two in number, and of course three hundred and forty-four persons were engaged in them : that of these, only sixty-nine were killed : that only eighteen trials took place in consequence : that, in those trials, while seven persons were found guilty of manslaughter, only three were convicted of murder ; and that their punishments were such that *only two* were executed, and the remaining eight suffered nothing more than imprisonment.

These details lead us now to the consideration of the work whose title we have mentioned in the beginning of this paper ; and we engage with it with the more satisfaction, that it comes from a person who is not only of excellent talents, but a man of the world, though on this subject he has adopted those views that are more frequently taken by gentlemen of another cloth, and whose professional habits lead them to reasonings that are less practical, or connected with the affairs of men *. What first strikes us in the perusal of that treatise is, that the author, in stating what he terms the *law* on the subject, confines himself almost entirely to the old state of it, adverting but slightly to the manner in which it stands at present, and forgetting what is so distinctly laid down by institutional writers, that, “as a posterior statute may repeal or derogate from a prior, so a *posterior custom* may repeal or derogate from a *prior statute*, even though that prior statute should contain a clause forbidding all usages that might tend to weaken it†.” Keeping this principle in view, and attending to the many decided cases at variance with the antiquated statutes, it is impossible to deny that those acts have been in a great measure repealed by a contrary custom.

There is a species of curious anomaly which we discover in our enquiries on this subject. It is, that always the *more* that law has been relaxed, the *seldom*er have duels occurred, and the *less* sanguinary have they been ; and the existence of this fact forms the best answer to those who propose severe enactments. As heavy duties induce extensive smuggling, so the severity of all prohibitions leads men more anxiously to evade them ; while the evasion produces an evil which is worse than that which the rigour of the law was intended to prevent. The directest illustrations of this remark are found in many instances. The Spanish and Italian edicts against duelling we believe to be very severe, and therefore men in Spain and Italy assassinate, instead of challenging one another to a generous field. In France, Lewis XIV. left a strict recommendation in his will, that his sanguinary laws against duelling should continue to be executed ; but his successors were too humane, or, probably, too indolent, to attend to his desire, so as substantially to prevent the practice in the same harsh manner which Lewis himself did : but duelling, properly so called, continues still to be prosecuted at law there ; it has, therefore, been generally changed into *rencountering*, without seconds. By that means, the very evil often happens there which, as we have seen, is with us so anxiously guarded against : irritated parties often kill each other, while one of them is at unawares ; and thus they convert into actual murders what but for such ill-advised rigour in the law would have been *honourable battles*.

Such is the state of matters in those foreign polished nations ; but how much preferable is it with us in Britain ! Here the severity of our statutory enactments has been softened down and mellowed by the humanity of our customary and practical law. Here we have scarcely any assassinations or murders under the semblance of *rencontres* ; but when such differences do arise, as

* See *Reflections* on the subject ascribed to the late Rev. Bishop Geddes, and *two Discourses* by the Rev. Peter Chalmers.

† Erskine, *Institute* 4. T. 1. § 55.

would, in those countries, be terminated in modes so barbarous, fair duels are fought in presence of seconds, according to rules which custom has sanctioned. Thus a great evil, which cannot be eradicated, is rendered almost harmless; and the very rare occurrence of it, which we have already noticed, shews it to be so. We admit and admire the zeal of our author, nor do we contend for duels in the abstract more than he. We say only, that where an evil cannot be extinguished, it is of great importance to have it lessened; and here we have reason to be thankful that our own more humane practice has been far more successful in steadily and effectually diminishing so great an ill, than all the gibbets and hurdles of other countries have been. It ought to be remembered, too, that, however desirable it would be to banish all kinds of vice from this our sublunary state, we can make but approaches to such perfection; and these can be made only with reference to man as he is, and to the failings which exist in his nature.

We shall just add, that, under the second class of cases to which we have alluded above, we think it would be a great improvement, in many instances, for courts somewhat to extend their enquiries. Persons are frequently acquitted of the crime of killing in duels, because *they were challenged*; it being held, that, according to modern manners, men who are called out must fight in defence of their honour; but it sometimes has happened, that, but for *their own aggressions*, they would not have been challenged at all; and thus the duels, and their consequences, have evidently proceeded from *themselves*. Now, surely, in such cases, were the original insults to be traced to those challenged persons, and were their own conduct shown to have been such that the opposite parties could not avoid challenging them, then they should be placed in situations very different from those which would have been theirs, had the opponents, and not they themselves, been the cause of the dissension; and it cannot have escaped notice, that that very distinction is made in the act of James VI. above recited.

But what are the remedies which our author proposes for the evil of duelling? Let us refer to his own words. Our author, after saying that he is "fully satisfied that the chief difficulty in getting rid of duelling consists in our imagination," adds, "one of the most prominent causes of the prevalence of duelling is undoubtedly the extreme laxity with which the laws against it have been administered. It was this laxity which led to the failure of the edicts repeatedly issued in the reigns of Henry IV. and Louis XIII. of France, and it was the adoption of an opposite course, in the undeviating enforcement of the edicts issued in his reign, that enabled Louis XIV. to succeed in the great measure of abolishing duelling in his dominions. With this salutary example in view, our laws on this point have continued, from one reign to another, to be administered, with few exceptions, with criminal remissness; and the stream of its descent bearing along a continued accumulation of new proceedings, every stage in its progress must have increased the difficulty of rectifying the evil, which *will probably continue, till decisive means, similar to those adopted in France, and other countries, are here resorted to.*"

He then recommends, that all the men of rank in our country should enter into some general resolution against duelling, as was done in France in the reign of Lewis XIV. But we really cannot agree with our author on these points. The difficulty of the cure of the evil he will, on a little enquiry, find to be much more deeply rooted than in the imagination; and were all his proposed ideas adopted in the enactment of the most sanguinary law, which even imagination itself could figure, it is certain that that law would almost immediately become a dead letter. He forgets that it would require to be executed by means of *inquests*: and he does not seem to be aware, that the *Juries could never be brought to return verdicts of guilty under it, if they considered it to be unnecessarily harsh and severe.* The terms of such new law might be more prolix, but they could never be more forcible than those of the old sta-

tutes 1600 and 1696. But Juries have disregarded both the old acts, and have themselves determined on every case according to their own feelings; and what reason have we to suppose that a new law would be better treated, or have any better fate, than the old ones have had * ?

It was a similar zeal which, in England, brought in the acts, whereby death was ordained to be the punishment of stealing in a shop to the value of five shillings, and in a dwelling-house to the value of only two pounds; but very few have been hanged under those acts, though many worthy men have all along perjured themselves, as we have already shown, to save culprits from what both their judgment and their humanity found to be disproportionate punishments. In this way, a greater evil was produced by that over-severity than that which it was intended to remedy; and, in like manner, our author would find, that if, contrary to our idea, any proposed bloody enactment could be carried into effect at all, men would then keep themselves as free as possible from that offence of duelling, by substituting in its place the far worse ones of rencounter, assassination, and murder. Lessons from the knowledge of others are valuable; and that which we derive from the experience of those of other countries on this subject deserves to be well appreciated by the inhabitants of our own.

Though we have thus disagreed with our author on one part of his subject, there is another in which we cordially coincide with him. It is that wherein he dissents from the commonly-received opinion, that *duelling tends to humanize manners*, by inducing men to be civil and polite to one another; and which idea of his he illustrates well and forcibly from his own observation.

I have known (says he) repeated and decided examples, where the spirit of duelling has led to much overhearing insolence, much violence, and where the thirst of blood has been evidently sharpened by a certain confidence in superior dexterity in the work of death. Such a feeling as this is, I believe, very far from uniformly

prevailing. But we must also throw into the scale of inducement, the desire to shine in feats of single combat; the sort of glare and glitter, that the estimation of the world, in its wisdom, or rather in its depravity, is apt to throw around such deeds of darkness. In doing all this, and in reckoning that temper of mind which such habits of society are sure to keep alive, I am persuaded that the inverse of the proposition is the truth; and that, in casting up the account of good and evil, we shall find that the license of duelling leads to far more insolence, far more violence, than it can ever check. Is it indeed natural to suppose, that a practice, confessedly engendered in barbarism, and that is nurtured by blood, can ever produce a softened, refined tone of manners ?

This contains a true picture of what all of us ourselves have seen. If there existed no such thing as duelling, a gross personal insult from one to another would, in every case, bring the anger of the company present on the aggressor, and he would justly be the only sufferer in public opinion. As matters are actually situated, even in the case of a gross insult offered in company, should the injured party remain pacific, and abstain from either throwing a bottle at the head of the person who had insulted him, or from challenging him, then the company's disapprobation would not be confined to the aggressor, but would, to a considerable extent, be transferred to the peaceful, injured party, who would then suffer the company's, and the public contempt, for his forgiving nature. The person who had conferred the injury would have the strange, double satisfaction, to find, that while he, the aggressor, should almost escape from that public displeasure which he had so justly merited, he had not only inflicted on the other party a gross insult, but that he had brought on him a share of public displeasure on account of his abstaining from chastising him. Now this most unjust result is the direct consequence of the existence of the custom of duelling, and of nothing else. The asserters of the opposite opinion say, that Homer's heroes in ancient times, when there was no

* Dr Iberti, and after him Bishop Geddes, greatly recommend duellists to be put into mudholes.

duelling, were mere bullies. They were, it is true, barbarians, from the early stage of society in which they lived; but none of their conduct could be more ferocious than that of our modern challenging bravoes; and the want of the practice of duelling, as it exists in our own times, prevented them from having it in their power to inflict that poignant double injury which we have just shewn, that duelling alone enables to be inflicted. Were it duelling alone which humanizes manners, the meetings of our clergy, who fight no duels, would of course be eminent for abuse; and well-educated ladies would be no better than the females of Billingsgate. The inferences here are obvious.

The truth is, therefore, that duelling has in very many instances the effect of rendering men more ferocious rather than humanizing them; and its effects of an opposite tendency are fewer in number. The improvement of their manners has arisen from the progress of general civilization, to which even express laws have given but little assistance. This latter proposition admits of clear illustration, from the change which has, in our own time, taken place as to the *habit of swearing*. Formerly it was extremely common all over Europe: Charles VIII. of France swore terribly: many of the English monarchs, including even the Maiden Queen, also did so; and in this our own country it prevailed to a great degree. Sir David Lindsay's curious drama, called the Pleasant Satire of the Three Estates, which was performed some centuries ago, at Edinburgh, before Mary of Guise, and the whole Scottish court, is a perfect tissue of *oaths* and other grossness. That evil practice was endeavoured to be repressed by various statutes both in England and Scotland. The first of them here was in Queen Mary's Reign, and bore date in 1551. The terms of it are not a little amusing; its preamble bears, that *preaching* had proved of no avail against it, and therefore the strong arm of the law became necessary; and then there is a detail acquainting us with the oaths and imprecations of our venerable ancestors. Their cursing was surely far from

smart, as it consisted of such expressions as "*devil stick, cummer, gore roist and riefie them*;" and, as the act says, "*sic uther ounsam aiths and execrations*;" and then follows a long list of fines, to which all swearers were subjected, according to their different ranks and degrees, beginning with "*Pelates of Kirk, Earls and Lordes*." The next act on the subject was in the subsequent reign of James VI., in 1580, which, after repeating the fines on persons of rank, ordains, "that pure folkes that has nae geare, sal be put in the stokes, jogges, or prisoned for the space of four houres; and *women* be weighed and considered conform to their bluide, and estate of their parties that they are coupled with." The same denunciations of wrath were repeated in acts of most of the subsequent reigns, down to that of George II. But all would not do. Neither church nor state, law nor gospel, could prevail against the abominable practice; for both ladies and gentlemen went on cursing and swearing. The ladies first gave it up, but the gentlemen continued it, and we are old enough to remember the time when every man that pretended to smartness or genteelity swore bloodily. What preachings and enactments, however, could not accomplish, was performed by advancing civilization, and swearing is now totally exploded in all good company; not, alas, because it is either sinful or illegal, but because it is *ungentle*, and *unfashionable*! Now, the same general improvement of manners is effecting, and, we trust, may complete the extirpation of duelling, by rendering men more generally polished, and, therefore, more apt to avoid all those coarse expressions towards one another from which duels generally originate. While such is the happy progress, any new law on the subject seems to us not only unnecessary, but more likely to retard than advance the desired object.

There runs through our author's pamphlet a strain of fine seriousness and piety, which we much commend, but into which, in this our secular Journal, we cannot enter. We have considered duelling, and the law regarding it, as matters of mere tem-

poreal concern ; and holding it, in the meantime, an evil not easily eradicated, our object has been to show how thankful we ought to be, that it is of such limited extent among us, and that any additional law on the subject would probably do no good, and might be attended with unnecessary trouble.

Mr Buchan's style is spirited and perspicuous, and worthy of the author of the most interesting account of the loss of the Winterton East

Indiaman, on board of which he was at the time a passenger, and which detail was published by him a few years ago. He has also much curious research into the history of his subject ; and therefore, while we think that those who may devote a few hours to the perusal of this little work will be amply remunerated both in pleasure and instruction, we shall be happy how soon we see the author of it again coming before the public.

Stanzas in Braxton Glen,

With Ellen's Song.

Now the sun has left the sky,
Thick the shades of ev'ning come ;
Hither let my Nancy hie,
Glowing in her maiden bloom.

Lovely Luna, queen of light,
Shed thy mildest glories now,
Peering through the veil of night,
Settling on yon mountain's brow.

Hither guide my Nancy's way,
Beauty beaming in her eye,
With a bosom light and gay,
Never damp'd with boding sigh.

Hush ! the dark green foliage stirs,—
'Tis herself that moves along,
With a grace that's only her's,
Denied to all the vulgar throng.

Heavens ! that wildness in her eye
Surely cannot spring from glee ;
Ah ! her bosom heaves a sigh,
'Tis not Nancy, 'tis not she !

'Tis the fated maniac, Ellen,
Come to tell her melting woes
O'er the tomb of brave Llewellyn,
Vanquish'd by no common foes.

Oh ! methinks those eyes so bright,
Brighter far than beauty's glow,
Throw a fearful withering light
Round thy pale cheek, which rivals
snow.

Let me listen to that sound
That might love of angels tell,
As it sweetly breaks around,
Faintly echoing through the dell.

Ellen's Song.

'Cold is the turf, love, that presses thy
bosom,
And dark is the holly that shadows
thy tomb,
'The ill-boding raven croaks hoarse as he
passes,
When loud sigh the cold winds that
sweep through the gloom.

Ah ! still is the heart now that moulders
in darkness,
Once beating so fondly for love and for
fame,
And quench'd is the fire of those eyes
brightly beaming,
With lustre increasing at Ellen's loved
name.

Deep, deep in my bosom the memory is
rooted
Of words that were utter'd beneath
yon beech tree,
When the moon in her loveliness gilded
the streamlet
Whose waters flow'd soft past Llewel-
lyn and me.

Though fast through my life-blood the
poison is stealing,
That feeling will deaden and memory
dim,
Yet still in my dreams I shall see my
Llewellyn,
And fancy shall hover and flutter round
him.

REMNANTS OF JACOBITISM.

[We have received the following verses, and Jacobite anecdote, from a fair correspondent. We are sorry that we cannot very conscientiously compliment her on the verses: the anecdote, however, is well worth preserving. It adds another to the many instances on record of generous and enthusiastic attachment on the part of individuals to the House of Stuart, and which scarcely in any case met with a corresponding return from that faithless and ungrateful race —ED.]

MR EDITOR,

OBSERVING that you are not indisposed occasionally to insert an article that is somewhat tinctured with a Jacobite spirit, I am induced to send you two little pieces, supposed to have been written by a gentleman who was much attached to the House of Stuart, and who spent a period of forty-five years in the confidential service of the elder Chevalier at Rome.

Rome, 1729.

O let me yet of Scotia hear,
Its woods, and streams, and mountains
grey,

And often write, my brethren dear,
To cheer his heart that's far away !

For dearest still my native place,
The den, the *lin*, the broomy *knowes*,
Which fond remembrance loves to trace,
Amid the sweetly sheltering boughs.

This is a brighter, softer clime,
Than that which own'd my natal day ;
But there—the mountains rise sublime,
And there—the Stuarts held their sway.

Ah ! desolate must be the land
Where their paternal sway was known !
Since * * * *

But, to the Royal James was given
A heart to feel, with strength to bear ;
And confidence so plac'd in Heaven,
Will ne'er permit him to despair.

And if the Power who rules on high
Should never call my King to reign,
That Power Supreme ordains that I
On Tiber's banks should still remain.

For, if to comforts yet in store,
To soothe my Sovereign, and my friend,
I can but add one item more,
With him my latest hours I'll spend.

Then will I still an exile prove,
Though to return were safe and free ;
For nought my faithful heart should move
To leave the Prince who trusted me.

O let me yet of Scotia hear,
Its woods, and streams, and mountains
grey,

And often write, my brethren dear,
To cheer his heart that's far away !

Rome, 1750.

Blest be the man who shall adorn
My native riggs with shining corn !
And O, how dearly priz'd by me,
If he my youthful friend should be,
Who chose the course myself had run,
And shew'd in manhood scarce begun
That feeling just, and loyal strain,
That shall unchanged through life remain.

How happy could I now review
Those riggs and meadows bright with
dew,

Where oft my early steps have stray'd,
Unconscious of the deep'ning shade.
Which fortune o'er the future cast !
But I escap'd the baneful blast,
And came to seek my comfort here,
In serving him we held so dear.

On him may Heaven in bounty shower
Blessings transcending earthly power ;
And in its mercy give to me
The joy my master's bliss to see !

The supposed author of the foregoing lines was said to be excluded from the amnesty, and this exclusion might be partly owing to his having confuted, on one occasion, the preconceived opinion of one of the most cunning statesmen of the time. It is reported that Sir Robert Walpole used to boast that he knew every man's *price*; and having heard that the friends of the Chevalier de St. George were carrying on some project for his advantage, and knowing that Mr — must be aware of every measure of the kind, Sir Robert addressed a letter to that gentleman. He began by expressing the highest esteem for his character and patriotism, telling him, at the same time, he had entirely mistaken the way that might be most effectually done, by giving information to the British Government of all the secret proceedings in the family of the Chevalier. Sir Robert added, that the Stuarts were

always known to be ungrateful to those who served them best,* and though the case were otherwise with the present family, they were too poor to shew their gratitude. As a proof, however, of what he might expect, by giving up the cause of the Stuarts, he had to inform Mr — that there was a sum of £10,000 Sterling, lodged in the Bank of Venice, from which he might draw at his pleasure. Mr — immediately carried the letter to the Chevalier, who, after perusing it, enquired, "Well, James, what do you mean to do?" "Why, draw it, to be sure." "Draw it!" repeated the Prince. "Yes, Sir," replied

Mr —; "not for my own, but your Majesty's use." In answer to Sir Robert Walpole's letter, Mr — thanked him for his good opinion, which he would always endeavour to deserve, and informed Sir Robert that he had, in the first place, drawn the sum from the Bank of Venice, and laid it at His Majesty's feet, who, in his opinion, was best entitled to any money coming from the British Government.

The above anecdote is from undoubted authority, having been told to the writer of this article by persons of the strictest integrity, who were well acquainted with the circumstance.

LONDON IN THE OLDEN TIME

IN this age of prose and arithmetic, it is delightful to look back into the olden time, and call up men and things long gone by; and the more delightful, that, while the contrast is sufficiently vivid, and affords the richest stores for speculation in all directions—historical, political, moral, imaginative—it leads (unless we are disposed to give up the substantial to the airy and the gorgeous) to the comfortable conclusion, that the world, on the whole, is really not very much the worse for the wear, and that it is even yet capable of improvement. This proposition, we are aware, may be assailed by a variety of persons who are by no means agreed on the grounds of attack; but we do not profess to reduce it to a demonstration, lest it should swallow up our subject; we merely state it as a very safe and reasonable sort of *opihism*, calculated to meet the views of the generality of persons, even of the *laudatores temporis acti*, but leaving all persons in the enjoyment of their natural and constitutional liberty, to be unhappy with things as they are, if such shall appear to them to be proper, and extending the like liberty to all persons who, being unconscious of the particular benefits derived from their predecessors, and measuring things by the prices cur-

rent, see no worth in any thing not possessing exchangeable value, and oppose to all enquiry into any thing beyond their own time their unanswerable *cui bono*. For our own part, we regard things around us with considerable complacency,—are inclined to see "good in every thing," and think there may be two states different and opposite, each yet presenting much worthy of being paused on. We don't regret that we have not lived sooner, but the contrary; and although we may doubt whether forest scenes and tournaments have been well succeeded by the race-course and the prize-ring, we are so little carried by the imagination as to say, that had we been allowed the choice, we would have been set down in our own, in preference to any other time. The grand secret is, to make the most of circumstances, and in the fruition of these latter days, we do not know any thing more fascinating than, dropping our serious labours for a time, to be allowed to withdraw the curtain that interposes between us and the past,—not in a historical way, for that is rather much matter of business for indolent people, *dat admittique somnos*, but by the inter-vention of chronicle and legend, in which there is no place for scepticism;—

* London in the Olden Time; or Tales intended to illustrate the Manners and Superstitions of its Inhabitants, from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century. Longman & Co. 1825.

to trace the grades, fashions, modes, prejudices, superstitions, through which society has advanced in its progress to what we now find it,—viewing in actual operation the institutions of feudality, chivalry, and monastic seclusion; their effects on moving life and manners,—the strange union of things the most opposite,—reverence for church and churchmen, with a total relaxation of morals,—delicate attention to females, approaching almost to devotion, with undisguised libertinism,—courtesy and generosity, with ferocity and outrage,—painful fasting and abstinence, with the coarsest incontinence,—the most reckless daring, with the most abject superstition. We could “dream away” a large portion of our life “in placid sufferance,” revolving such matters.

But this is only a part of the picture, although the part most frequently exhibited; there is another that stands separated from it, yet possessing many features in common, and partaking of the same colouring—city life. Cities were not then as they now are, the quiet habitations of men peaceably engaged in traffic, but contained within them a fierce democracy, originally drawn together, no doubt, for mutual protection and gain, but grown formidable from numbers, and turbulent from wealth. Each burgher was then a soldier citizen. He was a less picturesque object, perhaps, than the regular man of war, but not a less interesting one. War with the one was a profession reduced to system, and having its proper observances; with the other, a duty imposed sometimes by the occasion, and performed as the stipulated price of immunities at others, but undertaken generally with so much alacrity, as to shew that the natural inclination went strongly along with the obligation. The repeated exercise of the duty, in connection with the regular profession, traffic, had the effect of creating an anomalous and now almost unknown character; for though we have municipalities and corporations, privileges and immunities, the creations of those days, and now little impaired, so far as black letter is concerned, we shall look in vain for the martial Portrev

or Mayor, the bold Alderman, *erst* Barons, and the hardy burghers, that were wont to take to the field with as much good will as their modern representatives would now engage in a holiday procession, or in the patriotic duty of laying a foundation-stone, and who might be seen to hold the balance in matters so weighty as the possession of the regal dignity. The municipal chivalry, the consequence of this combination of war and trade, wealth and privileges, and which gave a colour to city life, from the civic monarch to the apprentice, is now gone to its rest with its worthy professors.

Who does not recollect the delightful peep at London in the *Fortunes of Nigel*? Although by the time of James, much that was peculiar in the manners of the citizens had passed away, and the foundation of that even, uniform character, which the supremacy of trade everywhere produces, had been already laid. Who has not wished that the sketch had been more extended, or that it might be resumed? We shall not despair of seeing this latter part of our wish fulfilled, but, in the meantime, it is proper to hasten to state, that the subject is no longer unappropriated, and that a competition of no doubtful merit appears in the author of these “Sketches of London in the Olden Time.”

We have not read any thing of late that we have liked better than this unpretending volume. Professions of modesty are always suspicious; but this scarce quality stands here on real evidence. There is abundance of materials, had they been husbanded, and drawn out according to the most approved rules of elongation, to have filled six volumes instead of one. Indeed we are not sure but that the author has stood in his own light by over condensation, and that the interest of some of his tales is hurt by the abruptness inseparable from the limitation of his plan.

But it is better that it should be this way than the other, so long as there is no attempt to be epigrammatic and strikingly pointed,—the sin of so many of the craft, and which *he* carefully avoids. He brings to his subject what is rare; with the collec-

tors of legends, a reasonable enthusiasm; and his Tales are evidently the result of much reading; dull, from its very quantity, we should suspect, but which, as passed through his alembic, presents a beautiful and attractive ore. He writes clearly and rapidly, and with considerable dramatic effect, and his descriptions are about as vivid and picturesque as any thing within our recollection. He has been fortunate, too, in the choice of his subject; for London, though associated with so many recollections, the theatre of so many revolutions, and the scene of so many vicissitudes, by fire, and pestilence, and sword; and of so much that it is good and great, notwithstanding "all its blots and all its giddy factions," and withal the most interesting locality between land's-end and land's-end, is perhaps the least illustrated in a popular way. We have glimpses and insulated trophies of it in various quarters, and statistics enough, but nothing calculated to set it before us in its progress, in connection with "the age and body of the time, its form and pressure;" so that while there is no lack of materials to work upon, our author has all the advantages of an early occupation of the ground. His object, as he states it in his preface, has been to "exhibit a faithful picture of ancient London, from the period when she first raised her head as a great mercantile city; and to delineate the superstitions, manners, and customs, of her ancient inhabitants." In this he has generally succeeded. The volume contains eight Tales, commencing with a legend of the twelfth century, and ending with a Tale of the sixteenth, the intermediate period having their proper illustrations. Now it is obviously no easy task to go back to so remote an era, and, advancing by a regular gradation, to preserve the distinctions which existed at the several points of time in the interval, in idiom, manners, and costume: we do not merely speak of anachronisms, for these are perhaps unavoidable, but of the difficulty of adapting the style and tone to each particular period, and keeping up a consistent separation in the series. We dare say, as the author informs us, he has done his utmost to give individual features

to each period, but we cannot think that he is sanguine of his success in this respect. The last of the sketches we should imagine to be the nearest to truth, as it approaches nearest to our own time; but comparing it with the first, there is scarcely such a difference of character in the picture of the early period as would seem to be required, if we are to refer it back four centuries; and the same may be said, more or less, of most of the others, comparing them in the same way. But where he avails himself of the broad and general characteristics of an age which cannot be lost or misconceived, and in the use of which there is less restraint, the observation does not apply. Of two of these, the belief of the existence and influence of magic, and the universal adoption of the visions of alchemy, there are happy illustrations in "Raymond the Multiplier" and "Mabel de Gysours." These sketches are brought out with spirit, delicacy, and effect; there is a consistent harmony between the style and the superstitions on which they are founded; and when the marvel is let out in conformity to the rule in such cases, made and provided that there shall be no secrets with readers, it is quietly suggested, without interruption to the tone of the narrative by any set phrase of explanation—one of the chief merits of such compositions. The "Involuntary Miracle" is of the same class, and possesses nearly equal merit; it weaves together a pretty love story, a magical legend, and a lively picture of city manners. But perhaps the most finished, and the best, is the tale entitled "For the Red Rose," which, as the name indicates, is laid in the times of the York and Lancastrian wars, and contains a spirited sketch of the excitement, reverses, and social state of the period—if such there was—where every man's hand, with few exceptions, was against his neighbour. The others, although they do not rank with those we have mentioned, are all ingeniously written. But without extending our remarks, which our limits will not permit, we come at once to the last of the series, "An Evening at York Place," from which we shall give a specimen or two, although the tale,

perhaps, is not the most characteristic of the author's manner, or much connected with our remarks, but it happens to strike us as best adapted for the purpose of extract.

It thus commences :—

"Room for my lord Cardinal! on before, my lords and masters, on before, room for my lord Cardinal!" was the cry of the bare-headed gentlemen-ushers to the crowd that had gathered around Westminster Hall;—a cry replied to by many an angry look,—and many a muttered curse,—and many an expression of impotent rage and hatred,—as the silver crosses,—the scarlet trappings,—the gilded pole-axes,—gleaming from beneath the lofty archway of the hall, indicated the approach of the son of the Ipswich butcher, who, as bishop of Winchester, primate of York,—lord Cardinal,—lord high Chancellor,—and Legate *a latere*,—was returning, in more than kingly state, from his judicial duties in the Chancery Court and Star Chamber, to his princely habitation, York Place.

"Room for my lord Cardinal! on before, my masters,—on before,—make way for my lord Cardinal!" again resounded through Palace Yard.

Curse on this Ipswich bull dog, muttered a serving-man, as he was forcibly thrust to the wall by one of the Cardinal's attendants. Curse on all priests, rather, exclaimed a stern-looking young man beside him. St. John could preach repentance in camel's hair, and coarse raiment, but ye must have priests to preach unrighteousness in scarlet, and purple, and soft apparel. "Make way for my lord Cardinal!" exclaimed one of the foremost attendants, who had overheard part of the bold stranger's remarks—lifting his partizan—make way for your betters, and go to the devil. I should be loath to go before my betters, replied the stranger, and it would ill become me to take precedence there of my lord Cardinal.—Seize the traitor and heretic! exclaimed the attendant; but the crowd seemed in no haste to obey the mandate;—such was the popular hatred of Wolsey, that even the terrific watchword "heretic" was insufficient to arouse them to pursue him; and he quietly and unmolestedly took his stand at a short distance.

A bold fellow this, and a brave one, I'll warrant me, said the serving-man to a person standing near him; he is wondrously like master Norris, the king's favourite groom; I would we could get him for this evening. Be wary, then, and be sure not to tell him our name.

I know not but he might greatly assist us, returned the other. I will seek him out, replied the serving-man, for, truly, it was enough to do any Englishman's heart good to hear how vehemently he spake against this proud Cardinal.

The serving-man had but just time to place himself beside the stranger, and to endeavour to enter into conversation with him, ere the cry, "Room for my lord Cardinal!" again resounded, and again his numerous attendants, by the unsparing use of their partizans, made a way for the almost regal state of the ambitious Wolsey.

Two gentlemen of his chamber, clothed in fine scarlet, and mounted on horses similarly caparisoned, first advanced, bearing massive silver crosses;—two others, similarly apparelled, succeeded, bearing two silver pillars,—then followed a sergeant at arms with the mace, also of massive silver;—while, immediately before the richly-caparisoned mule of the lord Cardinal, two young noblemen, attendants on the ambitious churchman, advanced, one bearing the broad seal of England, and the other the red hat.

Ah! well indeed do those scarlet liveries

"Taken the cruelty of the redde man,"

as Dr Bull hath set forth in his "Description," exclaimed the stranger. Yes, it becometh this scarlet dragon, truly, who would fain draw even the stars of heaven to the earth, to make his slaves wear his liveries;—though that of Sathanas, methinks, were more fitting. Ye say truly, my master, returned the serving-man, well pleased with the violent expressions of his new associate; what? are the old nobility to stand cap in hand before the butcher's son?—marry come up! even my father was a substantial yeoman in Kent, and gave his daughters five pounds a-piece to marry them, and yet I durst not look in this priest's face. He is lifted up with pride and all unrighteousness, replied the stranger, and therefore shall he fall into the snares of the devil;—aye, by him.

"The godly light is putte abacke

And he bryngeth in his devilish darknesse."

but it shall not be for long,—there he cometh in pomp, like King Herod, or Pontius Pilate,—or rather, like his father Sathanas,—with great power and state, because he knoweth his time is short.

And onward, welcomed by no shout of gratulation, by no affectionate and heartfelt smiles, came the "rylde triumphant lord Cardinal of Englands," on his sleek mule, gay with crimson velvet

embroidery, and gold;—surrounded by his attendants, bearing gilt pole-axes, and habited (to use the words of his minute and affectionate biographer Cavendish) “in an upper garment of fine crimson satin ingained, his pillow of fine scarlet, with a neck sette about within-side with black velvet, a tippet of sables around his neck, and holding in his hand an orange, whereof the meate within was taken out, and filled up again with parte of a sponge, wherein was vinegar and other confections against the pestilent aires.” Aye, on with ye! muttered the serving-man with clenched hand, as the haughty Cardinal slowly passed, and take the curse of all true English hearts with ye.

Wolsey's favour was by this time on the wane, and he was tottering on the giddy height to which Henry's caprice and his own ambition had advanced him. There is a banquet at York Place, the Cardinal's residence; and the stranger, who is observed to bear a close resemblance to Master Morris, the King's groom, is solicited, and agrees to form one of a masking-party to the Palace on the occasion. The guests have arrived, and Wolsey is thus presented:

In the principal room, termed the chamber of presence, on a high-raised chair placed beneath the cloth of estate, sat the lord Cardinal in lofty and unparticipated grandeur,—many recollections, which he could not banish, must have crossed his mind, as he watched the gay scene, and observed the joyous company. At such a festive meeting King Henry had often appeared,—and in a similar masquing, in that very hall, he had first met that new and beautiful favourite, whose rise seemed destined to cast a disastrous and fatal shade over the long prosperous fortunes of the “trusty and well-beloved Wolsey.” Yet, though he felt that he stood on the brink of a precipice,—though he knew the hollow-heartedness of his smiling and servilely respectful guests, well trained in courtly dissimulation, no shade of care seemed to mark his open brow,—and with smiles of kindness and complacency, and with neatly-expressed compliments, he welcomed his various guests as they successively bent before his footstool.

On the appearance of the maskers, he thinks he discovers the King's party, among whom, perhaps, is the King himself; his soul rises within him, and he flatters himself with

visions of returning favour. The company share his surprise.

It were impossible to describe the amazement that pervaded the company at this unexpected visit. Wolsey was certainly again restored to favour,—but how?—Had the new favourite become suddenly reconciled to her powerful rival? or, had she, whose rising glories seemed destined to shed disastrous eclipse on the long-prosperous fortunes of Wolsey,—had she fallen from her swiftly-attained elevation?—Had the emperor Charles espoused the cause of the politic Cardinal,—and was the King forced to conciliate, because he dared not offend? or, more than all this, was the Pope dead? and was the triple crown waiting to encircle the brow of the ambitious churchman?—no one could say; and the very uncertainty and mystery which hung about the subject added fresh fuel to their curiosity.

But the following song, addressed by one of the maskers to the fair lady Geraldine, then present, at once dispels his hopes:

Lady, too fair! the sleepless mariner,
With anxious heart, scanneth the mid-
night sky,
On one bright star alone, tho' hosts shine
near,

Fixing his eye.

For, though the sea in cloud-high waves
may rise,—

Tho' the storm rage, and felon winds
rebel,
He knows that sweet star beav'nly in
skies,

Unchangeable.

Alas! for him who life's rough sea would
try,

Fixing his gaze on meteors blazing far,
Making the changeful beam of beauty's
eye

His polar star.

The seaman trusts, indeed, nor trusts in
vain;

For constant are the bright-eyed host
of heav'n;

While the swift changing of the fickle
main

To beauty's giv'n.

But thou! who in the pride of beauty
brave,

Shin'st brighter than the fairest star on
high,

Take not *thy* pattern from the fickle wave,
But from the sky.

The elegant and accomplished Lord Surrey, towards whom, as well as to his father, Wolsey entertained a settled enmity, is instantly detected. All is bustle and confusion on the discovery of his audacious boldness. Surrey escapes, but the young stranger, and one of the viol-players, are seized, and brought before Wolsey, when the following colloquy takes place :

But who 're you ? bending a searching glance on the young stranger, who, fixing his eyes with a calm, but proud expression, on the stern features of Wolsey, in a firm voice replied, Christopher Goodman, student of Jesus College, Oxford. A student from Oxford !—what could have moved *you*, sir, to become the consort of drunken minstrels, and such beggarly company ? What moved *you* to join in this most scandalous enterprise of that proud, and disdainful, and prodigal, lord Surrey, whereby the King's majesty is brought into contempt ? Sathanas, I trow, returned the young stranger, calmly. Ye say truly, master Jack-anape, but I command you to say further, who brought you hither, and for what intent ?—the young stranger continued silent. By mine authority in this State, which ye shall ere long know to be great, and by my spiritual power which ye dare not gainsay, I command you to answer my questions. I bow to no such authority, replied the young stranger, with as unmoved an air, and as unchanging a countenance, as though he were answering a mere common-place enquiry. Thou most insolent and heretical beast ! returned the Cardinal, irritated beyond endurance at the extraordinary and unexpected conduct of the student, thou knowest I have power to *hine*, to *imprison*, or to *hang* thee, and yet thou darest mine authority ? *That* dependeth not on you, my lord Cardinal, nor on Pope, nor devil, but on the will of Almighty God. That we shall see ere long, when ye are hanged at Tyburn, fiercely answered Wolsey.

The crisis of Wolsey's fate had, however, arrived ; the morrow sees him deprived of the Great Seal, and stripped of his honours and riches, and the stranger and viol-player are set at liberty.

My very good friends, said lord Surrey, meeting them as they past with a joyful step the threshold of the outer gate of York Place,—I owe ye much for the jeopardy in which I placed ye ;—here, Anthony Munday, are five broad pieces for

ye,—truly, I never intended ye should be put in fear of your life, or of the stocks. Many thanks, my most noble lord, replied the overjoyed treble viol-player, bowing almost to the ground, methinks, for such a royal guerdon, I might be well content to remain yet another night in prison,—bating the fright about hanging. I would I might do something more serviceable for you, Master Goodman, continued Lord Surrey, addressing himself to the young stranger, as you are from Oxford, I will pray my noble father here to get you some office about the court, which might be suited to a scholar.

No, no, interrupted the churlish duke, no scholars for me ; methinks I have seen enough of learning. Here was this proud Cardinal ruling the land as though he were lord paramount, because, forsooth, he had book-learning ;—there's that arch heretic in Germany, setting all the world in commotion with his devilish notions, because, forsooth, he is book-learning ;—and here again is a light-headed wilful boy, with his fine speeches, and verse makings, which are marvellously well fitted for a morality play, or a Whitsuntide mystery, bringing my very head into jeopardy, through his mischievous book-learning.—“ England was never merry England since Cardinals came in amongst us,” said my good Lord of Suffolk ; but, truly, last night had I more reason to say,—“ England was never merry England,” since book-learning came in among us. And so, thou proud, disdainful, stomachful boy, with thy Latin and Italian, like a shavelling priest,—and thy lute jingling, and fool's verse like a vagabond minstrel,—I pray our lady, this may be a sufficient admonition unto thee to use thyself more wisely hereafter.

Alas ! what shall I do for you, said the generous Surrey as the Duke departed ? I would that my father would but speak for you at court,—but he will not ; take this purse, however, and this ring ; when I come to my estate I will truly remember ye. I will take the ring, Lord Surrey, returned the student, and I will keep it in memory of this wonderful deliverance, but I pray you take back the purse ; little of this world's wealth sufficeth for a humble scholar, and He who hath beyond all expectation brought me out of this danger, hath doubtless some work for me to do, and therefore will not suffer me to want : farewell, my Lord Surrey, Heaven grant ye may not fall from your high estate, even as hath this lord Cardinal.

Alas ! never again did I meet the noble and highly-gifted Surrey, said Christo-

pher Goodman, many years after, when, —as the friend of John Knox,—the pastor of the English church at Geneva, and one of the translators of its celebrated Bible, he was looked up to with affectionate veneration by the leaders of the early Puritan controversy, and hailed as their patriarch. Truly, said the old man, as he told the often repeated, but always interesting, story of his eventful life, I have been in peril by land and by sea; in battle, in storm, and in persecution; but never did I meet so wondrous a deliverance (albeit unworthy of it from my boyish folly) as that from York Place. Things are changed since then; I would they were yet more changed! The true gospel light hath indeed again shined on us, but her fair, and sweet, and far surpassing lustre hath been dimmed by the shadows of man's inventions. Well, though there are rites, and ceremonies, Popish habits, and lords bishops,—thank Heaven we have no Cardinals!

Before we conclude, we give the following very beautiful ballad from the tale "For the Red Rose."

The greenwood tree! the greenwood tree!

He is fair, and tall, and goodly to see;
He lifteth his leafy head to the sky,
And spreadeth his green arms wide and high.

The wind may blow, he hears it not;
The storm may rage, he fears it not;
He puts forth his leaves rejoicingly,
And for king, or baron, careth not he—
And we will be like thee, greenwood tree.

The greenwood tree! the greenwood tree!
Goodly shelter granteth he

To the birds that on his boughs are singing,
To the flow'rs that at his foot are springing;

His shade is sought by the dappled doe,
When the merry archer bends his bow;
And the hare, and the kid, to his broad shade flee,

For the weak and succourless sheltereth he;

And we will be like thee, greenwood tree!

Then hail to thee! thrice hail to thee!

Pride of the forest, greenwood tree!

Who givest alike thy goodly shadow

To the proud baron and the bold outlaw;

When the north wind blows, may it shake thee not;

When the lightning glares, may it scathe thee not;

But, when we are gone where all shall be,

May thy gallant branches wave wide and free,

Pride of the forest, greenwood tree.

We confess we were of those to whom the author, in his preface, addresses himself as likely to be startled at the representation of so much wealth and splendour in London at so early a period. But reflection satisfies us that it is not exaggerated. Sufficient reasons are assigned for the early greatness of the city, and we have this fact in proof of it, that upon the conquest of Canute, when he imposed a tax on the kingdom, one eighth of the whole was levied from London.

Song.

TRUST not, oh, trust not
The smiles of the fair;
Like dew after sunrise
Their words are of air.

The glances they throw
May enter your heart,
And then is their triumph,
And then is your smart.

Thus oft have I sung
When unfetter'd by Love,

As playful as lambkin,
As pure as the dove.

But now, when the blasts
Of a world of woe
Have come o'er my spirits,
And ruffled their flow;

I oft, in the hour
Of sadness and grief,
Have felt that a fair one
Can yield some relief.

ON THE SUPPOSED NECESSITY FOR, AND UTILITY OF, WAR.

(Continued from page 686, of Vol. XVI.)

Book IV.

Chapter III.

On the Positive Utility of War.

THAT wars are necessary only in ages of defective civilization has been attempted to be shown in the two preceding Chapters: the application of the same rule may be made to bear with at least equal force and propriety upon the question of their utility.

Among the chief of the arguments in favour of the utility of war is that which considers it as a beneficial stimulus for the exertion of mind. It may be urged, that the general conduct of all created beings is necessarily influenced by some ruling excitement to which the natural affections of the mind may be considered, in many respects, as subordinate. The Deity himself may well be supposed to require no external circumstances to prompt his benevolence, the pure gratification derived from an exertion of which is alone sufficient, in our minds, to account for those magnificent displays of his incessant activity which the universe everywhere presents to our observation; but we cannot allow an independence of this high character to the creatures of his hand. Even the highly-gifted inhabitants of heaven are most probably indebted to some peculiar impulse for the due exertion of their sublime faculties. Man certainly is so circumstanced: without some alluring object of pursuit, or the application of an exterior impulse, he, in his individual character, cannot be supposed to be capable of raising himself above the limited range of his sensual nature; and the conduct of congregated masses of men would, without such assistance, be equally divested of all beneficial energy, and totally preclude the hope of eventual improvement.

It is not intended to deny the truth of this statement; and it is also admitted, that the general tendency of the particular excitements, out of which much apparent good might arise, may sometimes be essentially evil. Of this nature is war. But it remains to be proved that the desired excitement must necessarily answer that description.

Two principal classes of excitements operate upon the human mind: one referable to the present, the other to probable future events and expectations. The present occurrences interest more particularly our grosser passions, and are best suited to a season of defective civilization; the future engage, for the most part, exclusively, our better affections; and in proportion as refinement advances, the excitement derived from this purer source prevails. To the first class belong, among others, War, and all its fierce assemblage of evils; to the second, Religion, and her hand-maid, Peace. The spur given to the energies of the mind by the events and accidents of war, is, doubtless, useful, perhaps necessary, in the earlier ages, when the more spiritual excitement cannot gain admittance in the breasts of the uncultivated people: in this way, an apology may, with some show of reason, be made for the practice of war on the score of utility; but it is one which will apply only to the darker times, and cannot be tolerated in a period of superior civilization.

Discord, indeed, can never be admitted, with any regard to reason, to be an indispensable element towards the improvement of the individuals or societies of a superior age. The results of war, however casually advantageous, are, in the main, decidedly injurious. By its action, some arts and sciences have been created and improved, but many also have been deteriorated or destroyed. The valuable fruits of violence are exceedingly few, although, like all other rare productions, liable to be too highly esteemed, while those of a deleterious quality abound to an uncontrollable excess.

The only point now to be tried is, whether the more honourable excitements, on the side of which, to the exclusion of the malevolent passions, are ranged the best feelings of our nature, is alone sufficient for the due conduct

of human affairs. This is a matter yet to be decided by experience; but we trust that no candid mind will be inclined to wait for the application of that test before it anticipate the result most desirable for the interests of humanity.

Such is the admirable construction of society in its improved state, that it possesses in itself an inexhaustible fund for the encouragement of virtuous exertion. What our notions of social improvements are, may be inferred from the general scope of this treatise: of its constituents, Christianity unquestionably holds the highest rank; but we have also admitted their due importance to be attached to the various inestimable accomplishments consequent upon the diffusion of all useful knowledge. It is hardly possible to conceive, that, with all the powerful inducements arising out of the constant collision of cultivated minds, combined with the awful and interesting sanctions of a divine religion, mankind will at any future period relapse into a state of criminal inanity, or that they will at all times be so debased as to require, for the developement of their faculties, the violent excitation of destructive war.

If the plea of the permanent utility of war, as a necessary exciting principle, cannot be established, little can be urged in its favour, on the ground of the support it occasionally affords to partial and temporary interests. Wars have a tendency, in communities pretty far advanced in the order of civilization, to produce certain combinations highly favourable to particular classes and individuals; but in all the cases in which they perform this service, the great mass of the people proportionably suffer, so that the amount of happiness thereby produced is altogether inadequate, as a means of compensation, to the quantity of misery.

The ingenuity of men, in that stage of civilization which is most favourable to the advancement of art and knowledge, has been frequently exerted to extract a partial benefit out of the most disadvantageous circumstances. Considerable success has sometimes attended the arduous attempt; and to this fortunate result must be attributed many of the anomalies remarkable in modern cultivated societies. The wants of the State in time of war, for instance, have compelled it to resort to the practice of borrowing money from its subjects: the creation of public funds, and a variety of collateral institutions, have consequently taken place; some of which are, under the continually improving system of conducting them, highly conducive to the national prosperity. An able eye will discern at once, that the disposition so to divest the course of untoward events, is more creditable to the innate resources of the human mind, than conclusive in an argument in favour of the utility of war. All that can be said for the evil principle which assisted in the creation of so much good, is, that it performed the office of a suggestor,—or that it unwittingly put the first link to a chain of consequences which have been useful to society. It is not clear that the same, or a much higher, degree of benefit would not have accrued from a contrary disposition of affairs; and with a view to the future, at least, it seems to be undeniable, that the only useful fruits capable of growing out of the practice of war have already been reaped, and that we can therefore found no reasonable expectation of further profit upon the theory of its unceasing recurrence.

Chapter IV.

On the Accidental Advantages of War.

The last theme usually adduced in favour of war, to which it is compatible with our confined plan to advert, is that which refers to its adventitious advantages.

We have to premise under this head, that any disposition of things which, although generally indifferent in its consequences, is occasionally attended with beneficial results, is useful in proportion to the extent of its aberration from the regular order: if, among its anomalies, are to be numbered effects of a deleterious nature, an estimate must be formed of its comparative good

and bad productions, before it can fairly become an object of absolute reprobation. But if a disposition, of itself radically noxious, is only partially embellished by a few brilliant events of questionable utility, it may, with all due deference to reason, be, without hesitation, considered as deserving of unqualified censure.

It is in this latter light that we are to consider the practice of war in reference to its most splendid concomitants; the exhibition of the heroic virtues, valour, generosity, magnanimity; which, although peculiarly calculated to attract public admiration, frequently lose much of their lustre upon a strict scrutiny into their intrinsic merits, and can, at any rate, be only regarded as mere fugitive scintillations from the dark and prolific source of all conceivable mischief.

The argument in favour of war as the occasion of developing the splendid qualities of superior minds is so exceedingly feeble, that we should consider a formal attempt at its refutation as an unpardonable intrusion upon the reader. That war *creates* virtue is not alleged; and it would be a poor compliment to the latter to adduce proof of its natural independence of circumstances, whose general tendency is directly opposed to its prosperity. If, in carefully analyzing those qualities, we separate such of their ingredients which may appear to deteriorate, instead of being beneficial to the interests of morality, the portion that is really valuable will be found to be so much more congenial to the dispositions of peace, as evidently to wait only for a season of greater harmony for their less partial admission than heretofore into the bosoms of men.

Upon the whole, without claiming any undue weight for the few cursory observations which have been appropriated to this part of our subject, it is sufficiently apparent that no argument in favour of a probable ever-recurring state of warfare, upon the ground of its essential necessity or utility, can be long seriously maintained. Whatever appearance of solidity may on a partial consideration attach to the proposition, must, we think, be dissipated on farther extending our view into the natural course of human affairs. We cannot believe, that in the hands of Providence evil is an indispensable, or even an useful instrument; although we doubt not that, in spite of the existence of evil, the sacred intentions of Heaven will not ultimately fail of complete accomplishment. The incessant wars, with the detail of which history is loaded, are a reproach, not to our nature, but upon our conduct: in the general distribution of power, an ample portion has been reserved to man to relieve himself from the foul stain; and the sound conclusions of reason, as well as the fond aspirations of hope, lead to the assurance that it will in due time, although by a gradual process, be fully exerted for the attainment of this great end. It has been our aim in this place to produce the conviction that there really exists no physical or moral impediment to such a consummation; and if we have succeeded in this object, nothing more will be required than the common measure of faith in the benevolent purposes of the Most High to justify any opinion we may have hazarded with respect to the improvements of future times, and of the destined increase in the general prosperity of the human race.

Chapter V.

The Conclusion.

Previous to the conclusion of a composition of the didactic class, a summary re-statement of the leading principles therein developed is frequently useful as a guide in arranging the reflections of the reader. We are induced to adopt the same plan, notwithstanding the brevity of our work, in the hope of further elucidating such of our premises in the first exposition of which we may have inadvertently given grounds for misapprehension.

Our main design has been, to inculcate the probability of the eventual occurrence of considerable changes in the moral and political state of so-

ciety. We hold an opinion in opposition to those who believe that the world will, to the end of time, continue the same line of conduct as it has maintained through the past and present generations; that, with the exception of some improvements, inconsiderable when compared with the necessary melioration, the same scenes will be continually re-acted; vice, misrule, ignorance, will always preponderate over the more amiable dispositions; and the history of the past, in conformity to the experience of the ages already expired, will comprise a striking and faithful epitome of future events. We have endeavoured to show, that, so far from this being a reasonable statement of our expectations, the past transactions can no more be considered to be a sample of those which are to happen in the times to which we have referred, than the acts of the weak and inconsiderate infant are indicative of the conduct and achievements of the well-educated and enlightened man. Carefully abstaining from overstepping the just range of natural probability, we have seen grounds for maintaining, that very important alterations in the moral condition of human society are not only certain, but at some points of the political horizon actually in prospect. As a principal result of these alterations, one of the bitterest, and in its consequences the most disastrous and degrading effects of the state of things hitherto experienced, the PRACTICE OF WAR will gradually fall into disuse, and leave room for the complete introduction of a superior economy in the disposition of human affairs.

In the furtherance of the design thus enunciated, we entered, in the first place, into a retrospective view of civilization, and adverted to the well-known division into two distinct classes of the family of man in the times antecedent to the introduction of Christianity; one of these classes (incomparably the smallest of the two,) the recipients of an extraordinary revelation, and, on account of their peculiar situation, not comprehended in our strictures; the other abandoned to the insufficient resources of reason, with little other exterior aid than what might have resulted from the uncertain traditions of the earliest times.

To this latter and larger class are our observations, in the first instance, confined; but when they refer to the period which succeeded the reception of the Christian faith, they must be understood to comprehend the whole human race.

In consequence of the state of estrangement from each other in which the several social combinations have hitherto been, more or less, compelled, by peculiar circumstances, to exist, their respective progress in the march of civilization has been necessarily various. To arrive at some definite notion of the extent of this variation, we have referred to characteristic marks as distinguishing the most prominent stages in the progress of mankind, towards the highest attainable point of excellence. Without such an arrangement, we should have repeatedly incurred the danger of being misunderstood in the course of the attempt to apply our observations to particular cases. The stages so delineated will have been readily conceived to be of unequal duration in respect to each other, as well of the different nations to whom, in the course of their political career, they may be respectively applicable; their number, as especially connected with the fortunes of a single community, does not exceed seven, but is increased to eight when considered as referable to the world at large.

The four first stages comprehend all that can be achieved by unassisted reason; in the later times of the highest of these stages, extraordinary instances occur of the innate powers of the human mind. The arts and sciences flourish; and in the breasts of a few select individuals, morality is appreciated and cherished; but vice, misery, and ignorance, infest the great mass of society; and the attainments, however brilliant in appearance, of the smallest minority, being altogether insufficient to sustain the sinking fortunes of the State, the next step must, without supernatural aid, be necessarily retrograde.

That aid has actually been already imparted in a great number of instances: it includes the light, and all the other blessings of the Christian dis-

pensation, and which are, in due time, to be the portion of all the nations of the earth. The Fifth Stage of social improvement dates from the hour of the public reception of that holy religion; and thenceforward, the progressive amendment of the community, although occasionally impeded, is unalterably assured.

Until the termination of the Seventh Stage, the several detached nations will continue to exhibit a varied progress in the respective gradations. We are yet far removed from that period; and but one or two instances might be adduced wherein a near approach has been made towards the end of the sixth era.

The principal mark by which we are to judge of the actual arrival of a nation at the point last indicated, is the possession of such a store of valuable knowledge as may nearly overbalance the influence of the prejudices engendered in the course of its accumulation. Some discernment is required in the application of this criterion, but we believe that its main features are sufficiently obvious to render it useful as a practical measure.

There is yet, unhappily, no instance of an advance beyond the Sixth Stage. The mark of the entrance into the seventh will be a very considerable diminution of the prejudices to which we have alluded, and when the novel circumstance will be displayed of a *majority* of the community, whose minds have been emancipated from their power. The increase of this majority will be proportional to the advance towards the close of this splendid era, when the way will be open for the more general improvement of the human species.

During no part of all these stages can the causes which produce wars be said to be wholly extinguished, although, in the era last mentioned, the practice of war will gradually fall into disuse. The characteristic mark of the eighth and last stage is simple and decisive. It is the exhibition of a majority of minds, not of one, or several particular communities, but of the whole human population, sufficiently enlightened to be guided almost implicitly by the pure dictates of religion and reason, unembarrassed by the errors of prejudice. The duration of each of the other stages, either in the case of one, or of all the nations of the globe, falls within the province of reasonable conjecture: a discerning eye might, probably, without danger of any very gross fallacy, venture to measure their respective terms. But the *EIGHTH* cannot be scanned by finite comprehension, and must endure to that awful, and, probably, remote period, when all material substances are destined finally to perish, and to give full scope to the ineffable glories of the spiritual world.

During all this long, this unfathomable period, war, and the causes of war, will be equally unknown. Then, and not till then, will men begin to acquire intelligible notions with regard to the celestial economy. Among other interesting points of knowledge, they will learn, that vice and misery predominated only in the comparatively short infancy of the world; and that while the sufferers in the course of that more difficult pilgrimage had their allotted recompence in another stage of existence, it was to be their own happy fate to enjoy also, with less liability to interruption, the inestimable blessings of which the present is, under an improved disposition of affairs, evidently susceptible.

We cannot too forcibly inculcate, that the basis of all our expectations of future improvement is religion,—the Christian religion, such as it is exhibited in the inspired writings. In truth, the want of sufficient knowledge of the value and tendency of Christianity, in respect to its influence on the fortunes of the present life, has been the chief cause of the partial success which has hitherto attended the attempts towards reformation. It has not been sufficiently adverted to, or believed, that without the predominance of this most efficient instrument of moral improvement, no important or durable reformation can be achieved; that the constitution of our very nature would militate against the attempt; and that consequently the very best standard for measuring our advances in the higher walks of civilization is the extent of our attainments in the knowledge and practice of pure Chris-

tianity. Deeply impressed with this conviction, and anxiously wishing to communicate it to the hearts and minds of our readers, we have carefully distinguished the part which unassisted Reason is capable of performing, by fixing its true boundary at the termination of the Fourth Stage; and although her exclusive dominion is allowed to extend over a moiety of the divisions which delineate the entire march of civilization, that portion must appear infinitely diminished in amount, when compared, in point of duration, to that happier era in which religion is destined more effectually to preside.

While we have assigned to religion its just pre-eminence, we have been anxious to separate the religion itself, as it proceeded from the divine mind, from that part of its discipline which is the imperfect invention of man. The chief improvement to be effected in this important department is of a negative description: it consists in the gradual surrender of the principle of interference, in the maintenance of which a religion, springing immediately from the hand of Omnipotence, is absurdly supposed to require the patronage of princes, and the support of ill-devised institutions. Selfishness, intemperate zeal, and shallow views of expediency, have concurred in the formation of, and the tenacious adherence to, this principle; but eventually it will undoubtedly be universally abandoned, when all the temporal advantages to be derived from the practice of pure Christianity will, for the first time, be experienced.

In the department of public instruction, the principal defect has hitherto arisen from the general practice being too strictly confined to what is usually comprehended in the limited idea attached to the term "education." The duties of education properly commence at the earliest infancy of the individual, and are conversant with the details, both of corporal and mental nurture and improvement. The poorest member of society is entitled to receive, and under a perfect system of state-administration will possess, full opportunities of receiving the advantages of a good education. Great advances have of late years been made towards the due knowledge of this subject, and some of the beneficial effects derivable from the full extension of that knowledge have already begun to be felt.

The progress of the arts is, from their nature, irresistible, and is directed by an impulse which, in the middle and higher stages of civilization, is placed beyond the reach of human control.

Immense improvements remain to be made in the constitution, duties, and conduct of Governments. But the least eligible mode of securing such improvements is by a recourse to violence, with which injustice and misrule are unavoidably allied. No effectual amelioration can take place in this great branch of human economy, without a corresponding increase in the virtue and knowledge of the people; and with the increase of those qualities, the disposition for anarchical revolution is incompatible. If we may, with reason, hope for superior aids in future from the departments of religion and education, we become assured of eventually possessing the best possible means of effecting those improvements. To these means we may, in the spirit of perfect loyalty and innocence, look forward for the gradual destruction of all tyrannical and injurious institutions, which, however apparently adapted to a low state of civilization, are nevertheless degrading to humanity, and altogether unsuitable to the genius of a higher stage.

We consider, in fine, the probabilities for an eventual state of permanent peace to rest on sure and valid foundations; and we cannot avoid thinking, that the opinion may be generally entertained and cherished, not only as a matter for cheerful meditation, but as highly advantageous to our common interests. Gloomy notions, something like those which envelope the doctrine of fatalism, are usually connected with the subject of which we have been treating. The opinion of the inevitable recurrence of the practice of war, tacitly, if not always avowedly, almost universally prevails; and while the ordinations of Providence are thus held to be principally responsible for the rancour and hostility which too often inflame the minds of men, it is no wonder that those evil dispositions are indulged with so little remorse or

control. But if it may with truth be inferred from the dictates, as well as of reason as revelation, that the practice of war is so far from being an indispensable or essential element in the natural order of human transaction, that its disuse must of necessity follow the attainment of the due degree of civilization, an important triumph is gained over the prevailing spirit of animosity. The evil consequences of war will be more sensibly felt, and earnestly deprecated, when they are understood to be wantonly created; and nations will be encouraged to hasten the arrival of the happier times, by a sedulous cultivation of the means which are to lead to permanent tranquillity. It has been our humble wish to contribute, in some degree, however small, to the diffusion of just opinions upon the interesting subject; and if the attempt may be productive of only a very moderate portion of success, we shall not regret the attention that has been bestowed upon it. B.

The Silent Glen.

I SAT upon a rude grey stone,
With ferns and green moss overgrown,
Around whose base a silver stream
Ghided in murmurs sweet and wild,
From out a fount where starlight gleam
Had found a happy home, like dream
In bosom of a sleeping child.

The mountain ash, with clusters red,
Hung, like affection, o'er my head,
And darken'd with its chequer'd shade
The fount where living waters play'd.
Bright dewy wild-flowers there were grow-
ing,

Like happy things by that stream's side,
And seem'd to listen to its flowing,
As on it carroll'd in its pride.

From savage brow of a ravine,
Where foot of man hath never been,
The shade of mighty branches fell
Like melancholy o'er the dell,
Concealing in its sable hue
The wandering rivulet from view.
From off its gloom I turn'd mine eye
Towards the blue and placid sky;
The stars were forth in beauty bright,
Lovely as joy's own radiant light,

And, oh! I long'd for eagle's wings,
To fly away! away! away!
To join those glorious shining things,
An essence bright and fair as they.
Except the tinkling of the rill,
No sounds pass'd through the glen so
still,

Of man or living thing to tell;
My breath seemed over-audible,
Breath'd in the solitude—but, oh!
Though hush'd as hour of voiceless woe,
The very silence of that dell
Upon my heart like music fell!
And sweetest note of fairy bird,
Intenser joy could not have stirr'd
Within my thrill'd, expanding breast,
Than that dear melody of rest.

I left my seat, the rude grey stone,
With ferns and green moss overgrown;
For morning's first, pale, dawning light,
Shone on the roan-tree berries bright,
And shed a chill hue o'er the stream,
Where star-light now had ceased to
gleam.

With heavy heart, reluctant, then
I left the haunted, silent glen. D. A.

LETTERS OF A SOUTH-AMERICAN SEAMAN.

(Continued.)

Letter V.

*H. M. S. D—,
Pernambuco Roads, Oct. 1821.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN a former letter, I told you something about the slaves I had seen here in such multitudes, groaning under their heavy labours and hard bondage. What I have seen hitherto, however, has never struck me so much as the scenes of this

day. I had never before seen any human beings, after they were made prisoners or captives, actually exposed in the streets for sale, like cattle in a market. This day I witnessed from twelve to twenty of these miserable objects placed outside the shop-doors of their proprietors, that they might arrest the attention of any passing stranger who wished to make a purchase. They were all young; I should

think, in general, between eight and sixteen years of age. Several of them were girls, and perfectly naked, except a slight covering round the middle—their heads all closely shaven, I suppose for the sake of keeping them clean; and being all seated on the bare pavement, with their heels drawn close in, their long black naked knees bent up by their cheeks, and their heads hanging down between, gave them a very disgusting appearance; indeed, with their long, lank, naked arms and legs, and the attitude in which they were sitting, they had more the appearance of a species of monkeys, than of human beings. Some of their countenances, nevertheless, on being narrowly inspected, looked remarkably interesting; there were others whose faces indicated nothing but sulkiness and stupidity. It was a pitiful spectacle, to see the poor creatures all look up with a deep interest in the face of any passenger who stopped to look at them, anxious to learn if he intended to purchase, which of their little party he was going to select for his choice, and whether he looked as a person who would treat them with kindness. Then they were all so young, with such a pitiful expression of innocence, and helplessness, and simplicity in their looks. Several little sisters, with the parents, torn from their native homes, and exposed for sale in a foreign market, and in hourly expectation of some purchaser who would take away one of them, perhaps to treat her cruelly, when far from the little family circle where her other sisters shared with her the communion of misery. I am told that they think but little of their captivity, so long as they are in company with their sisters and brothers; but when a little family of three or four have been all taken together, and transported from Africa to a distant land, their hearts more warmly knit together by their mutual sufferings in a long voyage; it is painful beyond expression to see them severed in the slave-market, one sister bought by one master, another by another, clinging round each other's necks at parting, to take a long farewell; it may be never to meet again. Often in such scenes the old father and mother have to

wait the *last* in the market, before they meet with a purchaser, and see their sons and their daughters torn from their sight one by one, some to one province of the empire, some to another, all to be parted; the most of them with the certain prospect of passing their lives in suffering and sorrow; no friend near them in their hours of sickness, except the master, who will treat them with some attention, not from sympathy with their misery, but as he would treat a horse when unwell, that it may soon be better, and able again to drudge out its miserable existence in gaining him money. This is, in general, the principle from which proceeds any kindness shewn to the slaves in their hours of sickness and affliction.

I have not seen the general slave-market here; I am told there are but few slaves in it at present. When once we go to Bahia, which will be in a few days, I shall there see such, I believe, on a larger scale, and tell you all I know about it. The slaves I have seen here for sale in the streets I suppose are private property; perhaps bought by the score, at a general sale, by some rich merchant, that he may retail them at an advanced price, and make so much profit. This practice, I am told, is not uncommon among the more wealthy proprietors in this country. They not only purchase slaves, that they may have their lands cultivated, but purchase them just by the way of money-making, like any other article of commerce, when they see a chance of making a profitable speculation. I have been informed of a wealthy surgeon, not in this place, but on the coast, who performed an act of benevolence towards some black slaves, from a very *queer* principle. A number of his wealthy neighbours had slaves, who were like to become losing bargains on account of bruises, and sores, and lameness, and diseases of various kinds, rendering them unable to work. They would have been glad to get quit of them on any terms, as they were considered almost past hopes of recovery, at least of being useful; and so long as they were in their possession, for the sake of their own character, they were obliged to

give them something to keep them alive, however miserable their existence might be. The surgeon took advantage of the disposition of his neighbours to get quit of their diseased slaves,—examined the nature of their various complaints,—said there was very little hopes of recovery, but at the same time told their masters that he was willing to purchase them all, provided they would give them to him at a very low price. He purchased them for a mere trifle,—took them home to his own house,—and by proper medical treatment healed all their diseases,—fed them a while on healthy food, till they were all plump and fat, and had a fine, strong, healthy appearance; then *took them to market*, like so many horses, after good-keeping,—sold them at extravagant prices, and made a great deal of money by his *charitable* speculation! It is very shocking at first for an Englishman to listen to the conversation of two regular slave-jockeys, when they are inquiring to one another, with a sort of *knausish* confidence, the various artifices by which they contrived to get rid of a slave whom they considered a bad bargain. They will tell how he was ill-natured,—how he was of a quarrelsome disposition,—how he was a thief,—how he was lazy,—how he was subject to such and such a disease,—how his hands and his feet were tender, and could not endure hard labour, &c.; and then they exult so much in having taken good care of him for a while, feeding him well until he looked healthy and cheerful, and then at last taking him to the market and selling him, *with all his faults*, at a high price, just as a horse-jockey would exult in having cheated his neighbour with a broken-winded, fine-looking horse.

I told you in the former part of this letter that there were few slaves in the market here at present: it, however, bids fair to be well supplied shortly, for there is a ship just heaving in sight under the Portuguese flag, which, I am told, by those who have looked at her through the glass, is a slave-ship. I shall write you no further till she come in, and then I will tell you what is to be seen.

Yesterday the ship of which I told you came in, and as she anchored at no great distance from the stern of our frigate, I had the opportunity of having a very distinct view of her through the glass. The deck was quite crowded with slaves of both sexes, and of all ages, from infancy to grey hairs. They were all naked, except one little rag round their middle. I suppose they never get any other clothing till once they are bought, when their new master gives them what clothes he chooses. They had all their heads close shaved, which gave them a very disagreeable appearance; and if they were huddled as close together below as they were on deck, the confined air, from so many naked bodies, in such a hot climate, must, I should suppose, have been very injurious to their health. There seemed to be very little stir or animation among them, but all eyes were turned towards the shore of the strange land, destined to be the place of their captivity. I could see now and then a scanty allowance of something served out to them for eating and drinking, but I was not near enough to discern what it was. After the slave-ship had fairly anchored, a large boat was hoisted out, perhaps about the size of a frigate's launch, and into this the poor captives were crowded, to be conveyed to the market. The first cargo that came on shore were all women; I think there might perhaps be forty or fifty stowed into the boat; it had seats all round it, and was evidently built for the purpose; on these seats they were all arranged in rows, fore and aft, and athwart ships: and in the stern of the boat was the person who commanded, with a whip in his hand; placed, also, round the sides of the boat, at regular intervals, sat the rather old, wither-faced negro women, with something in the shape of a white turban wrapt round their heads, I suppose, as a mark of authority; all the rest of their bodies quite naked, except the rag round the middle, and *they also* had whips in their hands, or a kind of scourges, made of something resembling whiplashes. As soon as the boat moved off from the ship, there was begun a

wild song, in which only a few took a part, but after they had sung a little, they all seemed to join in chorus. It was, I imagine, an African song; the stanzas were very short, and with but few notes in the music; it seemed very simple, and they joined in it with a kind of *yell*, which reminded me of what I have read of the war-songs of the Indians. It was the strangest, wildest music, indeed I never heard any thing before, either for cadence or rhyme, that had the slightest resemblance to it. I regret much that I was not musician enough to take down the notes, for, simple as they were, the air was to me so strange, that I cannot remember it; but, under all the circumstances, it has left an impression on my mind that I shall never forget. It was like something wild and unearthly; but there was nothing in it that struck me as being in any degree *plaintive*; indeed from what I saw afterwards, the music seemed to have been gotten up for a purpose exactly the reverse of lamentation; for they had not long sung, till a number of them gave over joining in the chorus, obviously from want of spirits; and as soon as any of them became silent, I perceived the old black negro women, with the white turbans and the scourges, give them some lashes, which made them begin again. The tide and the swell drove the boat immediately under our lee; they were at one time close alongside of us, and I had the opportunity of seeing all that was going on; they were all women, and you can scarcely imagine a more disgusting spectacle than the old, naked, infernal hags, with their black wrinkled faces, and white turbans, and brown withered breasts, and the scourges in their hands, with which they flogged the poor, sorrowful-looking *young* creatures, to make them sing mirthful songs to keep up their spirits, when they were evidently far more inclined to weep; and then the moving engine of the whole was a silly-looking, sallow-faced Portuguese devil, about five feet high, of a very slender make and boyish appearance, with his whip in his hand in the stern of the boat. He was evidently well cut out for the inhuman employment, for, young as he was, his face bore the expression

of cold-blooded cruelty, and as if he seemed to take a delight in shewing his authority, by treating, and causing to be treated, the victims who were under him with the most unfeeling brutality. He made them sing all the way to the shore in spite of their sorrow; and when any of them refused, there was a fresh application of the whip or the scourge, until they joined again in the chorus. Who the old black hags were I know not; they seemed to be obedient to his nod, and quite prepared, even with a malignant pleasure, for inflicting any degree of punishment which he thought fit to command. I suppose they must have been old slaves, or slave-drivers, trained to the service, for they seemed to have no sort of sympathy or fellow-feeling with the young ones, over whom they ruled with so much rigour. They changed the songs once or twice. I could not make myself altogether certain, but I imagined that the old ones, with the turbans, took the lead, and then the young ones were obliged to follow. It brought to my recollection the Jews who, when carried into captivity, hung up their harps on the willows by the rivers of Babylon, and wept when they remembered Zion. "For they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How shall we sing the songs of Zion in a strange land?"

I have nothing more of any importance to tell you at present.—We sail for Bahia to-morrow. If I go on writing at this rate, you are likely to have a number of letters by the time I have visited Bahia, Rio-de-Janeiro, the River Plata, Cape Horn, Chili, Valparaiso, Peru, Lima, and the Andes.—Farewell for the present.

Letter VI.

H. M. S. D—,
Bahia, Oct. 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Were it not for the variety and the novelty of the foreign scenes I have an opportunity of beholding, I should soon get sick of this rambling, restless life. It is not yet five months since I left the hills of heather and

mist, and yet even in this sunny climate, where Nature pours forth her riches with such lavish prodigality, in my solitary hours I get sick of it all, and wish to have a walk once more among the moorlands of my native land. It is common for people at home to lament the dreary appearance of Scotland amidst the hail showers of decaying autumn, and the desolation of winter. It is now that season of the year, and you cannot imagine how much I miss it. I feel very much disappointed in the month of October to see the woods all green, and, instead of becoming yellow, and scattering their withered and torn leaves in the sleety blast, bursting forth in richer luxuriance, with the promise of a brighter spring, and a summer without end. There is nothing that I shall miss so much as the change of seasons. I have no idea how I shall contrive to pass three years of perpetual summer, and tropical sunshine, with the woods always green, and the flowers aye in blossom. How I envy you, my dear —, the felicity of a pensive walk among the woods of our childhood, among the broomie braes and the green mountains of my beloved *Cra-
wick* ! Alas ! I am far away in another hemisphere ; but I love to remember what you are all doing at home in this season of the year. I love to fancy the woods all drest in robes of decaying yellow ; the corn-fields so lately waving, rich with a rustling harvest of golden grain, stript of their treasures, save where, here and there, the farmer is getting the farewell sheaves into his cart, to carry them into the barn-yard. I fancy I hear the first sound of the threshing-mill preparing the straw to cover the stacks with a thick yellow coat, to keep them snug from the storms and ravages of the coming winter. I see the parks all bleak and bare, covered with cattle, rejoicing at length to be set at liberty to range the long-prohibited meadows and corn-fields, getting the sweet fresh grass, which hath escaped the keen edge of the sweeping scythe, or the gleaning sickle. The broom-flowers have failed from the braes of Bridgend ; the larch is stript of its thick green foliage ; the laburnum hath let fall its fringes of flowery gold ; the sweet-

briar hedges beneath the holt have shed all their fragrance ; the rowan-tree no longer bends over the lins its bunches of scarlet fruit ; the blackberry bushes hang scraggy and yellow over the cliffs ; the stream of the mountain glides away through its channel of blue rocks with a melancholy murmur ; and the foliage of the fading branches, lately waving, and green, and beautiful, dances in whirling eddies in the breast of the dark pool. The mavis and the ring-dove have forgotten their sweet songs in the hazel thicket, and the mountain-lark no longer chants its summer melodies among the silvery clouds of the morning sky. Every thing speaks of the desolation of coming winter. Alas ! I fancied myself at home, but I am awakened from my dream by the dashing of the dark sea. How different was the scenes among which I went on shore yesterday for the first time ! We landed at some distance from the city, on a beautiful little bank, covered with pebbles and white sand, at the back of the Consul's garden. It was too early for dinner, and we strolled into the woods in various directions, glad to shelter ourselves from the intense heat of the sun, beneath the branches of the dark and wide-spreading mango-tree, and the broad green leaves of the banana. The banana leaves are so large, that one of them affords a fine shade. There is also another plant, whose leaves are a delightful screen. I forget the name of it ; it grows in great abundance near the place where we landed. It spreads its green leafy feathers from one root, exactly like the one-leafed fern in Scotland, but some of them grow so immensely large, that one of them would almost cover the gable of a house. When the Indians travel, I am told, they just cut down two or three of these large branches, fix the stems in the earth, and tie the tops of them together, and thus construct a tent to shelter them from the rain when they go to sleep at night. We found, likewise, great abundance of the castor-oil plant. It hath also very broad leaves, not unlike the leaves of the oak, or rather the plain-tree, but on a much larger scale. Orange-trees, loaded with green fruit, were also seen on every side of us ;

but the oranges were in general hard and unripe, it being only spring in this country, according to the regulation of the seasons. Nothing delighted me so much as the tamarind trees. They have in general a round, bushy head, very thickly armed with leaves, dark, smooth, and rustling. We found abundance of them in the Consul's garden, but there were few tamarinds on them. We gathered plenty, however, from the ground, which had been shaken off. I was so fond of eating them, that I spoiled all my teeth, they were so sour. The mango is a fine, delicious fruit, when you are used to it a little; it is very cooling and juicy, but at first you fancy it has a flavour something like turpentine. It has an immense large stone inside of it; the fruit is a soft pulpy substance, contained between the stone and the rind; the best way to manage it is to cut it in slices from the stone with a knife, rind and all, and then scrape the pulp out of the rind with a spoon. I never felt myself so completely in a foreign country as on my first landing, and getting into the wood. Around me were thousands of trees, and plants, and shrubs, and flowers, and birds, but not a single one of them awakened the recollections of home. They were all new to me, and I knew the names of but very few of them. I found, for the first time, the *sensitive* plant growing wild. It spreads over very often marshy ground, something like a turnbiter. The sensitive leaves spread out prettily from the creeping tendrils in the sunshine, something like lady-fern. It is curious to come to a little dingle of them, where there are a thousand tendrils all interwoven, like a bramble thicket, to shake the twig, and communicate the vibration to the whole, and see ten thousand green leaves all curling themselves up, and shrinking back at your approach, as if afraid of being trod on, the sensation-like feeling of life running over them all as a shock of electricity. I have seen a great variety of strange birds and insects, the most of them very beautiful; their plumage in general sparkling with a great variety of brilliant hues. The butterflies are larger than I had any conception of,

and have a most dazzling appearance in the sunshine, with their light wings glancing like gold. There are great numbers of humming-birds to be seen fluttering among the branches, and they have a pretty, sparkling appearance. They are so small, that the brilliancy of their hues is almost invisible till once you set them a fluttering and humming like bees, among the green foliage, and then they twinkle like stars. I have never seen such large ants, or in such numbers, as here. Bee-hives are nothing in comparison of the hillocks they raise; many of them two or three feet high, and ten or twelve in circumference. I sat yesterday afternoon beside one of them, watching the employment of its industrious inmates for nearly two hours. I could not see what was going on inside, but the swarms of ants constantly employed in carrying in green leaves were innumerable. The entrance to their hive was a hole of almost an inch diameter, and I am sure, in the course of the day, at the rate at which I saw them working, they must have carried in as many leaves as would have filled a hut. From the mouth of their hole, they had a regular road worn about three or four inches broad; where it terminated I could not tell, for it was lost in the thicket, or about thirty yards distance. Along this road of theirs was a constant stream of ants still moving; those who were coming in had each a green leaf on its back, and those going out were empty. It was curious to see a little stream of green leaves moving along, and you cannot think what a confusion it created when I stopped the stream for about ten minutes, by placing a stone on the mouth of the hive. You may conceive what numbers of them sometimes infest the neighbourhood of the gardens, when you are told that several orange trees have been covered with green leaves over-night, and in the morning found stripped of their foliage as naked as if the leaves had all fallen by a severe frost. I have seen many of the trees stripped, though I never had the opportunity of witnessing such a sudden proof of their destructive power; it is a thing, however, very common. In spoiling the garden-grounds by

their immense hillocks, they are as annoying as moles are at home, and there is no way of getting rid of them, for before you dig to the bottom of their hive, you raise a deep pit, and by the time you have expelled them from one, they find another, thus going on multiplying and increasing their hives without end. They are very large and black, nearly the same length as the common hive-bee, but slender, and remarkably ugly. I have not seen any with wings; if such, I should not choose to reside long in their neighbourhood. I have seen no bee-hives: whether the flowers be rich with honey, I do not know; I suspect not, for if they be very beautiful, they are not very frequent. The plumage of the birds is also very brilliant, but their songs are far from being sweet.

The country around this has a much more beautiful appearance, seen from a distance, than Pernambuco. The land lies higher, the prospect is more extensive, and there is a more beautiful variety of woods and plains, little hills and glens, or rather eminences and acclivities, forests and green fields, running along the back of the city; at about half a mile's distance there is a fine lake of fresh water, both sides of which are prettily shaded with wood; and there are little foot-paths here and there, where you can walk on both sides of it, from which you have a most retired, agreeable prospect. There is comparatively little cultivated land, however, near the city, except the gardens and orchards around the country seats of the rich merchants; but the greater part of these are remarkably pretty, and filled with a great variety of the finest fruit-trees the country produces. I have, as yet, seen no sugar plantations; I fancy they are at a good distance into the country. I have seen some straggling coffee-

trees among the woods, covered with green fruit, but nothing like any regular coffee plantation. Nothing has delighted me more than walking in the gardens under the shade of lime-trees and orange-trees, mangoes and tamarinds, &c., all loaded with the richest promise of a luxuriant crop. Under their thick-spreading foliage one can enjoy a fine cool walk, even at noon-day; at least cool in comparison of a walk under the scorching rays of a vertical sun, for even in the coolest shade, a breath like that of an oven breaks in from the burning atmosphere around you. The foliage of the trees and the flowers have as delicate an appearance as I expected, but the grass has an entirely different character from any thing at home. It does not cover the sward with a rich coat of thick green velvet, fancifully intermingled with flowers, but grows in long straggling tufts here and there. The blades are broad and coarse, and the fields have a very parched appearance, for one half of the sandy soil is never covered. The thin straggling bushes of grass spring up several inches asunder, something like thin ears of corn on an arid soil, and even at intervals you see the lizard rustling among them; yet the scenery, taken as a whole, is delightful. I cannot better describe it than by quoting a stanza from Childe Harold:

The green hills

Are cloth'd with early blossoms; through
the grass

The quick-eyed lizard rustles, and the bills
Of summer-birds sing welcome as ye pass;
Flowers fresh in hue, and many in their
class,

Implore the pausing step, and with their
dyes

Dance in the soft breeze in a fairy mass:
The sweetness of the violet's deep blue
eyes,

Kiss'd by the breath of Heaven, seems
coloured by its skies,

NOTES ON THE GALLERY OF FLORENCE, EXTRACTED FROM MY PORTFOLIO.

No. II.

Florence, April 18.

WE determined to devote another day to the Gallery. In proceeding thither, Sir George retraced the leading points of the conversation which lately passed at the Swedish Ambassador's, regarding the fair authoress of "France," and her projected work on Italy. He had succeeded, he said, in obtaining a copy of a letter which had been sent to the lady, containing some strictures on the opinions she had advanced. The circumstances which gave rise to this letter appeared to me rather curious; but as travellers, licensed as they are, have no privilege to deal in scandal, for once I shall keep silence. Suffice it to say, without encroaching upon further particulars, that at a certain conversazione, the lady in question happened to enter into argument with one of the Grand Duke's ministers, regarding the character and acquirements of the Italian ladies. Having dispensed her strictures with too liberal a hand, the severity of her remarks drew forth the minister, who, with suavity and firmness, defended his countrywomen. Thinking, afterwards, that the impression he had made upon her ladyship was not sufficiently strong, he next morning favoured her with some of his sentiments repeated in the letter I have mentioned. Copies of it have got abroad; and as, in fact, it is busily circulated and keenly canvassed among the English here, I shall take the liberty of engrossing the copy I received in a corner of my journal. Some value may be set upon it, as a kind of curiosity, considering its object and originating circumstances.

The Tribune and the Hall of Niobe, though containing the prime attractions of the Gallery, are yet far from exhausting its treasures. A multitude of other enticing objects rivet the attention at all hands, soliciting, in almost an equal degree, the admiration of the spectator. But

to describe the entire assemblage of the Gallery were equally vain and tedious; and, indeed, such a task, if executed, would embrace the mention of many works unworthy of regard. This collection, like the Sybil's books, would lose none of its value, by losing two-thirds of its bulk. To guide-books and ciceroni be left the duty of extolling to the skies, in eternal bursts of strained commendation, every block of marble and every bit of canvass on which a brush or a chisel has been employed! I entirely agree with Mr Bell*, whose taste, in matters of criticism, is of the highest order, that there is no practice more improper, and none more destructive of all hope of forming good taste in an inexperienced person, than that of representing every picture and statue as a glorious *capo d'opera*. To this reprehensible practice, so prevalent in Italy, the growth of much false taste may be imputed; and, conscientiously, I believe that much more of that spurious commodity abounds among our travelled English than they are willing to allow. Few improve their taste to that degree which enables them to rest upon their own judgment; yet all pretend they are profound connoisseurs, and criticise accordingly.

In ranging along the extended corridors of the Gallery, and their splendid lateral apartments, the objects attracting my regard have been very numerous. But few of them have I made the subject of written remark. In the Tribune, into which we again, as if instinctively, entered there are many beautiful pictures. Among these is the Venus of Titian, whom some connoisseurs have been pleased to set up as a rival of the Venus de Medici herself. For my own part, I do not think that the productions of painting and sculpture are, in point of relative excellence, fair subjects of comparison;

* The late Mr John Bell of Edinburgh. His "Observations of Italy," recently published, though posthumous, is a classical work on subjects of art.

pictures, however pleasing by the variety and brightness of their representations, want the truth and substantial character of statues; and in other respects, more easily felt than described, it is difficult to institute any parallel between them. The Venus of Titian is undoubtedly beautiful—of sovereign excellence as a picture; and the effect she produces would be still greater, were the Venus *de Medici*, who stands beside her, removed from the apartment. But we cannot turn our eye from the marble to the canvass with any idea of equality—I venture to say, of comparison—between them. Independently of the relative flimsiness to which I have adverted, of a picture when placed beside a statue, there is here a total want of chastity and purity of taste—of that beauty by itself, exclusive of meretricious accident, which has formerly been the subject of some of my remarks. In truth, the Venus of Titian is voluptuous and impure. Her beauty is of a terrestrial character, compared with the celestial loveliness of the marble goddess. She has been moulded within the dominion of passion. The Venus *de Medici* bespeaks the calm which reigns beyond its limit.

I have said that Michael Angelo, Guido, Domenichino, Corregio, and Da Vinci, with other master painters, have here contributed their riches. I venerate these names, and greatly admire their productions. But I have searched among them in vain for any thing to equal the fine old statues that are ranged around me. We dwell upon the statues for hours, and every hour they rise in value in our estimation; our respect for the artists who formed them increasing more and more, the longer we contemplate them; but the paintings we hurry over in a few minutes—our examination of them proceeding, perhaps, rather from a sense of duty than from any feeling of their intrinsic worth. It is not my intention to enter into an examination of the pictures in this enchanting cabinet. I shall only remark, that I was much interested by six pictures of Raphael, executed at different periods of his life, and considered as marking the gradations of his excellence. They certainly

do shew a progress from the dry and stiff style of his master, Pietro Perrugino, to one much more warm and easy, and indicative of those powers which were to give to the world his inimitable *Transfiguration*.

The Hall of Niobe, besides the group of statues to which it owes its name, contains also many pictures by celebrated masters. On subjects of painting, however, I am inclined sometimes to distrust my judgment, and therefore, at present, I chuse to be reputed wise, by observing a sagacious silence. At the risk of exposing the impurity of my taste, I venture to admit, that I am disposed to prefer farcical pictures to heroic ones. This, by the way, may account for the impression which I entertain, that comical statues rarely fail to produce their intended effect, while as much cannot be predicated of many of their more dignified brethren. In the Hall of Niobe are two immense battle-pieces, painted by Rubens. The canvass is crowded with riders and horses—with slayers and with slain, and teems with all the objects of excitement incident to the scene. Yet I would give both of these pieces, and a dozen more such to boot, for a smaller picture by the same master, of which a drunken Bacchus is the subject. Bacchus himself is admirably depicted—drunk to the very life. A Bacchanalian is in the act of pressing more grapes for the already inebriated god, while a Silenus stands hard by, draining, *con amore*, a goblet to the very dregs; and a naked boy beside them, who has drunk more than he can keep, appears in excellent character, a most effective picture of his intoxicating potations. Perhaps, however, the painter in this room who appears to most advantage is Hunt-horst, called Gerardo della Notte, because of the celebrity of his night-pieces. Among several pictures of this artist, there is one representing a mother, who uncovers her new-born infant, and shews it to her gossips, while the father looks over her shoulder to obtain a sight of it. The painter has absurdly chosen—for clever painters can do very absurd things—to make the

light proceed from the child's body, by way of radiant *glories*, to represent the gossips with their arms devotionally folded across their breasts, and to entitle the piece "The Adoration of the infant Jesus." Take away these incongruous associations, and the picture is admirable, giving a most amusing and natural representation of the vanity of a silly woman brought to-bed of her first-born—of the complacency and self-satisfaction of a superannuated husband—and of the simpering affectation of two goody gossips, who discover that the infant is a perfect prodigy, and as like its father as it can stare.

While occupied with pictures, I shall, before quitting the subject, take notice of one department of art, numerous specimens of which are contained in the Florentine Gallery, I mean the portraits. When a collection of these is aimed at, the value consists much in their number; and here there is an ample assortment of likenesses, ancient and modern, both on canvass and in marble. The number of busts is very considerable; the paintings are far more numerous; the whole constituting a collection of painted and sculptured heads, unequalled in the world. Of Roman Emperors and Empresses there is the completest series in existence. It consists of upwards of a hundred marble busts, extending from Julius Cesar to the immediate successors of Constantine. Many of these busts are valuable for their rarity; many more for their beauty; but not a few—the truth must be told—are of doubtful authenticity. The collection is by no means confined to the families of Roman Emperors. There are, though not in a regular series, a great many heads, and a still greater number of low-relief representations of the warriors, philosophers, patriots, and poets of Greece and Rome. Among such multiplied objects I shall not descend to particulars; but I may remark, that the head of Alexander the Great is allowed to be unrivalled. Those of Cicero, of Seneca, and of many other worthies, are fine. But that of Marcus Brutus is a mere invention of Michael Angelo, and not nearly finished, and yet it has been more

celebrated, in sober dissertations and panegyric epigrams, than all the rest put together. Could we be satisfied of the authenticity of the busts extant in this Gallery, I would recommend the immediate establishment at Florence of a school for students of phrenology.

The likenesses of the ancients were perpetuated in marble: those of the moderns are intrusted to canvass. There is here a series of portraits of distinguished moderns, extending to nearly three hundred individuals, and including all nations. Kings and Queens are exhibited in conjunction with philosophers, and cardinals are placed side by side with Turkish or Tartar conquerors. In addition to this general collection, there is an equally numerous one of the auto-portraits of painters. This is, and must be, in a thriving state, as every artist is invited to send his own phiz. Accordingly, the squeeze would do honour to a route. So great is the throng, that Raphael, Titian, and Rembrandt, with many other big wigs, are sorely beset by crowds of interloping limners, whose names were never known beyond their own native town. The portraits in the general collection are interesting only as likenesses; the auto-portraits are interesting both as likenesses and works of art. But there is a third class, consisting of a vast number of portraits dispersed through the different rooms of the gallery, which are interesting merely as works of art,—and of which, consequently, the name of the painter is preserved, while that of the original is lost. To many, the first two classes possess the greater degree of attraction; but the last class is also valuable, as portrait-painting is a branch of art in which, whatever may be its grade compared with the historical, considerable genius may be displayed. There is a degree of truth, of expression, and of character, predicable in general of portraits, which is seldom observable in the personages introduced into historical paintings.

But though in the Gallery there be many excellent pictures, the collection of paintings, taken generally, forms by far the most miscellaneous and trashy portion of its contents. The whole corridor, for example, is

hung with pieces confessedly of no merit whatever, which have been retained, by the advice of Vasari, merely for the purpose of showing the progress of the art, particularly in Tuscany. They do so, no doubt; and as such progress is matter of curiosity to many, I do not quarrel with the preservation of these paintings, but with the bad taste which disfigures, by their presence, this Grand Ducal Gallery, which, in the selection of its treasures, should be rendered worthy, in every respect, of its munificent founders. To compensate the blemishes of the corridor, however, there are, besides the master-pieces in the Tribune and the Hall of Niobe, many valuable pictures in side-rooms set apart for the productions of the different schools of painting. The characteristics of these schools are well known to those who are fond of the art; and to those who are not, they are altogether unimportant. I dismiss the paintings in the Gallery with one remark, which frequently and forcibly occurred to me while contemplating the master-pieces of the various schools. Those who have studied the pictured remains of the *campo santo* at Pisa must allow, that modern and improved painters care little about the invention of their pieces, compared with the skill and pains which they obviously lavish on their execution. I have not discovered a fine and original thought, nor do I recollect of even an ingenious conceit, among the hundreds of paintings in the Gallery. In fact, perhaps, the finest of them consist of portraits, Madonnas, Venuses, and other stale subjects, in which a small novelty in the expression of the countenance, or in the position of a limb, passes for consummate originality.

In the course of our wanderings we entered the Cabinet of the Hermaphrodite, a statue highly deserving of the commendation it has received. In this room, besides many fine small figures and busts, there is an admirable group of Cupid and Psyche. In our times, this subject seems to be resigned to Canova, who executes it in two very different manners. In the one, the figures are almost lying on the ground, and Cupid hangs over Psyche in an awkward and un-

graceful position. In the other, they are both erect, and embrace one another very prettily. This last and best form of the group seems to have been copied from the antique in this apartment; at least it is extremely like it. There are many other charming Cupids here. One in particular seems to chuckle, and exult, and deride, both gods and men, with an air so inimitably impertinent and boyish, that an unfortunate lover would be apt to strike him. He is as high-seasoned a morsel as any in the Gallery.

Besides the unrivalled works of Grecian art which embellish this room, there are several modern statues which maintain their place with credit. Of these I may particularise the St. John of Sansovino, exhibiting a masterly delineation of the aged Apostle, emaciated with hunger, and in the last stage of starvation. There is also the Bacchus of Michael Angelo, a statue so like the antique, that it was sold as the work of an ancient artist. But above all, in mentioning the works of modern artists, the Mercury of Giovanni di Bologna is deserving of record. There are several formidable rivals of this god among the Greek statues, but Giovanni's divinity excels them all. It even surpasses Shakespeare's fine image of "the Herald Mercury, just lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;" for this figure is so inconceivably light and aerial, that were he to set foot on the ground, we could not suppose him to rest there; no, he would instantly rebound like a balloon, and shoot again into the skies.

This last statue is in bronze; and in the same room that contains it are many admirable specimens of art executed in bronze, some of them of the natural size, but by far the greater part of diminutive proportions. In particular, there is a provoking rabble of Lilliputian men, women, brutes, and monsters, who were all divinities, and right worshipful in those days when the Roman worthies crammed their pockets full of their household gods. We have commonly a contemptuous opinion of Etruscan art, which passes for a twin-sister of the ugly Egyptian. But in this chamber there are Etruscan statues,

which the works of neither Greeks nor moderns could easily exceed in beauty. In the Gallery there is also an apartment containing an assortment of Etruscan vases. They are not very numerous: a much larger and finer collection may be seen in the British Museum by those who are curious in pottery. Lastly, there is a room called the Hall of Gems, stuffed full of cameos, cups, altars, vases, and all kinds of precious stones. They occupied but little of my attention; but they brought to my recollection a sentence of my first French lesson: “Un lapidaire seroit bien-aise de te trouver.”

* * * * *

The letter, of which a translation follows, addressed to the fair authoress of “France,” has set the Florentine circles astir. It possesses some value as a catalogue of names, independently of the good advice it gives to the lady for whose especial benefit it was written. The ladies will probably stare at part of its contents.

“Florence, Nov. —

Knowing, by experience, Madam, that travellers in foreign countries pass many things worthy of remark unobserved, and form strange opinions of others which they see, for want of a little explanatory knowledge from the natives; and perceiving that you feel indisposed to judge favourably of the fair sex in Italy, my duty bids me—passionately fond as I am of my country—not certainly to enter into disputation with you, and just as little to institute an odious comparison between the Italian ladies and those of other countries—but simply to submit to you a few reflections, and to point out to you the names of some distinguished females in Italy, in order that you may qualify yourself, after knowing them personally, and studying their works, to judge of them with truth and discrimination.

If I understand you right, you reproach the Italian ladies with never reading—even romances—and of being totally devoid of instruction; and, assuming them to be destitute of imagination, you pronounce them incapable of making any figure in society, or of entering on the difficult career of letters.

With regard to the reading of romances and novels—I say it with regret—be

assured you are mistaken. Our ladies have, unfortunately, a great predilection for them. To be convinced of this, you need only inspect our libraries, stuffed with original romances, and with ultra-montane translations, whose tattered leaves and fragrant odour bespeak their familiarity with the toilets and boudoirs of our fair countrywomen.

This kind of reading, as I had the honour of telling your ladyship, is, in my opinion, more pernicious than improving: first, because bad romances are more numerous than good ones: and, next, because the Italians being generally endowed with an ardent imagination and lively sensibility, the excitement promoted by even the best of these works is apt to lead to the indulgence of the passions—and those whose hearts are cast in a tender mould know the difficulty of bridling them.

The mothers of our days act, I think, a more prudent part, by denying their daughters access to works of this kind, and nourishing their young minds with more substantial knowledge. The time, I hope, is not far distant when we shall see Italy adorned with a race of young women combining highly-cultivated minds with the most engaging modesty, and with that brilliant and varied imagination which has always characterized, in a peculiar manner, the fair inhabitants of this classic land.

Et comment se pourroit-il que ce beau ciel, qui a inspiré les chants immortels du Ghibelin proscrit, de l’amant de Laure, de Tasse, de l’Arioste, de Guidi, de Filicaya, d’Alfieri, de Metastasio, de Parini—que cette terre qui a produites Bonarrotti, les Raphaels, les Correges, les Albani, les Titians, les Guides,—ou, tandis que dans le reste de l’Europe, à peine on savoit lire, on voyoit autour de la malheureuse Jeanne, lre reine de Naples, un cercle de femmes remarquables autant par leurs graces que pour leur talent pour la poesie—qui a donné au siecle de Leon X., une Victoire Colonna celebre pour sa vertu comme pour sa beauté et son talent poetique, une Vironique Gambara, une Constance d’Avalos, une Tullie d’Aragon, une Laure Terracina, une Laure Battifera, une Gaspara Stampa,—pour ne point parler de tant d’autres qui ont brillé dans les lettres—comment, donc, se pourroit-il, que cette terre fut devenue tout d’un coup sterile—que ce beau ciel eut perdu entierement son influence! *

I beseech you, Madam, wrong not your talent by imitating the herd of tra-

* We prefer giving this passage untranslated, for its better impression, and as a specimen of the letter.

vellers who come to Italy with the prepossession that its plains swarm with robbers, and that its cities are peopled by assassins, and, in short, that the country is a hot-bed of treasons, stratagems, and spoils:—travellers who, ignorant of our language, and unacquainted with our inhabitants, arrogantly presume, after a few months residence among us, to judge of our manners, our laws, our government, our genius, our arts, our sciences; and who, on returning home, scruple not to publish their thoughts, their recollections, and their impressions, in all which, those who are conversant with the places and subjects discussed seldom fail to find ample matter of ridicule and reproach.

Familiarise yourself, I pray you, with our beautiful language—and you will find much pleasure in the study of it—for a person ignorant of the language of the country he visits can never obtain accurate information. Cultivate acquaintance with well-informed people—but not at routes or in public promonades, where subjects are seldom discussed seriously, and all that is said may not be believed. Lay aside intolerance, and that contempt which too many foreigners affect for every thing to which they are not habituated at home. Mingle in our society; introduce yourself into the bosom of our domestic circles, and I suspect you will find more amiable wives and tender mothers than you dream of at present. You will discover in our females vivacity of imagination, penetration of mind, and sound good sense, joined to a becoming modesty and taste for the arts—in short, qualities and acquirements which will make you doubt the necessity of pushing their education beyond the limits which have hitherto bounded it. And if, indeed, you find that their education be not extended to the utmost, attribute not the defect to want of natural capacity, since it is universally admitted that female genius abounds as much, if not more, in Italy than in any other country; but trace the cause in any special instance, to an education either neglected, or directed with the view of saving the ladies from the imputation of *savantes*,—a character which they deprecate, regarding it as unsuitable to the female sex, and incompatible with their domestic duties. But, after all, I believe the *savantes* are as numerous here as they are elsewhere.

Our city has lately lost, at an age comparatively young, Madame Bellini, who, to a knowledge of music equal to that of the first professors, joined acquirements

which were not limited to acquaintance with the living languages and of the classical works composed in them, but embraced also the ancient tongues. She composed several works of merit; and united to good sense, polished manners, and great conversational powers, an unremitting attention to domestic duties, and the education of a numerous family. The Bolognese still honour the memory of Clotilda Tambroni, Professor of Greek in their University—of Laura Bassi, Lecturer on Natural Philosophy—and of Gossidini, Professor of Law. Still fresh in Bologna is the renown of those twelve illustrious females, in honour of whom, busts, executed by Algardi, are extant in the Lambertine Gallery. And throughout Italy, a multitude of other females have risen to distinction by profound and extensive learning.

But, omitting those who have passed away, mark the living talent which at this moment adorns Italy. There lives in this city a lady of the name of Fantastici, who, in extemporaneous poetical effusions, is a worthy rival of that celebrated Coritta*, who was crowned at the capitol for her consummate genius, and whose glorious career but recently terminated. We have also here Rossetini, a daughter of Fantastici, a writer of very elegant verses; and Mazzei, in whom we have a brilliant example of the great power of imagination with which some of our country-women are endowed—who, with astonishing facility, *improvises* poems on any subject which may be assigned to her. At Lucca there is Bandettini, who, in the difficult, but beautiful career of improvisation, laid open only to the fervour of Italian genius, unites to the most fascinating imagination the choicest selection of images, and most classical expression. Nor must I pass unnoticed Moschini, also an improvisatrice, who, at the early age of twenty-two, composed two beautiful poems—the Castruccio, and Gonsalvo. At Turin, you will find Diodato Salusso, a charming poetess, and at Rome, Marianne Dyonigi, the well-known authoress of several poetical pieces, and also of the *Antiquities of Latium*, a work in the hand of every man of letters. I may further particularise the names of Albussi at Venice, who published *Portraits of Illustrious Characters*, and a series of *Letters on the Works of Canova*;—of Justine Regnier Michel, to whom we are indebted for the *Origin of the Venetian Fetes*, a volume which, by its historical notices, philosophical character, and beautiful simplicity of style, entitles the authoress to a distin-

guished place among her learned country-women ;—of Morosini Pasqualigo, who has acquired reputation by her poetry ;—of Saccati, the authoress of an elegantly-written romance, called *Letters of Julia of Willet* ;—and, finally, of the young Carracciolo, at Naples, who has published exquisite translations of several of the works of the best English poets.

I shall not speak of the thousands who have acquired an acknowledged eminence by their skill in music ; and among those who at present devote themselves to the fine arts, I shall only mention Molencini, who successfully treads the path of the Lirani, the Vitteleschi, the Rossi, and the Rosalbi.

I could much extend this catalogue of celebrated women in Italy, by particularizing many other names deserving of honourable mention. But I have already tried your patience too much, and therefore I conclude. I beg you will not impute the advice which I have taken the liberty of giving you, either to want of

respect for you, or to presumption on my part ; but attribute it to the love which I naturally feel for my country, and to the desire which I have of convincing you that Italy possesses women who spend their time more worthily than in pastimes and amourettes. It was also my wish that your views of things in this country should be formed on a proper knowledge of them, whether good or bad, in order that, should you commit yourself to the press upon the subject, your readers may not receive unfavourable prepossessions of this fair, but ill-fated country, often calumniated, even by those who have been enriched by its treasures."

Upon this letter we pass no remark. But what would the British public think, if they found Mr Canning or Mr Peel writing and circulating a reply to any ignorant aspersions which an Italian literary adventurer might throw out at a London route ?

TWO DAYS ON THE RHINE.

(Continued.)

THE Editor, assisted by one of those malignant demons who minister to the wants of all Editors, compelled us to close our first day on the Rhine just when we had succeeded in conducting our readers, and the "water-stage-coach," safely through the torrent, and past the rocks of the Hole of Bingen. The river immediately regains his former tranquillity, and, very soon, his former breadth. Even the abrupt and gloomy precipices cease, and return only at intervals ; yet, till within a few miles of Coblenz, the landscape never acquires the same breadth, nor do the banks re-assume the gradual elevation which distinguish the Rheingau. This long stretch of the river, from Bingen to Coblenz, bears a very different character : it is wild, or soft and romantic, according as the mountains rear their black masses immediately from the wave, or fall back in less rugged forms, clothed in the deep verdure of their own forests. Even where they are wildest, labour has brought the vine to flourish on their projections, and in their niches. But, although the country, for some miles farther down the river, is in-

cluded under the geographical name of the Rheingau, the produce of the vintage, even on the most favoured spots, cannot compete with the aristocrats above Bingen.

The modest, lively villas, have now, in a great measure, disappeared ; for these gorges are places to visit, but not to live in. The villages diminish in number, and, generally speaking, in beauty. The inhabitants, too, seem to be poorer. Children came paddling out from the shore in small boats, to sell walnuts and newly-gathered grapes to the passengers ; and they appeared to have already made a very laudable progress in all the arts of overcharging. Ever and anon the landscape opens, and the river expands ; the vineyards rise in their more natural rounded forms ; small towns and village spires again glitter on the banks, and the confined horizon of wooded hills seems to terminate the stream : but the stream makes its way through the rock, and enters a similar valley, to leave it again by a similar gorge. The whole course of the river is an incessant succession of these varied landscapes, which are all perfect in

their kind, and which, perhaps, from being more definite in their peculiar features, offer more interesting studies to the artist, than the extended and magnificent scenery of the Gau between Bingen and Mayence.

A feature altogether peculiar to this part of the Rhine lies in the number of old towers and castles which line the bank. Every rising ground, every pinnacle of rock, bears its ruin; and of every ruin the vine-dresser and the mariner can repeat an hundred legends,—from the seven fair sisters, whose maiden cruelty to seven enduring lovers was punished by the metamorphosis of the ladies into the seven sharp rocks which emerge from the river under their abode, to the venturesome knight who, on his gallant steed, galloped right up the precipices of Kiedrich, to deliver the chosen of his heart from unholy bondage. Some of these strongholds were erected as fortresses by the regular Governments. Others, and especially those which rise behind the villages at the mouths of the more fruitful valleys, were the residences of noble families; such is Schönberg, which gave birth to the field-marshal who is immortalized in the history of our revolution as Marshal Schomberg, a corruption borrowed from the French. One, and only one, of these ruins stands in the Rhine itself; a square tower, built on a small rock, nearly in the centre of the stream. The Electresses of the Palatinate used regularly to be lodged in it previous to their confinement; so, at least, goes the story; but, in later times, it was applied to the more intelligible purposes of a state prison. By far the greater number, however, of these ruined strongholds were built by the lower orders of the marauding nobility, to aid them in the robberies which they practised on the trade of the river, sometimes under the rascally pretence of exacting duties, but more frequently in the shape of avowed armed violence. The small towns, so deeply interested in their commerce, at length formed a league, and, with the assistance of the higher nobility, exterminated the rooks, and burned their nests. They are a commentary on the police of Europe during the reign of feudalism. There

are, indeed, few spots on this magnificent river which do not call up a crowd of historical recollections; and from these even the most beautiful scenery derives additional interest.

Other remnants of former times appear, now and then, in convents and monasteries, which have been long deserted, except where a few ecclesiastics still linger, because the spots are consecrated by the memory of some holy man, and stand high in repute as places of pilgrimage. One of the last objects which the falling night allowed us to discern, before reaching Coblenz, was a long train of peasants—men, women, and children—returning in procession from Bornhofen, where they had been supplicating for a successful termination to the vintage that was about to begin. They were in their holiday dress, and were more orderly in their behaviour than the frequenters of a Holy Fair sometimes are in a certain other country. A division belonging to the other side of the river had already crossed it; the two bodies moved along the opposite banks, taking up alternately the strophes of the evening hymn to the Virgin, in strains which, though rude, floated pleasantly over the now tranquil bosom of the waters, and gave a new beauty to the dim features and dying lights of the evening landscapes. These observances, however, are beginning to go out of fashion even among the lower orders; among the wealthy and educated, they have not been fashionable for more than a hundred years. The Catholic is still the faith of the great majority of the people. Dignitaries of the Church, no less than Electors of the Empire, the Archbishops of Mayence, Trèves, and Cologne, necessarily clung to the hierarchy, on which their own existence depended. In the early days of the Reformation, an Archbishop of Cologne abjured the Roman Church to win the hand, or rather that he might be able to repair the fame, of the fair Agnès of Mansfeld; but the Protestant princes could defend him, neither against the ban of the Empire nor the thunders of the Vatican; he gained the fairest bride, and lost one of the most ancient electorates in Ger-

many *. Prussia, though Protestant herself, studies to observe perfect impartiality between the two religions; and only the priesthood murmured when an old church in Coblenz, which they had patiently seen used by the French as a magazine, was given up to the Protestants as a place of worship.

Another grievous burden on the commerce of the Rhine, and one which will not be so easily got rid of as the feudal bandits—because more legitimate in its form—consists in the vexatious tolls levied by the different Governments on the passage of goods. Under the Empire, no part of Germany swarmed with a greater number of petty princes than the banks of the Rhine. By the constitution of that Empire, they were as legitimately despotic within their own little territory as the Electors themselves; and they followed the example of their betters, in converting the Rhine into a source of gain, by taxing, and taxing highly, the use of the river. Under this system, a Frankfort merchant sending wine, for example, to the north, found the land carriage to Ham-burgh safer and cheaper than the transport on the river to Holland. The Congress of Vienna wisely determined that all these little lords, except Nassau, should continue in the rank of subjects, to which Napoleon had reduced them. From Basle to the sea, the Rhine now visits the dominions of only eight, and from Frankfort, of only four independent Sovereigns; thus, any plan for simplifying or lightening the inquisitions and exactions of jealous neighbours, is greatly facilitated. But though the Congress declared, in 1815, that the Rhine, throughout its whole course, from Switzerland downwards, should be subjected to one uniform system of regulations, to be fixed by the Diet, in conjunction with France, instead of its being left to each power to multiply the number and augment the rate of its tolls at pleasure, this

most desirable end has not yet been attained. Every one can see a good reason for tolls on canals, or roads, or bridges, (and the bridges on the Rhine are sufficiently expensive to navigators, besides harbour-dues and similar charges;) but it is not easy to see the policy of converting a river, which costs no Government to the south of Holland a farthing, into a direct source of revenue, by imposts levied on its commerce. The only reason I have ever heard assigned, at all connected with the stream itself, is, that it is a source of heavy expense to the Governments on its banks, in consequence of the necessity of guarding them, to prevent smuggling. The burden of these imposts, and the necessity of changing the bottom in which the cargo is carried, have produced loud and universal complaints, which hitherto have been only very partially listened to. The Elbe has been more fortunate. A convention among the bounding States, ratified by the Diet, has set it in a great measure free; but the Rhine is still in fetters. I was surprised to observe on the road, which never leaves the left bank, a great number of heavy waggons, yoked with four, six, and eight horses, carrying up goods to the Frankfort fair, and this superb river almost washing their wheels the whole way: I know not whether it had any relation to the comparative dearth of the two modes of conveyance†.

If the tolls on the river cannot be diminished, it would at least be well to infuse more personal activity into the collectors. It is ridiculous to see a heavy packet, that goes as regularly as a mail coach, obliged to pull close into the shore, and lay-to while the master lands to pay the toll, because the lazy toll-keeper does not choose to take the trouble of sculling himself out to receive his money. The same indolence occasionally assumes a still more laughable shape on the turnpike roads. In the ter-

* Her valorous brothers gave the clerical lover the choice of becoming a Protestant churchman, that he might wed their sister, or of having his throat cut.

† This road, at least that part of it below Bingen which, from the precipitous nature of the bank, was the most difficult for the engineer, is a work of Napoleon. The precipices of the Rhine, like the rocks of Evian, were as potter's clay in the hands of him who made the road over the Simplon.

ritory of Darmstadt, I never found a tollman pass his threshold. He keeps his *schlagbaum*, or bar, shut; when a carriage drives up, the traveller or the postilion must alight to pay the toll. It is no small condescension if the collector deigns to receive it by the window, without giving you the trouble of going into the house; and, by a very simple mechanical contrivance, he lifts the bar without quitting the room, where he snores all day long. In consequence of unfortunate accidents occasioned by horses running off while the coachman was in the toll-house, the practice attracted public notice, and a Government rescript commanded the collectors to be at the trouble of stepping out for their money. But this has only sharpened the ingenuity of the lazy dogs. The tollman has now a wooden ladle fixed to the end of a long pole; this he thrusts out from the window, or the door, receives in it your money, and returns in it your change.

Coblentz swells up from the left bank, towards the ridge that separates the Rhine and the Moselle, at the point where the rivers meet; the former washes its walls on the east, the latter on the north. The town, with little more than ten thousand inhabitants, and no manufactures, has externally a more cheerful appearance than Mayence. The language and manners of the inhabitants are more Frenchified, and that is never an improvement, than in any other town on the lower Rhine; for, as the capital of the department of the Rhine and Moselle, it enjoyed the presence of the civil authorities, and the corruption of a dissolute garrison. On a public square, or platz, (as every place a little broader than the street is called), in front of the principal church, I observed a strange memorial of French vanity, and Russian wit. When the army of Napoleon began the Russian campaign, the Prefect of this Department thought proper to commemorate the design, without waiting for its completion, by erecting a pyramid above a public fountain, with the inscription, "*La campagne memorable contre les Russes. Jules Dozain Prefet du Departement du Rhin. 1812.*" The tide turned, and the Russians

crossed the Rhine to march to Paris. In Coblentz they found this monument by anticipation; they did not pull it down, but they did something a thousand times better, by adding to the inscription the words, "*Vu et approuvé par nous le Commandant Russe de la ville de Coblentz. 1814.*"

The gorge through which the Moselle here winds along to the Rhine is narrow, deep, thickly and deliciously wooded above, and in the bottom a continued garden. The vineyards are neither many nor productive, for it is farther up the river, in the vicinity of Trèves, where the valley opens more to the sun, that the cooling, harmless wines of the Moselle grow: the Germans call them, very appropriately, summer wines. In these countries the culture of the vine is always a more hazardous adventure than any other agricultural undertaking; and no where, except in some parts of Austria, is it attended with greater risks than along the Moselle, and in the more retired valleys on the Rhine. The immediate neighbourhood of so much mountainous country produces a variable climate, which, joined to the depth of the valleys in which the vineyards generally lie, exposes the grape to untimely frosts. These frosts often blight the vintage even in August. If they happen in the early part of that month, or in July, a single night annihilates the hopes of the year. The summer and autumn of 1822 were supposed to promise a vintage that would rival that of 1811; yet, in the beginning of September, I found the proprietors in the neighbourhood of Coblentz, on the Rhine as well as on the Moselle, getting alarmed at two or three cold evenings which had followed each other: Artificial defences against this dreaded enemy have been contrived. A number of holes are dug in the ground all round the vineyards; they are filled with heaps of moist straw, turf not over dry, half-rotten stems of potatoes, any thing, in short, which, when ignited, will yield smoke without flame. The appearances of the evening are carefully marked; without a thermometer, the vine-dresser, by that experience which, if not the only, is always the best guide of the husbandman, can foretell almost in-

fallibly before midnight, whether a hoar-frost is about to fall. If about ten or eleven o'clock the prospect be unfavourable, the heaps of fuel are lighted; the only precaution required is to take care that they do not burst out into flame, for it is the smoke that is effectual. The fires are kept up till sunrise. The smoke spreads itself over the vines, and is found to be specific against the frost, without injuring even that delicate *aroma* which is so peculiar to good Rhenish. When there is no wind, the fires are kindled all round the vineyards; if the wind be high, only those on the side from which the wind comes are lighted, as the current of air diffuses the smoke over the whole vineyard. If the wind be very high, or if the clear sky which threatened frost becomes, towards midnight, covered with clouds, the vine-dresser goes tranquilly to bed, for such nights, he knows, produce no dew. These defensive measures are not peculiar to the Rhine and Moselle; they have been gradually introduced into all the wine countries where the danger is imminent. In Bavaria they were backed by a public recommendation from the Government; they could not be enforced as a law. The peasants have learned, too, to avoid loosening the earth round the root of the vines—what we call *hocing*—in weather when night-frosts are to be apprehended. They had observed that the newly-dressed vineyards always suffered more than those in which the soil had not been broken; a beautiful illustration of one of the principles so admirably explained by Dr Wells, in his Essay on the Formation of Dew. The newly-turned-up vineyard suffered most, because dew is more abundantly formed on a rough than on a smooth surface.

Coblentz is another of the towns which fate has doomed to be a military position. Prussia seems determined to render it at once inexpugnable, and a memorial of the Holy Alliance: on both sides of the Rhine, and on both sides of the Moselle, it is bristled round with fortresses. On the left bank of the Rhine, the ridge which, rising behind the town, separates that river from the course of the Moselle, is crowned with a new fortification, bearing the name of the

Emperor of Austria; and on the opposite bank of the Moselle, another fortress, baptized after the Autocrat of Russia, commands the level ground, and the approaches from the north. But these fortresses are trifling, compared with that which guards the right bank of the Rhine. There is a striking difference between the two sides of the river at Coblentz. The left, on which the city stands, rises gradually; but on the right, opposite to the town, a perpendicular mountain shoots up precipitously to the height of five hundred feet from the very brink of the river. In earlier ages, it was called the Stone of Herrman, in honour of the earliest of German heroes; but for centuries it has borne a name not so easily explained, “The broad stone of honour,” (*Ehrenbreitstein*). Occasionally the peaceful residence of the Archbishop of Trèves, this impregnable rock has long been converted into the fortress for which Nature seems to have designed it. During the revolutionary war, it successfully held out against four sieges, and at last was only starved into a surrender. During seven years, the Prussian Government has been expending on the fortifications all the skill of its engineers, and great part of the contributions exacted from France. Many of the old cannon bear the significant inscription on their breech, *ultima regis ratio*. The works are hewn out in the living rock wherever that was possible; where they are artificial the walls rival the rock; the only ascent is interrupted at every turn by ditches and draw-bridges, and is led slowly up the rock, exposed at every foot to flanking fires, both of musketry and artillery. It entirely commands the Rhine, both upwards and downwards; its cannon sweep the mouth of the Moselle, the bridge across it, and the plains stretching beyond to the foot of the eminences defended by Fort Alexander. The disabled soldier who acts as cicerone took care to announce, that the Duke of Wellington, on visiting the fortress, said he should not mind having to defend it, but would not for the world be charged with taking it. The intention of thus surrounding Coblentz on every side with regular fortresses seems to be, not so much

to secure the passage of the river for offensive purposes, as to cover the retreat of an army compelled to fall back from the left bank; and in this respect Coblenz is certainly a point of immense strength. Though the Rhine, by its breadth and depth, presents as many obstacles to the passage of an army as any stream can well do, and though no river is lined with so many regular fortifications, yet no river, from the days of Cæsar down to those of Blücher, has been passed with greater facility by hostile armies from both banks. In 1814 Blücher would probably have preferred a safe passage by a bridge at Coblenz, into a comparatively open country; but Ehrenbreitstein was in the way, and Marshal Forward, as his countrymen justly style him, laughing at fortifications, led his Prussians across, a few miles higher up, at Caub, where there is nothing but steep black precipices on either side of the river.

No where on the Rhine is the Prussian Government popular, and it is perhaps in Coblenz that the public feeling has shewn itself most openly. The people in these provinces do not regret the downfall of the French power, for, in that respect, no change could be for the worse. The men whose clamorous demands for a Constitution have drawn upon them the heavy hand of Frederick William, are precisely those who shewed themselves most active in rousing, and keeping awake, the universal hatred of Napoleon. The newspaper of Görres was jocularly called, in the saloons of Paris, *le cinquième puissance*: but this dislike has been, in some measure, transferred to their new masters. Under France, their old prosperity had been annihilated; the satellites of power indulged in proceedings of glaring private injustice, the sort of misconduct which most strongly affects, and most easily irritates a people; several lucrative branches of industry had been prohibited, that they might be converted into oppressive monopolies for the use of Government; while incorporated in name with the French empire, subjected to the Code Napoleon, and honoured with the unprofitable form which, under that code, is named Trial by Jury, they were treat-

ed in reality as conquered provinces. The Prussian Government has been more reasonable and conciliatory; it immediately restored to the people the manufactures which Napoleon had converted into imperial monopolies; it retained the French Code, the trial by jury, the publicity of all judicial proceedings. But the people expected more. With the impatience so natural to misery, they had hoped that the new Government would bring along with it a diminution of the burdens which consumed their substance, and re-establish, at the same time, in their former prosperity, the various manufactures which had rendered the Rhenish provinces, in some measure, rivals of the Netherlands. In the former expectation, the financial situation of Prussia rendered it unadvisable, it is said, to gratify them; the latter, no Government could fulfil. It is not royal rescripts that can call back ruined manufactures. In short, the people say, that they do not find themselves any better than they were; and, as they sighed for the former change, so they sigh for another. I found no reason to believe they would exchange the Prussian Government for that of France; but they do not conceal their wish to exchange it for any other, and most of all for a Government of themselves, by the introduction of a popular Constitution. All the world knows, that the inhabitants of Coblenz, and the neighbourhood, even ventured to present an address to the King, urging his Majesty to fulfil the promise which he had made, to give his dominions a representative Government, and that the King, in high dudgeon, answered, that the time must be left to himself, and that it was very rude to put a monarch in mind of promises, because it implied that he had either forgotten them, or did not wish to keep them. The *Rheinländer* feel very justly that the reply was extremely unsatisfactory; but they likewise feel very justly, that, had they ventured on such a thing with Napoleon, he would have replied in a much less endurable style.

It is never to be forgotten, that the Rhenish provinces differ from the old dominions of the Prussian monarchy in character, in occupation, in the state of society, as much as they are

separated from it in geographical situation. They have no hereditary attachment to the House of Brandenburg; they were early the seat of affluence; and wealth, particularly the wealth which has been acquired by industry, always gives a certain independence of action. The landed property, moreover, is in the hands of a much greater number of proprietors than in the old provinces; another result of the diffusion of wealth by manufactures. They consider themselves subject to a foreign power; they are full of the idea that Prussia regards them in a different light from her other dominions, treats them as a tributary province, useful only to supply taxes, and is misled by foreign influence to sacrifice their interests to more weighty neighbours. In character and situation, though so long subject to the mitre, they resemble greatly their kinsmen of the Netherlands, and have so little liking for the Prussian Government, that they would throw off her yoke as readily as the Netherlands did that of Spain, though they have no such weighty motives or clear justification. Such seemed to me to be the state of public sentiment in the Rhenish provinces, from the conversation even of Prussians settled on the Rhine, or who in autumn seek annually in the Eden of its banks a temporary refuge from the sands of Berlin, and the firs of the Thiergarten. On the other hand, doubts are entertained, and are not unknown even in Berlin, whether Prussia be really a gainer by the possession of provinces which, populous and industrious though they be, are connected with her by no popular tie, and not even by geographical proximity. They are the most populous provinces of the monarchy, and, in productiveness of all sorts, only Lower and Middle Silesia can vie with them; they contain nearly one-fifth of the whole population, while they do not make out one-tenth of the superficial extent of the monarchy*. But, equally exposed to France and the Netherlands, and full of invaluable fortresses, they

add enormously to the expenses of her military establishment, while the communication between them and the old States is cut off by independent German powers. Through these territories, indeed, Prussia has a sort of servitude *vive et actus*, but *silent leges inter arma*.

By the time a traveller has reached this part of the river, he is absolutely sated with landscape, and begins to find some relief in even listening to the curses of the boatmen, as they reluctantly pay the numerous tolls,—a grievance, however, at which the traveller himself has much better reason to rail than his boatmen; for they take care that all this, and generally something more, shall be included in the fare for which they have bargained with him. Still they have a rational ground of complaint; because these tolls make so very serious an addition to the expense of a boat, that by far the greater part of those who have occasion to descend the river, whether on business or pleasure, submit more willingly to the tedium and inconvenience of the floating-stage-coach, and thus the poor boatmen are injured in their livelihood. Neither are they themselves at all moderate in their demands. As happens in every country to which crowds of strangers annually repair, they think it no sin, in the homely phrase, “to make hay while the sun shines;” but when the bargain is once concluded, you have no farther imposition to fear. They are expert, civil, good-humoured, attentive people. One of them pleaded, as a very natural recommendation, that he knew more old stories about old days and old castles than any other boatman on the river.

Cologne was the seat of the first of the German tribes that forsook at once barbarism and independence, to make some approach, under the supremacy of Rome, to the arts of civilized life. It gave birth to a Roman Empress, whose name it was afterwards to bear; in later times, it was among the earliest members of

* According to the official returns published by Government, the monarchy in 1819 consisted of,

The old provinces, 4568 square miles, containing 9,003,415 inhabitants.

The Rhenish ditto, 446 ————— 1,972,837 ditto.

the Holy Empire, the most populous, the most wealthy, in every thing the most flourishing of all the cities watered by the Rhine. It now displays little but the few venerable traces of its antiquity, the empty walls of deserted cloisters, and the beggary which has sprung up from the ruin of its manufactures. The seat of an Ecclesiastical Elector, there was no more luxurious abode of the Roman priesthood on the north of the Alps; in her pride she claimed a bishop even out of the first century of Christianity; and boasts till this day, that her population, of sixty thousand souls, contains a smaller portion of Protestant heretics than any other German city. More than an hundred spires rose within her walls; seventy churches ministered to the splendour of the faith, and as many monasteries and convents to the pleasures of its devotees. Heaven entrusted to her care the sacred reliques of the Eastern Magi; nay, the Rhine swelled with a miraculous flood, to float into her haven the gigantic galley which bore St. Ursula and her train of eleven thousand virgins: the golden chamber still preserves the bones of these holy maidens, and even some of their heads have been adored uninjured for a thousand years. The temporal wealth of the city amply sufficed to support its spiritual splendour. Cologne, it is alleged, could at one time bring into the field an army of twenty thousand men. In virtue of its *stapelrecht*, it monopolized, in a manner, the carrying trade of the Rhine; a lucrative trade, so long as the intercourse between Northern Europe and the East was maintained through the maritime states of Italy. Its manufactures were the most flourishing in Germany, and prospered by the side of those of Brabant and Flanders, till the spirit of intolerance laid the axe to their root by the banishment of the Protestant converts, who carried their industry and arts to enrich more liberal Governments. The trade on the river declined, as Holland became the depot of the productions of the East. Finally came the revolutionary war, the armies of France, and the empire of Napoleon; cloisters and manufactures, monks and merchants, disap-

peared from the streets of Cologne. Her thirty remaining churches would still satisfy the spiritual wants of her population; but the distillation of perfumed water is insufficient to restore their temporal prosperity.

Enough of the ancient walls and towers remains to make the boundaries of the Colonia Agrippinensium easily distinguishable within the circuit of the present city. One of the Roman gates, bearing its old C. C. A. A. stretches across a narrow street. A round tower, which now forms part of a garden wall, is adorned in a style of which I recollect no example in the remains of Roman architecture in Italy. The body of the tower is of brick, now thoroughly blackened by time and weather; but it is intermixed with solitary pieces, or whole courses of white stone; sometimes running quite round the tower, sometimes arranged into figures of circles, pyramids, temples, &c. the produce, no doubt, of legionary taste. The marble portico of two orders in front of the town-house, a sample of very florid architecture, commemorates the passage of the Rhine by Cæsar, and the settlement of the Ubii on this spot by Agrippa. Close by the walls commences a vaulted subterranean passage which can be traced nearly to Trèves. It is no longer entire, and various conjectures have been made regarding its ancient uses. It is too low and narrow to have been intended as a communication, and seems to have been merely an aqueduct.

In its better days, Cologne must have been a handsome and majestic city; its squares and market-places still bear witness that they were intended for a wealthier and busier population than now languishes in them. Nearly one-third of the whole space within the walls consists of gardens and unoccupied ground. This is not the effect of depopulation, though the population has diminished. The monasteries and convents, which were so numerous in Cologne, had all gardens attached to them; and the times which emptied and shut up the cloisters, brought neither the means nor the necessity of building in the gardens. Had the Cathedral been completed in the same

style in which it was begun, even that of Strasburgh would have been compelled to yield the palm; but, during more than three hundred years, it has been standing unroofed, (except with naked boards,) and without a front. Of the two towers, the one is but a few feet above the ground; the other, which was professedly to rival Strasburgh, has been interrupted at less than half its intended elevation. The choir alone is finished, and its perfection leaves no doubt of what has been lost by the carelessness or niggardliness of a long line of Archbishops. Napoleon found it useful and proper to spend a considerable sum annually in adorning the cathedral of Milan, and even the Austrian Government, though one that has no peculiar claims to the homage of the arts, has thought it at least prudent to follow his example. It is said, however, that in Cologne an insuperable obstacle exists in the loss of the plan; the original design of the architect for the facade has been recovered by accident, but no research has hitherto been able to recover the plan of the interior and the towers. But if want of skill or want of money disables them to proceed, and if these majestic pillars must still stand between naked walls, supporting or rather seeming to support a mean wooden shade above their own aerial tracery, let at least the tasteless trumpery be thrown out of doors which has been housed in the interior by way of ornament. Gaudy tapestry, even though Rubens should have painted the cartoons, the gilded frippery of the altar, the grim saints and apostles in gilt cloaks, would be bad anywhere, and are intolerable here.

The peculiar veneration with which the sacristan approached an old-fashioned chest in the choir was explained by the holy nature of its contents, for within it repose no less ancient and august personages than the three Eastern monarchs who were conducted by the star to worship at the birth of the Messiah—the famed “three Kings of Cologne,” who in Italy supply so many signposts,—in Germany so many puppet plays during Christmas week,—and who are the highest created powers,

after the Virgin, by whom a *Rheinländer* swears. A bishop of Cologne stole them from Milan in the twelfth century. Decked with crowns, which were one mass of diamonds; laid side by side in a golden sarcophagus, that blazed all round with jewels, and bore their revered names,—Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar,—framed in rubies, they reigned here in peace, till the approach of the revolutionary army broke in on the tranquillity of ages, and compelled their Majesties, like some other crowned heads, to emigrate. The Chapter, in its flight, carried them, and their whole treasury, into Westphalia. But these Eastern potentates could not expect to find disinterested friends in adversity, any more than their living brethren; during the residence in Westphalia, crowns and jewels disappeared, having probably been applied to support their court, while the regular revenues were in the hands of the enemy. Shorn of their glories, they ventured to return with the Confederation of the Rhine, and the contributions of their faithful subjects had already restored to them great part of their former splendour, when a lurking band of radicals again invaded the royal sanctity: about four years ago, their Majesties were found one morning uncrowned and unjewelled. When one thinks of the embarrassment to which he is so often reduced in Italy, by stumbling on three or four heads of St. John or St. Peter, or half-a-dozen petticoats of the Virgin in different places, all of which he must believe, on pain of eternal damnation, to be genuine heads and petticoats, it is quite consoling to be assured, that no usurper questions the title of the monarchs of Cologne; for, says the inscription on their sarcophagus,

*Corpora sanctorum recubant hic terna marorum,
Ex his sublatum est nihil, alibi locatum.*

In the church of the Jesuits, the capitals of the pillars and the cornice of the entablature are adorned with bunches of grapes, whether as emblems of the Rhine, or of the pleasures of the monastic life on the Rhine, may be doubted. They appear to be rather unseemly ornaments for a Christian Church: but the Jesuits had the authority of the

Emperor Constantine, and of his religious as well as architectural advisers*. Every where the Jesuits aimed, more than any other fraternity of their church, at having magnificent temples; the wealth and influence which they commanded furnished the means. Even in Rome there is frequently much more splendour than good taste; some of the altars are absolutely jeweller's shops. In countries more remote from the control and examples of pure art, this taste naturally degenerated into a puerile love of gaudy finery.

The church of St. Peter has regained Rubens' crucifixion of that Apostle. The artist painted it for the city in which he was born, and the church in which he had been baptized, and he died when on his way from Antwerp to Cologne, to superintend the placing of it. It is the high-altar-piece. As it was among the last, so, if not his masterpiece, (for no one will readily give up the Deposition from the cross,) it is at least among the few productions of his pencil which leave the great mass of his pictures infinitely behind. It is a picture on which one can look with unmixed pleasure, as a work of art, though I do not feel in it the high poetry of the great Italian masters. The executioners are in the act of binding the Apostle to the cross, his head downwards; the head itself is thrown back, so that the inverted face is still turned to the spectator; the body is not yet fully extended on the cross, so that the knees are bent out from the picture. This was a difficult attitude to paint. In the projection of the head, the shoulders, and the bended knee, there is so much of that merit which artists call *forshortening*, that you

must literally touch the canvass to be convinced that the figures are upon it. On the opposite side of the frame is the miserable copy with which Cologne consoled herself when the original was carried to Paris. It was painted from memory, after the picture was gone—a good excuse for its being a very inaccurate copy, and a very bad picture. The house in which Rubens was born has just been adorned with a new inscription, to perpetuate the remembrance of the fact.

The cloth manufactures, which used to occupy so large a portion of the population, and supply so much of the wealth of Cologne, can scarcely be said to exist any longer: a few cotton-factories still maintain a sickly existence, but the only branch of the woollen manufacture which is carried to any extent is that of the coarsest stuffs. This, too, from the want of machinery, which they either cannot afford, or will not use, employs a number of hands, out of all proportion to the total value of the manufacture; more than five thousand people are occupied knitting stockings and night-caps. Next to these, the tobacco manufacture was the great source of wealth to Cologne, and its rapidly-increasing prosperity induced Napoleon to become, like so many continental potentates, a dealer in snuff and tobacco. By a stroke of his pen, he ordered every manufactory to be shut up, the stock on hand to be disposed of within a limited time, either to foreigners or to himself, at what might be deemed a reasonable price,—prohibited the trade, and established an imperial monopoly. He afterwards took the same measures in the other Rhenish provinces. The general injustice,

* About two miles from Rome, outside of the Nomentan gate, there is a small circular Church built by Constantine for the baptism of his daughter Constantia, whose name it bears. The mosaics of the ceiling represent Bacchuses and boys toiling in the vintage; in one compartment, three children are treading the grapes in a large tub. Some antiquaries ascribe to these profane ornaments a still more remote and interesting origin. Resting chiefly on the form of the building, they hold it to have been an ancient temple of Bacchus, and thus most satisfactorily explain the ceiling. How, they ask, could an orthodox and pious Emperor adorn a Christian Church with such jolly scenes? Their opponents again found for positive authority on a passage in Anastasius, and retort, How could an orthodox and pious Emperor allow such jolly scenes to remain in the Christian church, though he had found them in the heathen temple? The coupling of the four-and-twenty magnificent pillars, undoubtedly the spoils of some ancient edifice, proves sufficiently that the building does not belong to any pure age of art.

as well as the impolicy of such a monopoly, above all, when in the hands of a Government, are manifest; but the private oppression practised on the occasion was far more frightful, and furnishes at once the best proof of the spirit in which France governed these provinces, and the best explanation of the hatred with which they regard her. Some idea of it may be formed from the manner in which the monopoly was established at Düsseldorf. The whole plan was matured at Paris, in opposition, it is said, to the earnest remonstrances of Beugnot, who was at the head of the financial department in the Duchy of Berg. When it was adopted, he wrote to Paris, "The Grand Duchy is ruined." "*Pas tout-à-fait*" was the answer. On a Christmas morning, when every body was at church, the shops and warehouses of the dealers were entered, their whole stock put under seal, and removed next day, with the instruments of the manufacture, into warehouses, where the proper officers immediately began to deal in snuff and tobacco, for the Emperor's account. On the left bank of the Rhine, the thing had been managed with greater decency, by allowing the traders five months to dispose of their stock, as they best could; at Düsseldorf it was seized. But as it seemed right to give the dealers some recompence for their property, a commission of valuation was named, consisting partly of persons employed in the Emperor's own manufactory at Cologne, and partly of persons selected by his own Minister of Finance. When this hopeful and impartial commission proceeded to work, after a delay of half-a-year, they produced a ready-made tariff, according to which the proprietors were to receive, for the stock of which they had been robbed, a price that was a mere mockery, and was to be burdened, moreover, with the expences of the seizure, the valuation, the commissioners, &c. Remonstrances and entreaties against the horrible injustice were equally unavailing; the minions of Napoleon understood the accents of compassion as little as the rules of fair dealing. Those who were on the spot say, that it was necessary to be present to form

any idea of the deliberate insult with which the whole affair was conducted on the one part,—on the other, the despair of the traders, who, with poverty and a jail staring them in the face, were compelled to accept for their property a recompence which only added meanness to robbery, or to see it thrown without mercy into the Rhine. A ruined man has no more to care for; indignation and misery got the better of prudence; the discontent which the atrocious proceeding had occasioned in the town became a revolt, and down came immediately Count L—— from Paris, panting for blood. "I have already written to the Emperor," was the language of the cold-blooded miscreant, "that the revolt is not so serious as had been represented; I shall merely order a hundred of you to be shot, and the thing is finished." Three men were shot, with the formality of a sentence, by a military tribunal; for Napoleon never intended that jury trial, where he allowed it as a play-thing, should interfere with his own serious wishes, or despotic interests. More blood would have been shed, had not the rapid progress of the Allies commanded moderation; in the circumstances that were arising, Düsseldorf was an important post on the Rhine, and it was held prudent not to proceed to extremities against the inhabitants. It is quite delightful to think, that while such scenes were passing on the banks of the Rhine, Napoleon was already receiving his recompence on the banks of the Beresina, and that the ruthless hordes of Tartary were exacting a deep, and most righteous vengeance from France, for her atrocities against the honest, industrious, open-hearted dwellers on the Rhine. There are men who, not satisfied with ascribing to Napoleon the qualities of a conqueror, to which few men of any age could lay a better claim, will likewise put him off upon the world as a good monarch, and rather a kind-hearted man; they will not allow much atrocities to be laid to his charge; they were, according to them, the work of subordinate ministers, without his knowledge or approbation. All such nonsense pays no compliment to Napoleon's head, the only part about him that ever

deserved to be complimented. He was much too active, and much too clever, to allow ministers to keep him in the dark about any thing. He belonged to that class of men of whom it is always much easier to believe in the badness of their heart, than in the weakness of their head.

Amid the downfall of her proper manufactures, Cologne has unexpectedly become the centre of a new branch of foreign commerce, in consequence of what is very generally reckoned a most hazardous speculation. Certain persons discovered that it was great folly to be purchasing colonial produce from England, France, and Holland, when Germany, by means of her own manufactures, could carry on a direct trade with North America, St. Domingo, and the whole mass of South American States, which no longer acknowledge European supremacy. A company, with a very considerable capital, was immediately formed in the States on the Rhine. The seat of the new commerce was established at Cologne, though Hamburg aspired, but in vain, to the honour; and, four years ago, the first vessel sailed from Amsterdam for the West Indies. The flag of the German Indian Company was received and acknowledged by President Boyer, and other adventures have since been sent out. I was somewhat startled at learning that the Company rests its hopes chiefly on being able to compete with us in linen and cotton wares. Silesia may inspire them with some con-

fidence in regard to the former, though even in Silesia the linen manufactures are going to ruin, and the universal voice deplores the preponderance which Irish linens have acquired, and are maintaining, in the colonial markets; but the directors have offered to prove, to the satisfaction of every person inclined to speculate, that even the cotton goods required in the West-Indian and South-American markets can be produced in Germany as good and as cheap as in England, and much better and cheaper than in France. But the question always recurs, how can Germany compete with England in New York, St. Domingo, or Buenos Ayres, when Germany cannot successfully contend with England at Leipzig and Frankfort? How will she contrive to send her productions cheaper to the mouths of the Orinoco, than to the mouth of the Main,—above all, when she must make her way in markets already occupied, and against mercantile interests and relations already established? Yet men of wealth and sense have engaged in the enterprise, and so sanguine are their hopes of success, that, while the result of the first speculation was still unknown, the Convention by which the navigation of the Elbe was rendered so much less expensive than formerly, gave birth to a proposal for erecting a similar company in the States traversed by that river, and its tributary streams, which afford so direct a communication with Hamburg.



OUR VILLAGE: SKETCHES OF RURAL CHARACTER AND SCENERY*.

THERE are two kinds of modern Novels, constructed on opposite plans, yet both are often favourites with the same class of readers—one, the heroic, the romantic, the marvellous, written in an ornamented style, portraying noble, illustrious, or chivalric characters, and leading such characters through perilous incidents, to the conclusion of a story wound up by some unexpected circumstance—the other, simple, unimportant, with little or no involution

of circumstances, a sort of every-day tale, chiefly of common, unpretending characters, running through the ordinary course of things, suffering distress with patience, or enjoying good fortune with modesty and moderation. The book in question is of the latter sort, though differing from some others of the same species, by giving merely sketches of rural characters, with no pretension to extraordinary qualifications, brought into no unlooked-for vicissitudes of

* *Our Village: Sketches of Rural Character and Scenery.* By Mary Russel Mitford, Author of *Julian, a Tragedy.* London, G. B. Whittaker. 1825.

fortune, and drawn with the sober colouring of Nature. Its *still life* is of the same kind ; local description of scenes which every dweller in an English village has seen ; with landscapes of alleys and lanes, brooks and ponds, which the contemplative walker of such a village has often looked on, varied only by those British vicissitudes of season or of weather, which gives such variety to the sketch of the painter, or the view of the wanderer ; whose delight is in the objects around him, picturesque in themselves, and giving to the mind of the beholder sedate and quiet reflection ; sometimes enlivened by more exhilarating appearances, but still confined within the bounds of ordinary occurrence.

Of this kind, the collection of village incidents and characters, contained in the volume before us, affords, we think, a very favourable specimen. It pretends to no unity of story or adventure, but draws, from the persons and things which have met the author in her walk of life, the portraits of village inhabitants, and what may also be called the portraits of rural objects, in language generally simple, and not loaded with extraneous ornament. Its characters are painted in what may be called *middle tints*, with failings such as are incident to their situations, with sentiments not exaggerated, and virtues more useful than shewy. The tendency of such a book appears to us to be good and useful, and to those who do not require the excitement of poignant distress or marvellous adventure, will afford, as it did to us, a great deal of rational entertainment. In tracing the likeness of its portraits, the reader need not go far from his own fireside, or the residences of his neighbours ; he will find, we think, very accurate resemblance in those features which a little observation will enable him to trace among his friends or acquaintance.

In the following sketch of the domestic, and domestic economy of an *old bachelor*, we think our readers will recognise the picture of a man of that *caste* with all his accustomed little peculiarities, trained, in his state of celibacy, like the *espaliers* of a well-ordered garden, of which the

regularity is necessary to the comfort, and the disturbance would grievously discompose the quiet of his life.

His man Andrews,—valet, groom, and body-servant abroad ; butler, cook, caterer, and major d'omo at home ; tall, portly, powdered and black-coated as his master, and like him in all things but the knowing pig-tail which stuck out horizontally above his shirt-collar, giving a ludicrous dignity to his appearance,—Andrews, who, constant as the dial pointed nine, carried up his chocolate and shaving water, and regular as “ the chimes at midnight,” prepared his white-wine whey : who never forgot his gouty shoe in travelling, (once for two days he had a slight touch of that gentlemanly disorder,) and never gave him the newspaper unaired ; to whom could this jewel of a valet, this matchless piece of clock-work belong, but an old bacheior ? And his little dog Viper, unparagoned of terriers, black, sleek, sharp, and shrewish ; who would beg, and sneeze, and fetch, and carry like a Christian ; eat olives, and sweatmeats, and mustard ; drink coffee, and wine, and liqueurs : who but an old bachelor could have taught Viper his multifarious accomplishments ?

We will venture to add a longer specimen of the fair author's portrait-painting, in a character which will afford the greater compliment to her *tact* and genius for this kind of writing, as it is of one, for whose picture a female painter could have hardly had the advantage of a *sitting*, but must have supplied that want by ready and accurate observation.

Tom Cordery.

There are certain things and persons that look as if they could never die ; things of such vigour and hardiness, that they seem constituted for an interminable duration, a sort of immortality. An old pollard oak of my acquaintance used to give me this impression. Never was tree so gnarled, so knotted, so full of crooked life. Garlanded with ivy and woodbine, almost bending under the weight of its own rich leaves and acorns, tough, vigorous, lusty, concentrating as it were the very spirit of vitality into its own curtailed proportions,—could that tree ever die ? ‘I have asked myself twenty times, as I stood looking on the deep water over which it hung, and in which it seemed to live again,—would that strong dwarf ever fall ? Alas ! the question is answered. Walking by the spot to-day,—this very day,—there it lay

prostrate; the ivy still clinging about it, the twigs swelling with sap, and putting forth already the early buds. There it lay a victim to the taste and skill of some admirer of British woods, who, with the tact of Ugo Foscolo (that prince of amateurs) has discovered in the knots and gnarls of the exterior coat the leopard-like beauty which is concealed within the trunk. There it lies, a type of sylvan instability, fallen like an emperor. Another piece of strong nature in a human form used to convey to me exactly the same feeling,—and he is gone too! Tom Cordery is dead. The bell is tolling for him at this very moment. Tom Cordery dead! the words seem almost a contradiction. One is tempted to send for the sexton and the undertaker, to undig the grave, to force open the coffin-lid,—there must be some mistake. But, alas! it is too true; the typhus fever, that axe which levels the strong as the weak, has hewed him down at a blow. Poor Tom Cordery!

This human oak grew on the wild North-of-Hampshire country, of which I have before made honourable mention; a country of heath, and hill, and forest; partly reclaimed, inclosed, and planted by some of the greater proprietors, but for the most part uncultivated and uncivilized; a proper refuge for wild animals of every species. Of these the most notable was my friend Tom Cordery, who presented in his own person no unfit emblem of the district in which he lived,—the gentlest of savages, the wildest of civilized men. He was by calling rat-catcher, hare-finder, and broom-maker; a triad of trades which he had substituted for the one grand profession of poaching, which he followed in his younger days with unrivalled talent and success, and would, undoubtedly, have pursued till his death, had not the bursting of an overloaded gun unluckily shot off his left hand. As it was, he still contrived to mingle a little of his old unlawful occupation with his honest callings; was a reference of high authority amongst the young aspirants, an adviser of undoubted honour and secrecy,—suspected, and more than suspected, as being one “who, though he played no more, o’erlooked the cards.” Yet he kept to windward of the law, and indeed contrived to be on such terms of social and even friendly intercourse with the guardians of the game on M. Common, as may be said to prevail between reputed thieves and the myrmidons of justice in the neighbourhood of Bow-Street. Indeed his especial crony, the head-keeper, used sometime to hint, when Tom, elevated by ale, had provoked

him by overerowing, “that a stump was no bad shield, and that to shoot off a hand and a bit of an arm, for a blind, would be nothing to so daring a chap as Tom Cordery.” This conjecture, never broached till the keeper was warm with wrath and liquor, and Tom fairly out of hearing, seemed always to me a little super-subtle; but it is certain that Tom’s new professions did bear rather a suspicious analogy to the old, and the ferrets, and terriers, and mongrels, by whom he was surrounded, “did really look,” as the worthy keeper observed, “fitter to find Christian hares and pheasants, than rats and such vermin.” So in good truth did Tom himself. Never did any human being look more like that sort of sportsman commonly called a poacher. He was a tall, finely-built man, with a prodigious stride, that cleared the ground like a horse, and a power of continuing his slow and steady speed, that seemed nothing less than miraculous. Neither man, nor horse, nor dog, could out-tire him. He had a bold, undaunted presence, and an evident strength and power of bone and muscle. You might see, by looking at him, that he did not know what fear meant. In his youth he had fought more battles than any man in the forest. He was as if born without nerves, totally insensible to the recoils and disgusts of humanity. I have known him take up a huge adder, cut off its head, and then deposit the living and writhing body in his brimless hat, and walk with it coiling and wreathing about his head, like another Medusa, till the sport of the day was over, and he carried it home to secure the fat. With all this iron stubbornness of nature, he was of a most mild and gentle demeanour, had a fine placidity of countenance, and a quick blue eye, beaming with good-humour. His face was sunburnt into one general pale vermilion hue that overspread all his features; his very hair was sunburnt too. His costume was generally a smock-frock of no doubtful complexion, dirt-coloured, which hung round him in tatters like fringe, rather augmenting than diminishing the freedom, and, if I may so say, the gallantry of his bearing. This frock was furnished with a huge inside pocket, in which to deposit the game killed by his patrons,—for of his three employments, that which consisted of finding hares for the great farmers and small gentry, who were wont to course on the common, was by far the most profitable and most pleasing to him, and to them. Every body liked Tom Cordery. He had himself an aptness to like, which is certain to be repaid in kind,—the very dogs knew him, and loved him, and would

beat for him almost as soon as for their master. Even May, the most sagacious of greyhounds, appreciated his talents, and would as soon hate to Tom so-hoing as to old Tray giving tongue.

Nor was his conversation less agreeable to the other part of the company. Servants and masters were equally desirous to secure Tom. Besides his general and professional familiarity with beasts and birds, their ways and doings, a knowledge so minute and accurate, that it might have put to shame many a professed naturalist, he had no small acquaintance with the goings-on of that unfeathered biped called Man; in short, he was, next after Lucy, who recognised his rivalry, by hating, decrying, and undervaluing him, by far the best news-gatherer of the country side. His news he of course picked up on the civilized side of the parish, (there is no gossiping in the forest,) partly at that well-frequented inn the Red Lion, of which Tom was a regular and noted supporter,—partly amongst his several employers, and partly by his own sagacity. In the matter of marriages, (pairings he was wont to call them,) he relied chiefly on his own skill in noting certain preliminary indications; and certainly for a guesser by profession and a very bold one, he was astonishingly often right. At the alehouse especially he was of the first authority. An air of mild importance, a diplomatic reserve on some points, great smoothness of speech, and that gentleness which is so often the result of conscious power, made him there an absolute ruler. Perhaps the effect of these causes might be a little aided by the latent dread which that power inspired in others. Many an exploit had proved that Tom Cordery's one arm was fairly worth any two on the common. The pommelling of Bob Arlott, and the levelling of Jem Serle to the earth by one swing of a huge old hare, (which unusual weapon was by the way the first-slain of Mayflower, on its way home to us in that walking cupboard, his pocket, when the unlucky rencontre with Jem Serle broke two heads, the dead and the living,) arguments such as these might have some cogency at the Red Lion.

But he managed every body, as your gentle-mannered person is apt to do. Even the rude squires and rough farmers, his temporary masters, he managed, particularly as far as concerned the beat, and was sure to bring them round to his own peculiar fancies or prejudices, however strongly their own wishes might turn them aside from the direction indicated, and however often Tom's sagacity in that instance might have been found at fault. Two spots in the large wild enclosures

into which the heath had been divided were his especial favourites; the Hundred Acres, alias the Poor Allotment, alias the Burnt-Common—(Do any, or all of these titles convey any notion of the real destination of that many-named place? a piece of moor-land portioned out to serve for fuel to the poor of the parish)—this was one. Oh, the barrenness of this miserable moor! Flat, marshy, dingy, bare. Here that piece of green treachery, a bog; there parched, and pared, and shrivelled, and black with smoke and ashes; utterly desolate and wretched every where, except where amidst the desolation blossomed, as in mockery, the enamelled gentianella. No hares ever came there; they had too much taste. Yet thither would Tom lead his unwary employers; thither, however warned, or cautioned, or experienced, would he, by reasoning or induction, or gentle persuasion, or actual fraud, entice the hapless gentlemen; and then to see him with his rabble of flinders pacing up and down this precious "sitting-ground," (for so was Tom, thriftless liar, wont to call it,) pretending to look for game, counterfeiting a mouse; forging a form; and telling a story some ten years old, of a famous hare once killed in that spot by his honour's favourite bitch Marygold. I never could thoroughly understand whether it were design, a fear that too many hares might be killed, or a real and honest mistake, a genuine prejudice in favour of the place, that influenced Tom Cordery in this point. Half the one, perhaps, and half the other. Mixed motives, let Pope and his disciples say what they will, are by far the commonest in this parti-coloured world. Or he had shared the fate of greater men, and lied till he believed—a coursing Cromwell, beginning in hypocrisy, and ending in fanaticism. Another pet spot was the Gallows-piece, an inclosure almost as large as the Hundred Acres, where a gibbet had once borne the bodies of two murderers, with the chains and bones, even in my remembrance, clanking and creaking in the wind. The gibbet was gone now; but the name remained, and the feeling, deep, sad, and shuddering. The place, too, was wild, awful, fearful; a heathy, furzy spot, sinking into broken hollows, where murderers might lurk; a few withered pines at the upper end, and amongst them, half hidden by the brambles, the stone in which the gallows had been fixed;—the bones, must have been mouldering beneath. All Tom's eloquence, seconded by two capital courses, failed to drag me thither a second time.

Tom was not, however, without that strong sense of natural beauty which they

who live amongst the wildnesses and fastnesses of nature so often exhibit. One spot, where the common trenches on the civilized world was scarcely less his admiration than mine. It is a high hill, half covered with furze, and heath, and broom, and sinking abruptly down to a large pond, almost a lake, covered with wild water-fowl. The ground, richly clothed with wood, oak, and beech, and elm, rises on the other side with equal abruptness, as if shutting in those glassy waters from all but the sky, which shines so brightly in their clear bosom: just in the bottom peeps a small sheltered farm, whose wreaths of light smoke, and the white glancing wings of the wild ducks, as they flit across the lake, are all that give token of motion or of life. I have stood there in utter oblivion of greyhound or of hare, till moments have swelled to minutes, and minutes to hours; and so has Tom, conveying, by his exclamations of delight at its "pleasantness," exactly the same feeling which a poet, or a painter (for it breathes the very spirit of calm and sunshiny beauty that a master-painter loves) would express by different but not truer praise. He called his own home "pleasant" too; and there, though one loves to hear any home so called—there, I must confess, that favourite phrase, which I like almost as well as they who have no other, did seem rather misapplied. And yet it was finely placed, very finely. It stood in a sort of defile, where a road, almost perpendicular, wound from the top of a steep abrupt hill, crowned with a tuft of old Scottish firs, into a dingle of fern, and wild brushwood. A shallow, sullen, stream oozed from the bank on one side, and, after forming a rude channel across the road, sank into a dark, deep pool, half hidden amongst the willows. Behind these willows, in a nook between them and the hill, rose the uncouth and shapeless cottage of Tom Cordery. It is a scene which hangs upon the eye and the memory, striking, grand, almost sublime, and above all, eminently foreign. No English painter would choose such a subject for an English landscape; no one in a picture would take it for English. It might pass for one of those scenes which have furnished models to *Salvator Rosa*. Tom's cottage was, however, very thoroughly national and characteristic; a low, ruinous hovel, the door of which was fastened with a sedulous attention to security, that contrasted strangely with the tattered thatch of the roof, and the half-broken windows. No garden, no pigsty, no pens for geese, none of the usual signs of cottage habitation:—yet the house was covered with

nondescript dwellings, and the walls were animate with their extraordinary tenants: pheasants, partridges, rabbits, tame wild ducks, half-tame hares, and their enemies by nature and education, the ferrets, terriers, and mongrels of whom his retinue consisted. Great ingenuity had been evinced in keeping separate these jarring elements; and by dint of hutchies, cages, fences, kennels, and half a dozen little hurdled enclosures, resembling the sort of courts which children are apt to build round their card-houses, peace was in general tolerably well preserved. Frequent sounds, however, of fear or of anger, as their several instincts were aroused, gave token that it was but a forced and hollow truce, and at such times the clamour was prodigious. Tom had the remarkable tenderness for animals when domesticated, which is so often found in those whose sole vocation seems to be their destruction in the field; and the one long, straggling, unceiled, barn-like room, which served for kitchen, bed-chamber, and hall, was cumbered with bipeds and quadrupeds of all kinds and descriptions—the sick, the delicate, the newly caught, the lying-in. In the midst of this menagerie sat Tom's wife, (for he was married, though without a family—married to a woman lame of a leg, as he himself was minus an arm,) now trying to quiet her noisy inmates, now to outscold them. How long his friend the keeper would have continued to wink at this den of live game none can say; the roof fairly fell in during the deep snow of last winter, killing, as poor Tom observed, two as fine litters of rabbits as ever were kitten-ed. Remotely, I have no doubt that he himself fell a sacrifice to this misadventure. The overser, to whom he applied to re-instate his beloved habitation, decided that the walls would never bear another roof, and removed him and his wife, as an especial favour, to a tidy, snug, comfortable room in the workhouse. The workhouse! From that hour poor Tom visibly altered. He lost his hilarity and independence. It was a change such as he had himself often inflicted, a complete change of habits, a transition from the wild to the tame. No labour was demanded of him; he went about as before, finding hares, killing rats, selling brooms, but the spirit of the man was departed. He talked of the quiet of his old abode, and the noise of the new; complained of children and other bad company; and looked down on his neighbours with the sort of contempt with which a cock pheasant might regard a barn-door fowl. Most of all did he, braced into a gipsy-like defiance of wet and cold, grumble at

one with cold and dryness of his apartment. He used to foretel that it would kill him, and assuredly it did so. Never could the typhus fever have found out that wild hill-side, or have lurked under that bro-

ken roof. The free touch of the air would have chased the demon. Alas, poor Tom! warmth, and singleness, and comfort, whole windows, and an entire ceiling, were the death of him. Alas, poor Tom!

ACCELERATION OF THE LONDON AND ABERDEEN MAIL.

Among the many improvements which have recently taken place in our public establishments, none have contributed more to the advantage of the commercial world than those on the mail-coach system, and we believe that system to be almost complete on the great line of road from London to Inverness.

By doing away with unnecessary stoppages, and travelling at a more rapid rate, Montrose, and the great district of country to the north, have, within these three years, gained two days in corresponding with London; one from, and another to it; and this, too, without materially abridging the business hours at any place, besides securing to most of the principal towns a morning delivery, and an evening dispatch of the same letters. Although the London letters are delivered in Edinburgh on the evening of their arrival, and may be replied to in cases of emergency, yet there is not sufficient time to transact business, either by procuring necessary information, or preparing orders; therefore the arrival of the north mail in the morning, instead of the afternoon, as formerly, is a great accommodation, because, in consequence, commissions, banking, law, and other departments of business, can be attended to, both for the south and north at the same time; and after having the whole day to prepare our correspondence, we are enabled to reply by the respective mails departing in the evening, or early next morning.

We understand that arrangements are making to accelerate the communication between Edinburgh, Manchester, Liverpool, &c. by which one day will also be gained in corresponding with these important places, and to obtain a morning delivery of the north letters in Glasgow. There are, however, several improvements on *bye-posts* which think worthy notice of the gentlemen at the

head of the Post-office department, which, if carried into effect, would be of considerable advantage, particularly to our friends in Fife. The table accompanying this exhibits the hours of arrival at the various towns on the north road, by which it will be observed, that the north mail reaches Perth in less than an hour after the coach from Edinburgh passes, so that a post established for the north of Fife, to depart from Perth about two o'clock in the morning, would reach Newburgh by four, Cupar by six, and St. Andrew's by eight, taking with it the letters for that district from the *south*, the *north*, and the *west*; leaving St. Andrew's about six P.M. it would return to Perth before twelve, in time for the coach from Edinburgh: the same plan might be adopted for the south coast, by departing for Kirkcaldy, &c. from the North Queensferry at five A.M., and returning there before eight P.M.; the same arrangement is equally applicable to the west, for Dunfermline, Alloa, &c. and from Dundee to and from Brechin; so that, besides conveying the letters by those bye-posts to and from all quarters *at once*, no time would be lost, as the communication will take place chiefly during the night.

Were these suggestions adopted, the system of mail-coach and bye-post arrangements would then be as complete and convenient as it appears to us to be possible to make them. Under the present arrangements, the two principal cities in the North, Edinburgh and Aberdeen, derive unquestionable benefit in the dispatch of business-matters. Instead of a delivery of letters from the North in the afternoon, as was formerly the case at Edinburgh, they now form one delivery with letters from England and the West of Scotland in the morning, while at Aberdeen, letters from the South were formerly delivered at the inconvenient hour for

business, four in the afternoon, and which, if not answered before eight in the evening, occasioned the loss of a day. These they are now delivered

betwixt ten and eleven A.M., allowing time for answering them until three in the afternoon.

Table of distances, and hours of departure and arrival of the Mail, at the different Towns, from Edinburgh to Inverness.

	Distance between each place.	Distance from Edin- burgh.	ours fro bug		Hours from Aberdeen.			
	Miles.	Miles.	H.	M.	P.M.	H.	M.	A.M.
From and at Edinburgh.....	—	—	7	—	P.M.	6	28	A.M.
North Queensferry....	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	8	35		4	53	
Kinross.....	16 $\frac{1}{4}$	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	25		3	8	
Perth.....	17	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	15	A.M.	1	8	
Dundee.....	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	66	2	40		10	36	P.M.
Athbroath.....	17	83	4	30		8	30	
Montrose.....	12 $\frac{3}{4}$	95 $\frac{3}{4}$	5	56		7	8	
Bervie.....	13	108 $\frac{1}{4}$	7	45		5	43	
Stonehaven.....	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	118 $\frac{1}{4}$	8	50		4	39	
Aberdeen.....	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	133 $\frac{1}{4}$	10	30		3	—	
In 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours.....	133 $\frac{1}{4}$							
		From Aberdeen					From Inverne	
From and at Aberdeen.....	—	—	11	30		2	—	P.M.
Old Meldrum.....	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	45	P.	11	40	A.M.
New Stables.....	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	32	3	25		9	54	
Banff.....	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	10		7	39	
Cullen.....	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	61	7	25		5	51	
Fochabers.....	13	74	9	—		4	13	
Elgin.....	9	83	10	15		3	5	
Forres.....	12	95	11	45		1	35	
Nairn.....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	105 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5	A.M.	12	15	
Inverness.....	17 $\frac{1}{4}$	123 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	20		10	—	P.M.
In 14 hours.....	123 $\frac{1}{4}$	Miles.						

Distance, London to Edinburgh.....	390	Miles.	16	H.
Edinburgh to Aberdeen.....	133 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	—
Aberdeen to Inverness.....	123 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	16	—
Stoppages at Edinburgh and Aberdeen.....		—	2	—

646 $\frac{1}{4}$. 79 $\frac{1}{4}$

Note.—The Coach has hitherto reached the respective intermediate stages, at the time specified in the above Table.

The public are not aware how much they are indebted for these late arrangements of acceleration in the mail system, (which may now almost be termed perfect,) to the labours of Mr James Chalmers, Bookseller in Dundee. The late John Palmer did, indeed, accomplish wonders in effecting all at once a maturity, but his services were remunerated, and deservedly so. After his labours, Mr Chalmers was left with fewer difficulties to encounter ;

yet it is but fair to mention, that, comparatively, he has been no less assiduous in the task of improvement which still remained to be effected, and that with no other object in view than public accommodation ; that he has spared no labour of calculation, of inquiry, suggestion, of procuring and of communicating information, from and throughout the whole range of the mail-system north of London ; and that his services, if not publicly acknowledged,

have been duly appreciated by those upon whom devolved the charge of adopting them *.

The transition to what follows may at first view appear somewhat abrupt, yet, gentle reader, consider that we are writing, and that thou art now reading upon the subject of travelling, and the aids of a bookseller; and that therefore the process to the case in point is somewhat more facile than thou mightest at first glance imagine. If thou hast any desire to visit Ireland, (the mail-coach system there is cheap and excellent,) now is the season for it; and lest we should not have another opportunity before the season has expired, we adopt the present, to recommend to thy special notice and guidance a work just published; called "*Pleasure Tours in Ireland.*" It is from the pen of a bookseller in our Modern Athens, and contains much useful and condensed information in regard to the scenery and the political anatomy of the sister kingdom, accompanied with an Itinerary; and it contains also a Dedication, which is all we can find space for extracting at present for thy perusal.

*To the Booksellers in the Kingdom
of Ireland.*

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE taken a great liberty in dedicating this Book to you. Dr Johnson, Gibbon the historian, and many others, said truly, that Booksellers were the true patrons of literature.

Our brethren in Paternoster-row say, that the trade can sell an edition of any book from this authority. I am sure you will be able to sell one impression of the *IRISH TOURS*, and then I hope the book will work its own way. You have been hitherto good patrons to my Atlases, and sold many thousands, for which I

most sincerely thank you. There is a saying, "Every trade has its secrets;" so have Booksellers; and all of us know what can be done by merely recommending books to our customers. You are the instruments by which the press-productions reach the public; and the press, in the hands of the good, is the most powerful instrument, and the greatest blessing:—under the influence of the bad, its effects are terrific and tremendous.

The Booksellers in Ireland have in their power the means of tranquilizing her, by sowing the seeds of virtue and happiness; or, on the other hand, the means of demoralizing her, and making her contemptible in the eyes of the world.

My brethren on this side of the water are generally men of education. In the small towns of Scotland, they generally fill the most respectable offices in the burgh, and are looked up to with much respect; from this, and the trade they carry on, arise the most beneficial advantages to the country.

This book, on the Beauties, Antiquities, Political Institutions, &c. &c. of Ireland, contains a variety of information, which can only be found in a number of volumes; and it is here arranged on a new and methodical principle, that the traveller may have before him a monitor of every thing interesting, as he passes along, on the right or left, or on the road on which he travels. That this book will be a saleable article, worth your recommending, and on all occasions a ready-money article, is the fervent wish of, Gentlemen,

Your faithful Servant,
and Brother in Trade,
JOHN THOMSON,
Bookseller.

* One hint here to Mr C. of an improvement which we wish he could carry into effect: it would no doubt tend alike to the gratification of Messrs Piper & Son, as well as to the accommodation of the public, and yet the want of it is to be found at his own doors:—It is to procure for the town of Dundee, what is to be specially met with in Arbroath,—namely, a Landlord, who, to the office of a civil and business-like mail-coach agent, or proprietor, shall unite the discipline of a comfortable and well-regulated inn.

PRISONS AND PRISON DISCIPLINE

THERE are certain great public abuses which still exist amidst all the civilization and humanity of the present age, the existence of which, although almost all deplore, yet very few exert themselves to procure their redress. Of such abuses the state of our prisons is a striking example. It is true, that there are many excellent men at the present time engaged in investigating these abuses, and in devising and suggesting remedial measures, as we shall immediately shew ; but the public at large, more particularly in this country, have not yet shewn that decided and hearty interest in their labours which they are well entitled to. This we believe to be partly owing to the circumstance, that the subject is not kept so constantly and vividly before the public eye as it should be. For ourselves, we hold that we shall ill discharge our vocation as periodical informers of the public mind, did we not, from time to time, bring the question before our readers. We are well aware, that it may produce weariness in some, and may provoke the scoff of others ; but it is one, in our opinion, so interesting in itself, and so deeply important to society, that we must crave the indulgence of our readers, while we endeavour to lay before them the progress that has been made in the great work of improving the discipline of prisons.

We mean to have an especial reference to Scotland ; but before coming to it, we think it will not be uninteresting to look a little into the history of this cause, and to observe what has been done and is doing among our enlightened neighbours in the South.

To punish criminals is certainly one great object of prison discipline ; but there is also another great object which should be combined with it, viz. to reform the criminal. We should not only punish him for his past transgression, but, what is of more importance, both to himself and to society, we should endeavour, by

wholesome, moral discipline, to take away from him the disposition to commit crime in future. *Parum est coercere improbos pœna nisi probos efficias disciplina*, was a sentence which Howard found inscribed upon a prison at Rome, and in which, as he says with much truth, " the grand purpose of all civil policy, with respect to criminals, is expressed." The first of the principles above mentioned has been in constant operation through all ages ; and the amount of suffering which, in consequence, has been heaped upon criminals, without any advantage to society, it would not be easy to compute. The second principle which regards prisons, as of a reformatory character, has only been recognised and acted upon in our own time.

If we examine the old prisons of this island, it will appear, that, in general, they were miserable dungeons—damp, dark, unventilated, unwholesome ; in which all distinctions of crime, of age, and of sex, were confounded—where the unhappy inmates spent their miserable days in idleness, vicious communication, and suffering. But even these evils were not all. Goals were, besides, very generally the abode of pestilent diseases ; which exposed all to the risk of much suffering, and which swept away many prisoners. A fatal distemper, known by the name of the gaol distemper, had, at different periods of our history, made frequent and dreadful ravages. About the middle of the sixteenth century an assize was held at Oxford, which was afterwards denominated, from its consequences, the " Black Assize ;" when the disease being introduced into Court, all who were present, consisting of the Judge, the Sheriff, and about three hundred persons, died within forty hours ; and Lord Bacon, in allusion to this event, observes, " that the most pernicious infection, next to the plague, is the smell of a gaol, where the prisoners have been long and closely kept, whereof we have had, in our time,

* Fifth and Sixth Reports of the Committee of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, &c. &c. London. 1823-24.

experience twice or thrice, when both the Judge that sat upon the Bench, and a number who attended the business, or were present, sickened upon it and died." Frequent occurrences of a like dreadful nature might be related; and even so lately as in the middle of last century, the goal fever was introduced into the Court at the Old Bailey, when the Judge presiding, and a considerable number present, fell victims to this fatal malady.

We should have thought that visitations so awful as these, would have irresistibly attracted the attention of the country, in order to provide against their possible recurrence. But it seems they did not. The Legislature was content with providing, upon emergent occasions, "safe places for the removal of the sick." Occasionally the dread secrets of the prison-house were revealed to the public eye, and a passing sympathy was excited. Moralists and speculative men likewise employed their pens in sketching its horrors: as Johnson has the following fine passage on the subject, which proves, that when his prejudices did not dim the light of his reason, or blunt his heart, no man felt more truly or keenly than that great moralist:—"I am afraid," says he, "that those who are best acquainted with the state of our prisons will confess that my conjecture is too near the truth, when I suppose that the corrosion of resentment, the heaviness of sorrow, the corruption of confined air, the want of exercise, and sometimes of food, the contagion of diseases from which there is no retreat, and the severity of tyrants, against whom there can be no resistance, and all the complicated horrors of a prison, put an end, every year, to the life of one in four of those that are shut up from the common comforts of human life." (Idler, No. 38.)

Many other fine passages might be selected from the writers of that age, upon the misery and misgovernment of prisons. But nothing was really done to amend them, until Howard made it the business of his life to investigate all the horrors of these abodes of pestilence and crime.

The manner in which that great man was first stirred up to embark in this interesting cause, is well worthy of relation. It should be told, for the admonition and encouragement of all Magistrates; the careless and indifferent—and such Magistrates may be in the island—will be admonished and awakened by it, when they see what a harvest of usefulness and glory was reaped by the steady and vigorous performance of magisterial duty: and good Magistrates will, by the same consideration, be moved to persevere and increase their exertions.

Howard was, in the year 1773, chosen Sheriff of Bedfordshire. In virtue of this office, the prison of the county was under his care and superintendence; being too conscientious to be satisfied, as most of his brother Sheriffs were, with discharging his important duties by deputy, he inspected the prison with his own eyes, and made himself minutely acquainted with the practices prevailing within it: he was soon convinced that grievous and intolerable abuses existed, and he tasked himself to procure their redress. He thus, with his characteristic modesty, states the commencement of his career †:

The distress of prisoners, of which there are few who have not some imperfect idea, came more immediately under my notice when I was Sheriff of the County of Bedford; and the circumstance which excited me to activity in their behalf, was the seeing some who, by the verdict of juries, were declared *not guilty*: some in whom the Grand Jury did not find such an appearance of guilt as subjected them to trial; and some whose prosecutors did not appear against them, after having been confined for months, dragged back to gaol, and locked up again till they should pay *sundry fees* to the gaoler, the Clerk of Assize, &c. In order to redress this hardship, I applied to the Justices of the County for a salary to the gaoler in lieu of his fees. The Bench were properly affected with the grievance, and willing to grant the relief desired, but they wanted a precedent for charging the county with the expence. I therefore rode into several neighbouring counties in search of a precedent, but I soon learned that the same injustice was practised in them; and looking into the

* 19 Charles, II., c. 4. p. 2.

† Preface to Remarks on the State of Prisons.

prisons, I beheld scenes of calamities which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate.

Having thus entered upon this unfrequented path of usefulness, Howard was indefatigable in his exertions to discover and to remedy the evils of prisons. At this time of day we can scarcely form an idea of the dangers to which he was at that time exposed, from the diseases that reigned in most prisons. He states, that few gaolers would run the risk of infection, by accompanying him into the cells: that in his first journey, the leaves of his memorandum-book were so tainted as to be unfit for use: that the vinegar which he carried with him as a preservation against infection soon lost its properties; and that during these visits, his clothes became so offensive as to prevent him from travelling in a close carriage. In these dangerous labours, this extraordinary man persevered till he fell a martyr to philanthropy, in a remote country, having died of an infectious fever, as every body knows, at Cherson in Russia.

He had not, however, laboured in vain. By his publications he brought these dreadful abuses into light; and though all was not done that ought to have been done, steps were taken, by ventilation and otherwise, which gradually extirpated the gaol distemper; so that, for a long time, it has been unknown in this country. Little, however, was done to correct the other evils connected with the state of our prisons, resulting from the want of all moral discipline for the prisoners. For some years after Howard's death, the subject was lost sight of, till Neild, following in his footsteps, again drew, and fixed upon it, the public attention.

Indeed the rapid increase of crime throughout the kingdom excited an anxious enquiry into the cause of it; and it was apparent that the state of prisons was one of the strongest. Instead of diminishing crime, they increased it. They were schools of vice, instead of being what they should be—houses of reformation. We are afraid that they are still too much of this character. But before the late improvements in prison discipline, almost universally there

was no classification of offenders, according to their crimes and characters; no regular and salutary employment, scarcely any religious instruction or proper inspection by the governors and keepers of prisons; from which causes, no criminal nor suspected person could be committed to gaol without coming out a worse man than he entered it: whereas the true effect of imprisonment, with a proper system of discipline, ought to be to inspire the criminal with a dread of imprisonment, but, at the same time, a desire should be excited in him after virtuous and industrious habits. These evils now alluded to were observed, and forcibly pointed out by Howard. "I make no scruple to affirm," says he, "that if it were the aim and wish of Magistrates to effect the destruction, present and future, of young delinquents, they could not desire a more effectual method than to confine them in our prisons." But it was reserved for the present age to attempt reformation in good earnest.

Our readers will remember the interesting labours of Mrs Fry, and other benevolent ladies, in Newgate, and the happy and beneficial results of these labours. The success that attended them surprised even the most sanguine advocates for reform. The publications of Buxton and Gurney, on the state of prisons, were also of great use to the question. At last, the "Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, and the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders," was formed, and it has now, for several years, pursued its useful labours, during which time greater progress has been made than could almost have been anticipated. They have collected a great body of information on the state of prisons throughout the empire, which, in their various Reports, they have communicated to the public, along with their suggestions for the improvement both of the law and of prisons; they have spared no pains to get the most perfect models of prisons, and freely corresponded with all Magistrates, and others, who desired information on the subject; and, in short, their labours have tended to advance the question to a great extent.

When it is considered what illus-

trious and excellent men compose the Society, it is not, perhaps, to be wondered at, that the cause has made progress by their exertions; for many of the ablest and most patriotic men in the empire are the zealous supporters of the Society. But the most valuable fruit that has yet resulted from their labours is the Legislative enactment which they were instrumental in procuring on the subject. This is the prison-act of the 4 Geo. 4., which has moulded into the law of the land many of the suggestions that the advocates of prison discipline have been long offering on the subject, as to the necessity of classification, separation, employment, and religious instruction. All these objects are recognised and provided for by this important Statute. It is necessary to observe, however, that it is limited to England, and that in consequence of the difficulty of applying it to district and local prisons, it extends to the county prisons only, together with those of a number of large cities which are enumerated in the Act, such as London, Westminster, Bristol, Canterbury, Liverpool, York, Newcastle, Portsmouth, &c. &c. It is perhaps to be regretted that its operation was not made universal, under certain modifications, and that the principles of it were not extended to Scotland; but it is impossible not to feel that this is a most important improvement, for which Parliament are entitled to the gratitude of the country. Indeed it is a most hopeful thing for this question, that Government have manifested the greatest cordiality and interest in carrying into effect every feasible improvement that can be suggested. The Society, in their Reports, bear repeated testimony to this disposition upon the part of Administration, and also on the part of the Magistrates in general throughout the country.

The preamble of the Act contains an abstract of almost all the principles that go to form a perfect system of prison discipline. It declares, "that it is expedient that such measures

should be adopted, and such arrangements made in prison discipline, as shall not only provide for the safe custody, but shall also tend more effectually to preserve the health and improve the morals of the prisoners, and shall insure the proper measure of punishment to convicted offenders: and that due classification, inspection, regular labour and employment, and religious and moral instruction, are essential to the discipline of a prison, and the reformation of offenders." (4 Geo. 4., c. 64.)

At the risk of even being tedious, we must give some of the regulations of this Act. Due provision is to be made in prisons for the employment of the prisoners. Male and female prisoners are to be confined in separate buildings, or parts of the prison, so as to prevent them seeing, conversing, or holding any intercourse with each other; and the prisoners are to be divided into distinct classes, care being taken that the prisoners of the following classes do not intermix with each other:

In gaols—*1st*, Debtors, and persons confined for contempt of court in civil process. *2d*, Prisoners convicted of felony. *3d*, Prisoners convicted of misdemeanours. *4th*, Prisoners committed on charge or suspicion of felony. *5th*, Prisoners committed on charge or suspicion of misdemeanours, or want of sureties*.

In houses of correction, a somewhat similar classification is to take place.

Female prisoners are, in all cases, to be attended by female officers.

A matron is to be appointed in every prison in which female prisoners shall be confined, who shall reside in the prison, and whose duty it shall be constantly to superintend the female prisoners.

Prayers are to be read at least every morning, and also portions of the Scripture to the prisoners when assembled for instruction.

Provision is to be made for the instruction of prisoners of both sexes in reading and writing.

No prisoner is to be put in irons

* This system of classification has been somewhat altered by a later Statute: particularly, female prisoners have been divided into fewer classes,—a circumstance which the committee regret. But one gratifying circumstance is, that a system of classification is prescribed and enforced by law.

by the keeper of any prison, except in case of urgent and absolute necessity.

Every prisoner is to be provided with suitable bedding, and every male prisoner with a distinct bed, hammock, or cot, in a separate cell, if possible.

In altering, repairing, or rebuilding any gaol, or house of correction, under this Act, such plans shall be adopted as shall afford the most effectual means for the security, classification, health, inspection, employment, and religious and moral instruction of the prisoners.

If the principles embraced by this excellent Statute, and the regulations prescribed by it, were universally and efficiently acted upon, the condition of prisons would rapidly be improved: they would, in fact, be rendered, what they ought to be, schools of reformation, instead of nurseries of crime. But, as already mentioned, the operation of this Statute is confined to county gaols, and a few city and borough gaols, where the prisons were of an extent sufficient to admit of its regulations being carried into effect. By this means, the prisons of local jurisdictions have been excluded from the sphere of its operation, and these are a description of prisons which most imperiously demand improvement.

It appears, by a statement which is printed by the Society in the Appendix to their Report, that there are in England 170 boroughs, cities, towns, and liberties, which possess the power of trying criminals for various offences. To these places, prisons are generally attached for the confinement of criminals. In England alone there are about 140 of these prisons, and it has been ascertained, that about 8000 persons pass through them in the course of a year. The state of discipline in these prisons is of the most shocking and corrupting description. In several, there is no effectual separation of the sexes: in some, the keeper does not even reside; in others, the insecurity of the building renders it necessary that irons should be used, and other cruel, illegal, and unwarrantable means of detention adopted for security. In the greater part of them the sick are not separated from others. The con-

sequence of these defects is, says the Report, that these gaols are so many establishments for the encouragement and growth of crime. There is no employment, no reflection, no moral nor religious instruction.

Various instances of this description are given, which proves that the description now given is not overcharged. We shall select one or two. It is truly distressing to think that such nuisances should exist; and when it is considered what destructive effects are produced by confinement in the midst of these moral pestilences, we are sure all must feel anxious to have them remedied.

In a prison of this description there is but one yard, where prisoners of every kind, males and females, felons and debtors, take their daily air and exercise. Attached to it is a small room, in which the male and female felons pass their days: this room is under ground, and it is necessary to descend to it by a ladder of ten steps. There are four sleeping cells, which are those only for male felons. By means of a candle, the interior of these cells can be seen; they are in length seven feet by four and a half, and nine and a half high. Sometimes three prisoners are placed in each cell: the whole of the floor is under ground. There is but one sleeping cell for the female felons opening from the day-room, and which is two steps lower under ground. There is no chaplain, nor is any religious service performed. All the male felons are ironed. The non-separation of the sexes is a very disgraceful feature in the state of this gaol. As the Sessions only take place in this town twice in the year, a female committed for trial may remain here for nearly six months, compelled to associate, day after day, with persons of both sexes of the most abandoned description, and eventually she may be acquitted.

5th Report, p. 27.

Another instance, still more revolting, is given as existing in the very heart of the metropolis, viz. the Bridewell in Tothill-fields.

There exists a prison in the metropolis, under local jurisdiction, to which a variety of offenders were annually committed. The first yard, on entering, is for felons, tried and untried, boys and men. It is bounded by an open iron railing; contiguous to which is the narrow airing space of the infirmary, which is separated on the other side of the vagrants' yard by open iron-work. Thus the sick

communicate with the felons on one side, and the vagrants on the other. There is also another division, for debtors; but the separation of all the prisoners is so imperfect, that the criminals, both male and female, as well as the debtors, have to pass through the felons' yard, which is generally crowded, and which leads also to the female department. Into this yard also the visitors to the women are admitted. The mother, confined, perhaps, for a debt of a few shillings, or for some trifling offence, here receives the visits of her daughter; and at the same time, and under similar circumstances, the most abandoned descriptions of female prisoners receive their acquaintances; all alike surrounded by and exposed to the gaze and insult of some of the most depraved characters in the metropolis: thus, an intercourse, fraught with the most injurious consequences, is constantly maintained within the walls of a public establishment, designed by law for the prevention of crime and the correction of offenders. There were not long since, in the felons' yard, twenty-four boys, under seventeen years of age, in close association with hardened and experienced offenders. All the prisoners were unemployed, and their only amusement seemed to be the destructive one of mutual corruption.

We shall inflict upon our readers the pain of reading only one more instance of this most deplorable state of things.

In the prison of a large and opulent manufacturing city there is but one yard, in which the male and female, the untried and convicted criminals, and debtors, must associate, or be deprived of the benefit of air and exercise. Under the yard are four dungeon cells, precisely in the same condition as when visited and described by Howard and Neld. These dungeons, which are descended by a flight of thirteen steps, form the sleeping places for all the criminals. They have no air nor light, but what is admitted by a small aperture between the surface of the yard and the pavement above the vault. These cells are generally crowded to excess, and it is difficult to conceive in what position the great number of persons, who are said to be occasionally confined in them, can be placed. At a late visit, the whole prison was exceedingly close and offensive. One felon was heavily ironed, in consequence of desperate conduct; the clanking of his chains, and his blasphemous imprecations, were audible throughout the gaol. With this

man all the other criminals were in close contact; some listening with eager curiosity to the recital of his exploits, while others were gambling with stupid indifference. Over the men's day-room is an apartment for the women, who are locked up, to prevent a closer association with the men, and consequently lose the advantage of air and exercise. There was not long since in confinement, in this wretched place, a debtor, by profession a solicitor, whose father had formerly been a magistrate of the borough. There is no chaplain, no instruction, nor is any employment provided. The sick are not confined in a separate apartment. There were lately forty-three criminals in confinement: thirty awaited their trial, of whom fourteen were under twenty years of age. The borough has the power of trying capital

These are certainly very distressing pictures. It is to be lamented that such prisons should be permitted to exist in such numbers as they do. It were much better to have all the smaller prisons of a county included in one large one, to which all the regulations of the Act could be applied, with the exception of having such district prisons as might be necessary for extensive counties. But a good many difficulties are experienced in legislating for these local prisons. They are held by ch

and established usage, and it requires time and reason to overcome the prejudices which the Borough Magistrates entertain against having their prisons taken from under their administration. We should think they would be well pleased to be rid of them—to be freed both from the liability attached to the prisons, from the reproaches which their exposure to them to.

h tenderness is shewn, not only to these ancient appendages of boroughs, but to many other things connected with this subject, which can plead nothing but antiquity in their favour. Though nothing has yet been done farther than giving the local Magistrates a power to contract with the counties, which facilities are effected for conveying prisoners from these local prisons to the county one; yet government seem determined, if the former shall not take example from their neighbours, and reform, that

they will be compelled to do so. Mr Peel stated in his place in the House of Commons, as a reason for not *immediately* legislating for these local prisons:—"It is not that I am insensible of the lamentable and disgraceful situation in which many of them are, but I indulge the hope that many of them will contract with the counties; that many of them will build new gaols; and that when, in a year or two, we come to examine their situation, we shall find but few which have not in one or other of these ways removed the grievance of which such just complaint is made. When that time arrives, if I find that there are local gaols in which classification and employment are neglected, I shall not hesitate to ask Parliament for powers to compel them to make the necessary alterations; for it is not to be endured that these local jurisdictions should remain in the deplorable situation in which many of them now are."

We need not add, that these observations and descriptions apply entirely to England. Scottish prisons in general, indeed, too closely resemble the local prisons of England; but we shall enter fully upon that part of the subject ere long.

These descriptions prove how much remains yet to be done in this great business; many other prisons are noticed in the Reports which are almost as bad as those now described. We are glad, however, to turn to the more cheering and agreeable prospects which are afforded in the Report of the spirit of improvement, which is now actively abroad, and proofs of its existence are to be found in every quarter of the country.

It is unnecessary to say how very instrumental the London Society has been, both in raising and in keeping alive this regenerating spirit. No doubt, the general humanity of the age tends to foster it, but the exertions of the Society have been mainly instrumental in bringing it to life. Their Reports, published from time to time, and which now amount to six in number, have been of invaluable service to the cause. These Reports are drawn up with great ability, and all the principles involved in the

science of prison discipline are discussed in them with much energy and acuteness, while powerful and eloquent appeals are made to the hearts and understandings of mankind, to bestir themselves, and to be up and doing. We would strongly recommend a perusal of the Reports to all who take an interest in the improvement of prisons, as being the best calculated, both to excite their feelings, and inform their minds upon the question. We have lying before us the *fifth* and the *sixth*, and we shall lay before our readers an account of the improvements which they state to be in progress, both in this country and abroad, together with some of their suggestions for the improvement of our institutions.

It is gratifying to find that there is scarcely a county in England in which some improvements are not carrying on in some of its gaols. They are either pulling down the old ones and erecting new, or making such additions and alterations as will adapt them for the classification, employment, and improvement of their inmates; and the progress that has been made is astonishing. We shall quote from the Report a few statements to this effect, taken at random out of a great number.

It is gratifying to find that the county gaol at Reading, the defective state of which has been described in the former Reports of the Society, has undergone considerable amendment. An excellent code of rules has been adopted for its government. Four tread-wheels have been erected in separate rooms.

Various improvements are making in the interior of the county gaol at Aylesbury, in order to provide additional means of classification. When these alterations are completed, there will be *ten classes*. It is also intended to provide a separate sleeping cell for each prisoner. The boys attend a school. Prayers are read daily.

The county gaol at Chester is in excellent order. The greater part of the articles of clothing and bedding are manufactured by the prisoners, who are employed at a great variety of occupations. There are about seventeen looms for calico weaving in its various branches. The interior of the building is illuminated at night by gas, a measure which must greatly tend to discourage attempts to escape. Divine service is performed here three times in the week. The boys

are instructed in reading. A separate male and female infirmary are much wanted. Considerable improvements are in progress in the city-gaol of Chester, *by which the classification will be extended to ten departments.* A tread-mill is about to be erected. The recent alterations in this prison reflect high credit on the active magistracy of this city.

The new prison at Derby is expected soon to be occupied. Great attention has been paid to the principles of its construction, and it will probably be one of the most complete in the country. The design comprehends departments for about twenty classes, whose work-rooms, as well as day-rooms and yards, will be subject to perfect inspection from the governor's residence. In the present gaol, the regulations prescribed by the Gaol Act have been enforced as far as was practicable.

In the county gaol and house of correction at Dorchester, the prisoners are divided into thirteen classes. Such as are sentenced to hard labour work in the tread wheels. The women cook and wash for the service of the prison. The amount of the earnings in the last year was £.487.

New regulations have been made for the government of the county gaol at Durham. *The introduction of the tread-wheel is stated to have considerably reduced the number of misdemeanants usually in confinement.*

In the extensive county gaol at Maidstone the tread-mill is now in full operation. An entire division has been made of the largest yards and wards, by which a farther separation has been effected. Enlargements have also been made in the female prison. The chief manufacture is sacking. The prisoners work at the tread-mill on eight wheels. The produce of the manufactory amounted in the last year to £.1663.

The Committee in the last Report described some of the alterations going forward at the castle gaol at Lancaster. These enlargements are now completed. Females are never placed at the tread-wheel; but those sentenced to hard labour are employed at hand-mills in their respective working cells, under the inspection of the matron. The earnings in the last year amounted to £.800. The state of this prison is highly creditable to those who are concerned in its management, and reflects great honour on the county.

The county house of correction at Preston is undergoing extensive alterations. The earnings last year amounted to £.1090.

The enlargement of the New Bailey at Manchester is completed. All the prison-

ers who are capable are engaged in some kind of labour. Weaving, hatting, shoe-making, and tailoring, are carried on. The earnings in one year were £.3,362.

At the county prison at Kirkdale there are no less than 140 looms for the manufacture of calico. There are also ten separate tread-wheels. A Committee of ladies visit the gaol, and the handsome manner in which their labours are patronized by the Magistrates, reflects on all parties great honour. The earnings in the last year amounted to £.962.

At Leicester, improvements are also going on. Last year's profits amounted to £.243. At Oxford Castle there are two mills for grinding corn. Occupation is also found in repairing and cleaning the prison, and in making shoes and cloathing. The earnings are estimated at £.406 per annum.

It is unnecessary to multiply instances; these few, selected out of a great many contained in the Reports, and still more in their Appendix, show what rapid progress is making in the way of improvement. We know not a more effectual way of accelerating it, than by using every means of making these cheering circumstances public, in order, if possible, to excite the spirit of improvement in places where it has not yet been brought into action. It will be seen, that the earnings in several of these prisons amounted to a very considerable sum. At Manchester, £.3363; at Preston, £.1090; at Lancaster, £.800; and in others, just in proportion as the system of discipline is improved or not. In looking at these sums, while we cannot but feel sensible that in the production of them we have been doing all that is in our power to form habits of industry and virtue among the prisoners, and to preserve them from the contamination of idleness and mutual corruption, there is another consideration, which ought not to be omitted, and which may have its weight upon those who unfortunately may be insensible to the other—and it is this—that the expense of maintaining prisoners must be much diminished to the public by the working system.

It might be expected that there would be exceptions to this general desire of improvement, and the Report points out some. The following is one:

At a period when the spirit of prison improvement prevails so widely among the county magistrates throughout the kingdom, it is painful to be obliged to point out any exception to this gratifying fact. But the extraordinary indifference with which the state of the county prison at Exeter appears to be regarded, year after year, renders the exposure of its defects an imperative duty. In this prison there are but two divisions, one for the males, and the other for the females. To the division of the men are appropriated two wards, each having a day-room, a court-yard, and several cells on the same floor. The cells were originally intended for dormitories; but they are used during the day to mess in, and are generally in a filthy condition. In one ward, the greater proportion usually consists of capital convicts, or transports in double irons. In the other, are prisoners of almost every description to be met with in a county prison, viz. the untried; those sentenced to various terms of confinement, from three months to five years; and others under sentence of death;—all in entire idleness, uninspected, and generally engaged in corrupting each other. There have been as many as 120 men in confinement at one time. Not long since, four lunatics were committed, as dangerous to be at large. There is a lunatic asylum at Exeter. Persons committed for trial, on charges of felony, are ironed; the weight of their fetters being from 7lbs. to 9lbs. Plans have been under the consideration of the Magistrates for the enlargement of this prison, as also of the house of correction; but it appears that their execution is delayed on the ground of expense. In the mean time, the evils resulting from the neglect of prison discipline are conspicuous. Re-commitments are frequent. The number of juvenile offenders has greatly increased. Many instances are known, of boys and girls having passed but a few months in this prison for slight offences, who have returned into confinement for heavy crimes.

The introduction of the tread-mill has tended much to improve prison discipline. Many benevolent and well-intentioned persons have objected to the use of this method of employing prisoners, and a good deal of controversy has taken place upon the subject. But the objections are really of little weight. The tread-mill has been objected to as unhealthy, but that has been proved not to be the fact. Certificates from several of the most eminent medical men in Eng-

land are to be found in the Appendix, which prove that in their opinion it has no such character, and what is of more importance, the condition of the prisoners themselves, who are employed in the tread-mill, proves that there is nothing unhealthy in the exercise. It is also objected to as severe, but that is its great recommendation. It is severe without being injurious; it is calculated to inspire a criminal with dread, and an aversion to return into a prison where such labour awaits him. His sentiment on quitting confinement, where he has been subjected to the discipline of the tread-mill, is, "I will never come here again." And this fact is proved by this, that the same prisoner is rarely re-committed after being placed on the tread-mill. That was a matter of constant occurrence formerly, and is so still in prisons where the lax and easy discipline of former times is still in use; but it is now, wherever tread-mills are used, a matter of rare occurrence.

Much difference of opinion also prevails on the question whether women ought to be placed upon the tread-mill. We are very much inclined to acquiesce in the sentiments expressed in the Report.

The practice of employing females at the tread-wheel is, in the opinion of many benevolent persons, in no case justifiable. In this sentiment the Committee do not concur. Upon hardened offenders committed to houses of correction—such as the law has truly designated idle and disorderly—the labour is productive of excellent effects, and if superintended by a careful matron, may be safely administered; but the general employment of females at the tread-wheel is liable to serious objections; and as there are, even in the absence of prison trades, other kinds of labour to be found for women in a gaol, that are congenial to the habits of their sex, the practice of thus employing this class of offenders is not justified by necessity.

But there is an abuse connected with the tread-mill which ought instantly to be corrected, and that is, the great inequality of labour imposed upon criminals placed upon it in different places. In some situations the labour is so light as scarcely to be a punishment, whilst in others

it is so heavy as to amount to severe oppression. Thus in Bedford county gaol, the amount of summer labour is 7850 feet, and of winter labour 6950,—whereas, in Warwick county gaol the amount is, for summer 17,000 feet, and for winter 9500. In Lancaster the summer labour is 6550 feet, and the winter labour 4600; and in Lincoln, Boston, gaol, the summer labour is 14,200 feet, and the winter 7900. Now these disproportions are excessive and unjust. A man may be committed to one of these prisons, and another for an exactly similar offence to another of them, and both, by the sentence of the judge, are doomed to the same punishment, but, owing to the difference in the state of prison labour, the one criminal actually suffers a punishment twice as severe as the other. If such an abuse did not admit of a remedy, we should certainly say that it were better not to use the tread-mill at all, than to subject prisoners to a punishment so various in its severity, according to the system pursued by the governors of different jails. It is evident that in some instances, and when the prisoners are of weakly constitutions, the labour must be insupportable; but owing to the ingenious contrivances of different mechanics, the punishment of the tread-mill may be applied with the most perfect uniformity and the nicest adaptation to each individual's strength and capacity; and in order to accomplish this, the Report suggests the following rules:—

1. Every tread-mill should be provided with a regulator, by which its rate of revolution may at all times be restrained within safe limits.
2. To the tread-mill should also be affixed a dial register, on reference to which, the rate of labour may at any time be accurately ascertained.
3. The daily rate of labour should in no case exceed 12,000 in ascent.
4. Care should be taken to apportion the diet to the degree of labour enforced.

We are glad to find that the ladies who have for several years been so assiduous in their endeavours to reclaim those unhappy individuals of their own sex who are confined in Newgate, have not yet wearied in well-doing. The following is the statement of their operations, and of

the progress of similar benevolent labours throughout the country:

The Ladies' Committee who have devoted themselves to the care of the female department in Newgate, continue their labours with an assiduity worthy of their high character, and of the distinguished cause in which they are engaged. The benefit resulting from their unwearied exertions has been more permanent and extensive than could possibly have been anticipated, from the absence of proper classification, and the confined limits of this badly-constructed prison. Wisely availing themselves of the public interest, which their plans could not fail to excite, they have established a Society for the encouragement and formation of Committees similar to their own, in the principal gaol-towns throughout the kingdom; and it is really delightful to trace the progress of good feeling in the number of such associations that are now in operation, and conducted with that unostentatious, yet ardent kindness, which is so beautifully characteristic of female benevolence. In some places, where associations could not be formed, very beneficial effects have been produced by the exertions of ladies who have alone, and unsupported, engaged in the arduous work of visiting female prisoners. A more striking instance of the consequence of such individual labours will not be required, than the fact, that at one prison, visited by a lady of high respectability, six young women, who had abandoned their homes to live in habits of profligacy, were restored to their respective families, and have since afforded the most satisfactory proofs of reformation. In a borough gaol of the worst description, where even the separation of the sexes was not complete, a female visitor has for about six years been engaged in the instruction of the criminal of her sex. At this prison, the number of commitments has been so greatly diminished, since the attendance of this amiable person, that at the Assizes the thanks of the Corporation were publicly expressed to her by the Recorder.

Great importance is attached, and with much reason, to the clause of the Gaol Act, which requires that female prisoners should be placed under the care of female officers. Too much stress cannot be laid upon this provision, and it cannot be too rigidly and universally observed. The duties of a matron of a prison are of the most important nature, and when discharged in a spirit of kindness and interest in the unfortunate objects of

her care, it is not easy to estimate the good that may result from them. An animating picture of these duties is given in the Report.

There are various suggestions contained in it which we are compelled now to pass hastily over. The imprisoning lunatics in common jails is much complained of, and certainly it is a shocking grievance. But we can afford room only to notice two suggestions of very great importance.

The first is, that bail ought to be taken in many more instances than it is at present. In all cases, excepting the more serious offences, the magistrates possess a discretionary power of enlarging a committed prisoner upon bail; and it is right that it should be so. The object of imprisonment before trial, is to ensure the accused person's appearance in court, to answer the charges against him—it is merely for safe custody: but if his appearance can be secured by bail or sureties, without the necessity of imprisonment, it should be adopted to as large an extent as possible. No man ought to be exposed to the corruption and depravation of a gaol, in their present defective state of discipline, without an absolute necessity. And what should strongly enforce the propriety of taking bail as frequently as possible, is, that before trial, it is doubtful whether a man be guilty or not; and how often are accused persons acquitted, after enduring even a long imprisonment! which is a presumption that they ought not to have been imprisoned at all. In these cases, it is very possible that a man, on entering the gaol, was merely suspected, but from his association with criminals there, he will come out a confirmed criminal.

The second suggestion made by the Society is directed to the redress of a grievance that has been long and loudly complained of: that is, that there should be a more frequent gaol-delivery. In almost any other country except England, the mere mention of this would procure its redress, for the system at present pursued is not governed by any just principle, and it is productive of the greatest injustice and oppression, in a countless multitude of instances. In Lon-

don, the Sessions are held every six weeks; while in counties where a gaol-delivery occurs but twice in the year, a prisoner may await his trial from October to March. From papers which have been laid before Parliament, it appears, that throughout England and Wales, not mentioning Middlesex, one-sixth of the prisoners had suffered confinement from six to eight months, and nearly the half from three to six months, before it was known whether they were guilty, or whether their offences, even if proved, merited such a length of confinement. But the matter is still worse in those cities and towns where only one Assize is held in the year. Thus, in the city of Norwich, there were, on the 25th May 1821, in the gaol, seventeen persons; of these, three had been in confinement above nine months; two, ten; five, eleven; and four, twelve months. It is worthy of remark, that the individual who had been longest imprisoned was a youth of sixteen, who was committed on a charge of running away with a hat: many of these prisoners are acquitted after an imprisonment of nine, ten, and even twelve months. Surely this is a state of things that ought not to be permitted to exist. It is disgraceful to the administration of the law—it is ruinous, unjust, and oppressive to the prisoners, and to the country at large—it is productive of the greatest evils, by fostering and encouraging the growth of crime.

The times for holding the Assizes were fixed long ago, in dark and superstitious times, and when the business of the county was trifling in amount. When the Judges were unoccupied with their sittings at Westminster Hall, they went the Circuits during the vacation and fasts; and for centuries the same practice has been continued. The system has no other recommendation than that it is old, and the English people adhere to it with the greatest pertinacity, even though they are not insensible to the evils resulting from the practice. To adapt the labours of the Judges to the present condition of society, and to the amount of crime, so that punishment may in all cases speedily overtake crime, or innocence be cleared from suspicion, is a mat-

ter that requires immediate attention. We have no doubt that Parliament could easily devise a remedy, were they to set about the enquiry seriously.

Whether (says the Report) that object be best attainable by an increase of the number of Judges, by the issuing of an additional commission to eminent practitioners below the bench, or by the appointment in every county of a chairman of the quarter-sessions, distinguished by professional learning, before whom offences might be tried, are questions which the Committee submit to those authorities who can best determine on the subject; but the improved condition of society peremptorily demands that some alteration should take place, in order that our courts should be as conspicuous for the speedy, as they are for the upright administration of justice.

Were the two suggestions now mentioned properly attended to, and even these improvements, which are so necessary, effected, great good would result from them. Many prisoners who now lie for months in prison, exposed to all its corrupting influences, would never be imprisoned at all; and all prisoners and accused persons would have their fate determined more immediately after the commission of the offence, and when punishment would operate with more effect. There is no excuse for not doing something immediately. Such abuses are unworthy of a country which boasts of wise and enlightened institutions, and no other objects should be permitted to interfere with an immediate reform, for there are no other objects more necessary and important. But, in the meantime, while prisons continue so defective as they are, and when the period of imprisonment may endure so long before trial, which may and often does terminate in an acquittal, every considerate magistrate ought to be extremely cautious about committing. We fear these gentlemen seldom reflect upon the responsibility that lies upon them, if, by inconsiderately and unnecessarily committing a young offender to prison, they are the cause of his future misery and ruin: to us it appears that the responsibility is most weighty and solemn, and may well make a thinking man pause, and prevent that precipitation and

impatience of interruption and trouble with which many Magistrates, in other respects estimable men, frequently act.

The great object of all prison discipline, and the scope of all improvements suggested, must be to diminish the amount of crime; and it is gratifying, that even, imperfect as many of our institutions are, and defective as most prisons still continue, we are able to say, that crime is certainly decreasing in the country. The contrary opinion is often and confidently asserted, but it is not founded on fact. If official returns laid before Parliament, it appears that the number of offenders was considerably augmented from the year 1816 to the year 1819; but this increase was only proportionate to what might have been anticipated from the numbers who were thrown out of employment in consequence of the peace. In 1819, however, the progress of crime attained its height, and since that time the number of persons committed for trial has been gradually diminishing in some districts, indeed in a much greater proportion than was its previous increase. In London and Middlesex the number convicted in 1823 is not only less than in any of the preceding six years, but is about on a par with 1816, before the increase began. The number of committals in England and Wales in 1819 was 11,254; in 1823 it was only 12,263. Of convictions in the former year, 9510, and in the latter, 8204; but, what is the most gratifying circumstance, is, that in 1819, the number sentenced to death was 1314, and executed 108, while in 1823 the numbers were diminished in a great degree;—there were sentenced 968, and executed 55,—till a very large number, no doubt; but the diminution is nearly one half in the numbers executed at the one period and at the other. It is not unreasonable to infer from these, and various other circumstances, that the amount of crime is diminishing; a fact that cannot be too generally known; as affording, as the Report says, “encouragement and animation to the friends of human improvement.”

In Ireland, the abuses of prisons had risen to a very great height.

Prisons generally were under the worst management, and so improperly constructed, as to admit of no classification, or employment, or instruction; but, like the English local prisons and bridewells, the Irish bridewells, which are extremely numerous, are, in a particular manner, faulty and shocking.

The Honourable Member for Limerick thus describes their state when he was examined before the House of Lords in 1819: "The most prolific source of suffering in the prison discipline of Ireland may be traced to the county bridewells: they are wretched places of confinement, one of which is to be found in each town and village,—built at the public charge,—repaired and supported by the public at a very heavy expense. In a miserable building, prisoners are confined for days and weeks without yards for exercise,—without inspection,—care of health or morals,—men and women are thrown together in cold cells without bedding,—in damp clay floors,—no chaplain attends,—no surgeon or physician is appointed,—no regular supply of food is provided,—all is fraud, oppression, and misery." The Inspectors General, after a minute and extensive investigation into these prisons, state, "To the accuracy of this melancholy statement we are sorry to be able to bear our testimony."

It was impossible that these abuses could be brought to light without some attempt being made to redress them. Government, therefore, in the year 1822, appointed two gentlemen as Inspectors General of the prisons in Ireland, with instructions to visit and report upon the present state of prisons, and to suggest improvements. The gentlemen selected to these most important offices were Majors Palmer and Woodward; they have entered upon their duties, and published two reports; and it is just to these active and intelligent men to say, that they are worthy of the trust reposed in them. Their reports are full of excellent and humane observations, enlightened views, and sensible and judicious suggestions.

They have found that the Irish prisons are as bad as they were represented, though the spirit of

improvement has begun to work in some places—the bridewells, in particular, are deplorable. In the south district, cases have come within the knowledge of the Inspectors General, of persons *who were locked up for days without food*; in excuse for which the keeper stated, that he had produced to the Grand Jury, at two successive Assizes, his charge for bread distributed to the prisoners, and that the charge was rejected.

To guard against the recurrence of such evils, quarterly returns, which were ordered by a late Statute, are now regularly enforced. These returns ascertain that every prisoner is supplied with food, according to the dietary table; and also with fire. They also lay before the Government the particulars of the committed, confinement and discharge of every individual, and consequently guard against the possibility of concealed cases of illegal and arbitrary imprisonment. Other improvements are also proceeding with, under the directions and superintendence of the inspectors. Many new gaols are being built, and old ones repaired, and adapted to an improved system of prison discipline. The Inspectors highly commend the practice of establishing schools for the instruction of the prisoners; and we are glad to observe that they are fast increasing. We were astonished to observe a statement which we were not prepared to anticipate, but which is extremely gratifying. It is mentioned from Dublin, under date June 1824, that *for three years and four months no execution has taken place in this city.*

The punishment of death is certainly inflicted by our laws too frequently; we therefore view it as a most pleasing circumstance, that in the Irish capital, possessing so large a population, no criminal's life had been sacrificed to the laws for so long a period. There was a time when we of this northern metropolis would not have thought such a statement wonderful, relating to ourselves,—when capital punishments were so rare as to be regarded as a public calamity; but that time has long gone by, and so frequent have they become, that they pass without observation. When shall we see

again the axe of justice laid aside even for a single year? And when will that *annus mirabilis* dawn upon the inhabitants of mighty London, so prolific in all that is exalted in virtue, and degrading in vice? We fear that even, with all the busy employment of the means of amendment, that golden age of bloodlessness is still distant.

The labours of the Society are not confined to Great Britain. They extend their views to foreign countries, and exert themselves with the most praiseworthy assiduity, to introduce into the prison discipline of other nations those improvements which they are indefatigable in introducing into their own. With this view they maintain an extensive correspondence, and spread abroad upon the Continent their publications, improved plans of prisons, &c. &c. Nor has this intercourse been without good results. Societies have been formed in several of the Continental States for the improvement of prisons, which are in active correspondence with the London Society. "In Holland, a Society has been formed, called the Netherland's Society for the moral improvement of prisoners," and several of the most considerable and influential persons in the kingdom are the Directors. Their object is to visit the several gaols, to communicate moral and religious instruction by schools, distributing religious books, and also by rendering assistance to those who, having conducted themselves satisfactorily during confinement, are discharged destitute. In Switzerland, Germany, and Russia, they are also stirring and making improvements; but we must refer to the Report for details.

A very interesting work has been published by M. Appert, which presents much valuable information on the state of prisons in France. Our own prisons are bad enough in many places, but they are nothing at all when compared with many of the prisons of that polished people. But we are not disposed to rank the French very high in the scale of civilized humanity; many practices existing among them deprive them of such a pretension; and perhaps the

most weighty is, that by them the slave trade is carried on to a greater extent than by any other nation. As to their prisons, however, let us attend to M. Appert's descriptions. The town prison of Le Quintin he found in a most deplorable situation. The cells were so damp and dreadful that the keeper acknowledged *he could not reconcile it to his conscience to shut up prisoners in these cells*, but, he added, when orders are given to that effect, they must be obeyed. At Cambray, from fifteen to twenty persons sleep on the floor upon straw, which being but seldom changed, has the appearance of a dunghill. The insubordination and gross indecency of this wretched place present a most afflicting spectacle. At the prison at Douay the fetters worn by some of the men are so heavy as to occasion swellings in their legs. At Valenciennes the cells are small, dark, damp, and unwholesome. M. Appert states, that several prisoners sentenced to hard labour were chained by the leg in such a manner that the iron rings, which were in weight from six to eight pounds, were frequently bathed in blood. Boys of the most tender years, confined for smuggling, were confined with the most hardened criminals. "There was one man," says M. Appert, "whose dejection and paleness particularly attracted my attention. Upon enquiring if he were ill, he replied, 'No; but that he had been three days without food.' I expressed my surprise at this fact to the turnkey, but, without appearing to consider it as a circumstance any way extraordinary, he answered, 'They must have forgotten to insert his name in the gaoler's register.'" At Lisle, M. Appert found the rooms of the prison small and close, and the prisoners slept on barrack beds. "I observed," says he, "one of those beds ten feet in length, on which fifteen persons had slept, to use the turnkey's expression, one upon another." The air was infectious; the prisoners looked sallow, ragged, and filthy. So disgraceful was the condition of this gaol, that one of the Magistrates observed, he considered it a severe punishment to a man, to confine him there for twenty-four hours only. We hope that this Ma-

gistrate, entertaining such an opinion, will exert himself to procure an amendment of this dreadful place.

The following interesting and affecting circumstance is related by M. Appert. At Douay he found a man condemned to death for murder. This individual requested to speak with him in private, when he thus addressed him:—"I await," said he, the hour of execution; and since you are the first person who has visited me, I will address you with confidence, and conceal from you nothing: I am guilty of the dreadful crime for which I am to suffer; but from my infancy, my parents neglected me. I had neither a moral example nor a religious education. I was abandoned to the violence of my passions. I fell when young into bad company, by whom I was corrupted; *but it was a prison that completed my ruin.* Among the persons now in this apartment are several boys, who, with pain I observe, are preparing themselves for the further commission of offences, when the term of their confinements shall expire. I entreat you to obtain their removal into a separate ward, and snatch them from the contagion of such associates. Believe me, Sir, and I speak from bitter experience, you can confer on these boys no greater favour." This simple, yet touching story, proves that the same neglected state of prison discipline produces in all countries the same sad fruits of crime and misery; and if any argument were wanting to stimulate to increased attention in the reformation of prisons, where could a stronger one be found, than in the appeal of this dying criminal in behalf of his fellow-prisoners, whose youth still gave hopes of saving them from perdition?

It is consolatory to find, that, in France, where there is so strong a necessity for improvement, there exists a Royal Prison Society, of which the Duke D'Angoulême is the President; and it appears from a Report published by the Marquis de Barbé Marbois, that improvements have al-

ready taken place in many gaols, and are proceeding in others. A very excellent plan, followed in France, is to establish places of confinement solely for female convicts, which are to be altogether under female management. A very large one is to be built at Soissy, to receive 700 women from the several prisons in Paris. In France, as in this country, female compassion has been much excited by the condition of prisoners; and many ladies of distinguished worth have exerted themselves actively in providing them with instruction and employment. The following instance of female heroism in the cause of humanity occurred not long ago: "At Chartres, the prison being crowded to excess, it became necessary to confine a band of robbers in the subterranean vaults of a church. Here a contagious malady soon manifested itself, and several died. None had ventured to penetrate into this abyss of misery, and the prisoners were daily becoming victims to disease, when Mademoiselle de Farge, with true heroism, descended alone with assistance to the sick. From that period, this admirable person has devoted herself to the succour of distressed criminals."

We have now exhausted our limits, and have not yet touched upon a branch of this subject, to discuss which, was one of our chief objects in treating of the question,—and that was, to direct the attention of the public to our own local gaols, and to the state of prison discipline in Scotland. It is an object far too important to be overlooked: we will therefore take an early opportunity of returning to the subject; and we believe that the information now communicated forms not an unsuitable prelude, because the activity and zeal shewn in other quarters will render still more humiliating the positive deadness and inattention which exists in this country on the subject of prison discipline. The reformation of juvenile delinquents will also engage our attention.

SATURDAY UPON THE CLYDE.—A DAY AT FAIRLIE.

WHAT would Glasgow be, wanting the Clyde? A more apt response may be anticipated from those who know well what the Clyde is to Glasgow; at once its source of beauty, wealth, and pleasure. Its broad and quiet waters, gliding smoothly under its three bridges, afford a striking relief to the dead and smoky level upon which the city is situated. Its picturesque windings from the Broomielaw, along its green banks, through varied and lovely scenery, to Dumbarton, where it becomes enlarged—an arm of the sea, to its outlet off the Island of Arran, into the Irish Channel,—along which course, over its well-furrowed and perpetually-troubled waters, are floated incessantly the cargo of traffic, or parties of Glasgow inhabitants in quest of pleasure,—in quest of it, indeed, but not always finding it. It is not always allotted to men, like those composing the mass of Glasgow's more respectable inhabitants, whose minds have been early and incessantly trained to the labours of the counting-house and the factory, and in total want of those resources which the leisure for more refined studies afford,—it is not for minds so composed to find relief in absence from secular labours, and to gaze and luxuriate upon external Nature with a poet's eye. No—this delightful mansion on the right here, or that on the left there, its colonnade, architrave, its green sloping bank, and new plantation, afford to such men only matter of debate by what process in trade, and by what amalgamation of profit, its purchase was effected: the new mansion just rearing on Lord Blantyre's grounds is passed by, in some calculation about logs of wood; and Dumbarton Castle calls not forth one single association beyond that of the thriving state of the distillery or glass-works in its neighbourhood; and thus the total vacuity of nobler aspirations and associations,—of more elevated thoughts and sentiments, is, generally speaking, here supplied by incessant clatter about the weather, the pedigrees of the various steam-boats, the state of trade, the prices of logs of wood, bales of cotton, and punchcons

of rum, and the last occasion on which the cold punch was particularly good or execrably bad.

During the summer months, when the luxury of bathing-quarters, at the minor ports of the Clyde, invites the families of Glasgow's inhabitants to partake of pure air and the refreshing waters, Saturday is always a busy day upon the Clyde. It is then that the natives, in person, at least, emancipate themselves from the hacknied oar of business, and the steam-boats secure a weekly harvest to their owners, from the thousands who tread their decks; for, from the first hour of sailing in the morning, until the shades of evening close upon the week, there is to be seen, in constant succession, one smoking funnel after another, issuing from the Broomielaw, with well-crammed cargoes of both sexes, and of all liveries, on a trip to visit their families and friends on the shores of the Clyde, near or remote; and receiving or discharging portions of their cargo, from Paisley water, until their final destination at Rothsay, Irvine, or Ayr.

If, therefore, reader, it is thy wish, in course of thy summer locomotion, to sail down the Clyde, to vegetate on the beauties of its scenery, and indulge in thine own musings, avoid Saturday upon the Clyde; otherwise more than the confusion of Babel awaits and surrounds thee: but if it be thy singular felicity, as it lately was mine, to meet with a kind friend in Glasgow, who invites thee to partake of his hospitality, and is enabled, from his intellectual stores of literature and general information, to make glad thy voyage, then let me advise thee, while the beauties of summer linger over the scene, to put thyself with him, under the guidance of the most polite of steam-boat captains, little M'Intyre, of the Glasgow, or Ayrshire, I forget which; and of his pilot Colin,—the tall, well-built Colin,—the prince of pilots, the *fidus Achates* of young voyagers, the Adonis of chambermaids, whose goodly nose ranges over some six or eight inches of a comely face, a face fully expressive of the philanthropy which

dwells in Colin's breast. Under this guidance, thou mayest survey the beauties of the Clyde in safety ; and if at any time the grumbings of the faithless rascals into whose cavities thou hast poured the good things of this life, 'it may be, for many years, remind thee that hunger is occasionally the lot of all the healthy sons of Adam, the larder of Archy, the best of stewards, will supply thee with the needful, and at a little more moderate price too than the same fare could be afforded by mine excellent friend Mr Gibb of the Waterloo Hotel. In such good keeping, upon a Saturday morning I was issued, by the aid of pannels, from amidst the little forest of masts and funnels which maintain their station at the Broomielaw ; and seated under an awning spread out upon deck, to protect us from the "hot and rolling sun" of a July morning, we made quick progress down the Clyde. The first interruption to our progress was at the Water of Paisley, a little below the town of Renfrew, when two well-crammed boatfuls appeared upon the river, inducing our Captain to stop his steam for an addition to our cargo. "These," said my friend, "are Paisley bodies, coming on board to mix with us upon similar errands. Although only eight miles distant, we of Glasgow regard them as a sort of *beings* different, and indeed inferior to ourselves. There is an indescribable something in tone, in person, and in manner, so characteristic of Paisley natives, that I would undertake, after they have mixed with the hundreds upon deck, to single out every Paisleyian from among Glasgowegians." To what extent such remarks, corroborated as I have heard them by others in Glasgow, must hold good, I attempt not to decide : all I shall say is, that, in my intercourse with natives of Paisley, I have found them at least as much of a thoughtful, or reading, and intellectual set of men, as are the inhabitants of Glasgow—perhaps more so, but let that pass.

There is an old saying, that the Glasgow lassies are "better than they are bonnie ;" the truth of which I was willing to attest, from past observation ; but in the course of our sailing, my attention was occasionally

arrested by the features of two lovely females, whose countenances beamed with a beauty and a fascination which outdid all that I had hitherto witnessed in Glasgow. "These," said my friend, "are the Miss C.'s, on their way to Millport, in one of the Cumbray Islands ; Heaven's blessing attend them !" so wished I. And judging from the expression of their countenance, their ears must have been attuned to, or at least deserving of a more dulcet harmony than that infernal clatter about logs of wood, which, from these half dozen gentlemen in white trousers, our ears and theirs have for the past hour been saluted and sickened. "And who may this individual be?" said I ; "that little man so shabbily dressed, but whose conversation betokens, if not superficial, at least of general information ; for in our passing and re-passing, I heard him talking on the produce of acres—on the condition of the navy—something about the scientific discoveries of Baron Humboldt—and now he is holding forth upon the Tales of the Crusaders, in a comparison of their incomparable 'Talisman' and 'the Betrothed ?'" "That man," said he, "ought to have been a first-rate in Glasgow ; but to talents of no common order, Nature in him *has* committed the anomaly of uniting an imperfect moral sense ; and in almost every case in which he has been engaged, he has been left with but one leg to stand upon ; exhibiting the saddening aspect of talents without principle ; or, to borrow a simile of Tom Moore—like the ruins of Palmyra, grand, though melancholy ; useless, and alone, amid the moral wilderness around." A sudden leeward motion of the vessel, occasioned by the idle curiosity of numbers on board running to the landing side off Gourrock, now occasioned some consternation. It may be "meat and drink to see a clown," but it is humiliating to see a fellow, as we did, proclaiming himself a coward, in running about the deck, and roaring, Danger, danger ! Captain, pilot, steward, we are in danger ! No accident happened except the capsizing of our learned and unprincipled fellow-voyager. The accident made one who stood by exclaim, "Ah, how low are you !"

"That's a vile pun," exclaimed my friend, "one totally unworthy the Tory (we have not on board the Whig) punster of the Glasgow coffee-room, and yonder he sits." "Well," said I, "if the pun does not suit, you may apply to our capsized voyager a short quotation from Shakespeare's *Tempest*; but it would better become the lips of him who is so busy playing coward, than us, who wince not at the want of cork-jackets,—here it is,—'I have great comfort from this fellow; he hath no drowning mark upon him; his complexion is perfect gallows!'"

But, to return to our Tory punster,—"Dullness marks those around him for her own;" but little — is really clever; and, amidst a multitude of puns, does vend a few considerably above the level of Glasgow taste. Take a specimen or two of his waggery during our voyage. A man was brought on board from Dumbarton, accompanied by a trunk of somewhat bulky dimensions, which was hoisted into our steamer with great difficulty. "Friend," says our little wag, "you must feel as much inconvenience in travelling as an elephant." The fellow stared, wiped the perspiration from his brow, and at last ventured the interrogatory, "How?" "Why," says —, "because you cannot move without your trunk." Another opportunity soon occurred for the display of our punster's humour. Scarcely had our boat passed the Cloch light-house when every soul on board was alarmed by a cry of "Stop! stop!—there's a corpse in the water." Instantly the boat was stopt, and every exertion was made to discover the corpse. After a search of some length, during which the feelings of all on board were in a state of great excitement, the corpse was discovered, but it turned out to be the corpse of a *stirk*! The unfortunate wight who was the cause of all the clamour and delay was now assailed with the loud execrations of some, and the hearty laughter of others, and, between the two, stood like a statue gazing on vacancy, and showing as few symptoms of life

as the *stirk*. To complete his mortification, our little friend also discharged one of his arrows in the following manner: "I thought, Sir, I could distinguish a great deal of *affection* in your howl; I was afraid you had discovered the corpse of a *relation*." The offending passenger did not appear to understand this address, and gently hinted his mental darkness:—"Not understand me, Sir! do you think that there is no relationship nor affection between a *stirk* and a *calf* *?" One more instance of our Tory punster's wit, although relating to times that are past. The morning on which the account of the battle of the Pyrenees arrived, our punster, issuing from the coffee-room, was met by an acquaintance, who enquired of him what news? "Oh," says he, eyeing another who was approaching, and whose limbs happened to be of those termed in-kneed, "you need not look far for the *Gazette*; there it is; the battle of a *pair of knees*."

And yonder, lately issued from under deck, and now holding his broad sides in laughter at some ebullition of the punster, is our Eating and Drinking Trustee. So he is termed among his intimates, who are extremely attached to him, because he is fond of an intermixture of sociality with business-dealings, and these are uniformly correct and honourable; and whether with the order-book in his hand, or seated beside the social bowl, good, merry, facetious Jack is always a favourite. *O si sic omnes!*

But a truce to boat details; let us at once hasten to Largs, and while our vessel pours forth her crowds of Glasgow merchants and Paisley manufacturers, let us admire the neat church and handsome dwellings which line the beach, and the living mass of strutting beaux and dashing belles which parade on the green sward at the water's edge. There, as at the other landing-places to rural retirement, are crowds of fond expectants; wives eyeing their liege lords descending into the small boats for the shore, and bounding in raptures at the expected visit on Sa-

* For the benefit of our Southern readers, we may mention that a *stirk* is the Scotch name for a calf two years old.

turday's evening,—raptures which may perchance give place to more bitter extacies ere the approaching week has had time to grow old. And there are sweethearts also eyecing their "joes," approach, and with hearts, beating pit-a-pat extacies, which may perchance subside into "shy-fighting," or into open "lovers' quarrels," ere the parting scene on Monday morning. They go on shore, however, well supplied with the *matériel* of external comfort; or if as watering places required their antidote, if we may so judge from the towelled lamb-legs, and the number of dozen bottle-baskets, which Colin and Archy are lowering from on board. Some of the plain corks denoting porter, "ale or viler liquors;" others well bedaubed with wax, betokening a more sublimated spirit within. Off goes our steamer with more buoyancy, again relieved of numbers, which the small boats are landing upon the beach. We ask no nearer survey of this motley crowd; indeed, unless we could enter into the little petty cabals which afford food for the hundred fashionable tongues that daily wag for the vexation of their owners and neighbours, or into the almost impenetrable causes which entitle Mrs Hogshead to look down on Mrs Loom or Mrs —, whose husband is supposed to be worth £30,000,—to despise Mrs —, whose helpmate is yet rated at £5000 only—we would speculate in ignorance on the ludicrous distinctions of rank which prevail in this celebrated watering-place, and on the many little heart-burnings which a wish to preserve these distinctions occasions among people who are not distinguished by Nature, or by acquirements from each other; and who, in truth, form an unwilling, though an indisputable portion, of the mass of animated frames, manufactured by Nature, "when she makes a gross." We left this Margate of Glasgow, and now passed the beautiful seat of Kelburn, embosomed in green hills, and half concealed by extensive woods; and suppose me now, if you please, to be loitering in the cock-boat which conveys us from the steamer to the Fairlie shore, and while the hard-featured John Shearer rests on his oars, and refreshes his olfactory nerves with

a goodly pinch, to be feasting my eyes on the delightful scene before me, of which I will now attempt to give my readers a short description.

A few acres are stretched along the shore, on which rise, in rich grandeur, a number of lofty sycamores. These seem to be the guardians of the place. Under the magnificent covering of their foliage peep two rows of cleanly cottages, close by the water's edge. These again are divided by a cluster of houses, forming, *en masse*, an elegant residence, and by a beautiful lawn; and to the westward of the cots stand two stately villas, amidst a profusion of shrubbery. It is to the tasteful improvements of some of the more wealthy summer residents, that the village owes much of its beauty; and to them, too, is chiefly to be ascribed the care with which the sycamores, that constitute its chief ornament, are preserved. First in our view is the group of heath-clad houses we have just alluded to, built without any apparent regularity, and obviously the design and residence of a humorist; none of them individually large, but the whole combined, forming a commodious villa. These houses are delightfully situated in the corner of a lawn; and from the top of one of them steals a small round tower, surmounted by a gilt crescent. Two stately sycamores shade the chief entrance, and add at once to its comfort and its beauty. This is the dwelling of Mr P——, a Glasgow lawyer, who frequently retires to this enchanting spot to forget the cares of business, in the bosom of an amiable family; and to plan and execute great mechanical projects, *e. g.* a self-acting paddle-boat,—a machine by which all the doors of all his houses are instantly and at once shut or opened,—and a balloon, constructed of iron, but in such a manner, that, by fixing a lever in a certain position, it may be directed to any quarter, and regulated so as to fly only a given distance. It is but fair to add, however, that this last contrivance is not yet completed, and that, in its progress, the humorous inventor has been greatly assisted by old Hugh Miller, the blacksmith of the village,—the most ingenious of mechanics, and not by any means deficient of shrewd-

ness, as my readers will easily believe, when they are told, that he not only quizzed an exciseman, but actually made the man of permits bestow money upon him. If Hugh did not quiz me also, then, reader, I may tell thee in confidence, as so communicated to me, that the mind of Mr P—— is at this moment big with another mighty project, in carrying which into effect he has as yet advanced no further than having manufactured thirty-seven grappling-irons; that portion of a number intended for a steam-engine, which, like Milton's devils, shall uproot the neighbouring mountains, toss them into the expanse of the Frith of Clyde, confine its waters to their native boundary, the Irish channel, and thus "throw millions of acres" into the rental of his posterity. Mr P——, however, does not blazon his discoveries to the world, and hence he is merely supposed to be somewhat whimsical; at least old Willie Gow, his body-servant, is of opinion, that the cost of many of his master's inventions (as he says) "o'ergang the profit." Be this as it may, I can vouch for the kindness, good-nature, and talents of the worthy proprietor, for I have witnessed them; and though his dwelling, and his inventions, and his fleet of boats, prove him to be a humorist, he has more valuable qualities little dreamt of in the philosophy of a superficial world, which sink his whims into complete shade. Our next peep is of a description totally different. It is the gay dwelling,—a sort of Asiatic conceit of a Glasgow merchant. The elegant cottage-windows,—the decorated saloon opening into the lawn,—the gaudy viranda hanging on the wall, all remind us of the splendour of Eastern mansions; but, at the same time, appear to be better calculated for the warmth of an Asiatic sky, than the cold and wet climate of Scotland. We pass now to a more spacious structure, combining something of the gay appearance of its neighbour, with the substantial heaviness of a Scotch villa. This is the summer residence of Mr P——, also a Glasgow merchant of high character—at once a man of taste and of independence—benevolent to the poor, and affable to all. Between

these villas and the sea a wall in the castellated form intervenes, on which the inmates may walk at pleasure; and around them arise towering sycamores; and elegant shrubberies, lawns, and gardens, are interspersed.

But what snug cottage is this which hangs on the face of the hill, and peeps from among the surrounding foliage? This is the residence of Professor M——, the god of the villagers' idolatry,—a happy combination of intellect and generosity,—a philosopher without conceit,—a man without guile. He has amused himself during several summers in converting the remains of a stone-quarry into the beautiful garden and orchard which stretch along the brow of the hill; and in this delightful retreat he spends his summers, dividing his leisure betwixt a general superintendence of his rural concerns, and sweet converse with Plato, and other spirits of the mighty dead.

But let us now land, and, good reader, if you can, do not fail to procure an introduction to my friend Mr K., whose hospitable board and intelligent conversation will prove no slight addition to the charms even of Fairlie, for such I have experienced. On landing, we walked up the avenue among the sycamores, to his delightful villa, where an excellent dinner was spread out to welcome us. It, some excellent port, and then, to cool it, a no less excellent bowl of cold punch, discussed, we sallied forth in a fine afternoon to gaze upon and to admire the scenes of this delightful spot,—visited the smithy of Hugh Miller, and listened to his wonderful stories,—gossiped with John Jamieson of the wooden limb, ranged the woods and walks of Kelburn, and climbed the broken staircase and ruined turrets of Fairlie Castle. Here let me pause a minute, for the scene from these elevated and time-worn battlements is truly delightful. The sun is just retiring behind the hills of Arran, and his lingering ray athwart the expansive frith is reflected by the glittering crescent which tops the turret of Mr P.'s mosque. Over the frith, its surface unrippled by a breath of air, is presented a still and lovely repose, fitting as the harbinger of the Sab-

bath morn. The Frith, intersected by the Isles of Bute, Arran, in the distance, and by the Cumbrays nearer our residence, exhibits to appearance so many inland lakes "clad in burnished gold,"—distance in twilight, "lends enchantment to the view,"—but now supper, and keen appetites, await us.

Mr K. informed me, in the course of our evening perambulation, that a most imposing view is presented from the summit of the neighbouring heights. Eager to participate, I sallied forth by stealth at an early hour next morning, and, after a cool and refreshing plunge in the waters, I proceeded upwards the acclivities, anxious to woo health from the morning air, and inspiration for thy behoof, gentle reader, from the scene, viz. a prospect of the Ayrshire coast, and of many counties of the Land of Cakes spread far and wide to the view as on a lively and most fascinating nap. My catering for thy amusement, however, ended, as many others end upon this *terra firma* of ours—in vanity and vexation of spirit. One eminence attained, which I supposed the mount-Pisgah of my excursion, presented another; and that too achieved, another still; at length having arrived, at where I was confident, from the keen air, and the juxtaposition of neighbouring heights, must be the summit of the morning's ascension, I was welcomed to this height at once, by a dense of mist carried along by the mountain breeze, as if it had saluted me from the funnels of a thousand steam-engines upon the Clyde. I paused, but the density became still more and more dense; even the neighbouring heights, at first visible, became enveloped, and instead of a noble, goodly, extensive prospect, not even a hollow valley of Baglat, &c., was to be seen. Voyaging down somewhat more quick than in the ascension, I had also a few troubles; the sun-beams were acquiring additional vigour at my expense of moisture. Now a ram, bounding from its cavity beside some stones, made me start like Macbeth at Banquo's ghost;—the start theatric again repeated, by plovers whirring up at my feet; now buzzed with flies, and stung by gleds,—this excursion, like Wordsworth's, was most unpoetical,

just so as was the keen havock which after it I made upon the ham and herrings at my good friend's breakfast table. But who can endure to pace life round without some variety,—some relief to that monotony of pleasure which, through even a single day is apt to pall on the appetite. I opine that the true pleasure, as well as the true philosophy, is to laugh at a disappointment when a toil has been engaged in its purchase.

Our next movement was to attend divine service in the church of Millport, situated by the town of that name in the larger of the two Cumbray Islands. Mr P. kindly invited us to seats in his "trim-built wherry," y'clipped "the Cyclops," which, under his discreet pilotage at the helm, bore us across the water. The projecting ridge of rocks passed, we are now in the little bay, fronting the clean, and, to all appearance, thriving village. It is a pleasing object of contemplation to witness the inhabitants of the Island clad in their best, discarding the neighbouring heights, upon the same errand as that on which we are now landing, namely, to forget for a while the cares and anxieties, the paltry nothingness of the concerns of time, and to listen to and meditate upon these matters of moment, which concern us in an hereafter, beyond time's bounds—*seria mixta jocis*.

After sermon, "once more upon the waters," and across again to Fairlie. The sun not yet long past meridian ascension, his beams "illuminating the depths of the sea,"—hardly a breath of air until we re-pass the ridge, and no ripple upon the surface, we lean over the side of the wherry, and gaze upon the fantastic marine plants and substances in the depth of fathoms below—the sultry atmosphere, and the tempting clear waters, strongly inviting one to plunge for refreshment, and to dive into the coral cells of old Father Neptune.

Now landed, and once more under the hospitable roof of my excellent friend Mr K., we there spent the evening (as directed by the parson) in more rational conversation than has been exhibited to thee, gentle reader, in some portions of this article.

WORKS PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

LONDON.

London's Encyclopædia of Agriculture is announced to appear in a few days; and soon afterwards, No. I. of the "Gardener's Quarterly Register, and Magazine of Rural and Domestic Improvement," to be continued quarterly. This work has been generally called for, and is intended to form a focus for gardening discussion and gossip, acceptable to both practical men and amateurs.

Dr Shearman is preparing for the press *Practical Observations on the Nature, Causes, and Treatment of Water in the Brain*; viewing this affection as an accidental circumstance occurring in various morbid conditions of the system, rather than as a distinct specific disease.

In the press, in one volume 8vo., *Sketches, Political, Geographical, and Statistical, of the united provinces of Rio de la Plata*, to which are added a Description of the Mines in that country, and an Appendix, concerning the Occupation of Montevideo by the troops of Brazil and Portugal.

Preparing for publication, and dedicated by permission to His Majesty, a series of sixty Engravings of Hanoverian and Saxon Scenery, from Drawings by Capt. Batty of the Grenadier Guards, F.R.S. The publication of these Views will be conducted on the same plan as those of the Rhine, &c., and the plates will be engraved by the most eminent Artists. Wood-cut Vignettes will ornament the head of each Description, and the interest of the work will be enhanced by appropriating for that purpose many of those views which, though not considered of sufficient interest for a copper-plate Engraving, will be valuable as extending the Illustrations of the Scenery of these countries.

Mr Thomas Roscoe will soon publish, in a Series of six volumes, the *German Novelists*. To be printed uniform with the *Italian Novelists*.

Speedily will be published, the *Holy War with Infidels, Papists, and Socians*; or *Visions of Earth, Heaven, and Hell*, and of the contending powers of Light and Darkness in the 19th century; by John Bunyan Redivivus.

Dr Birkbeck has announced a *Grand Display of the Manufacturing and Mechanic Arts of the British Kingdom*. It is to appear in Parts, appropriated to particular branches, and the Part First will appear in a few months.

A London Antiquary announces for publication, *Chronicles of London Bridge*, comprising a complete History of that Ancient Structure, from its earliest mention in the *British Annals*, traced through all its various destructions, re-erectments, and numerous alterations, down to the laying of the first stone of the new Edifice, June 15, 1825. Compiled from the most authentic and valuable sources, both public and private, consisting of Charters, Ancient Histories, MS. Records, Original Drawings, Rare Prints and Books, and Official Papers; and illustrated with many highly-finished Wood Engravings, by the first Artists.

Mr Salame announces his own *Life*; or an account of his *Travels and Adventures* from the age of ten to thirty years, with various other subjects hitherto unpublished.

Mrs Hemans' new volume of *Poems*, entitled the *Forest Sanctuary*, with *Lays of other Lands*, is just ready.

The *Gipsy*, a Romance, by John Browning, Esq. from the German of Laun, will be published in a few days.

Mr G. P. Scrope announces a *Treatise on Volcanoes*, and their connection with the History of the Globe.

The *Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir W. Dugdale*, by W. Hamper, Esq. F.S.A., will speedily be published.

A *Picturesque and Topographical Account of Cheltenham and the Vicinity*, by the Rev. T. Fosbrooke, M.A., F.S.A., with an Account of the Waters, by John Fosbrooke, Surgeon, is nearly ready.

The *History of Rome*, now first translated from the German of B. G. Niebuhr, is announced for publication.

Sir John Barrington's *Anecdotes of Ireland* will shortly be published.

The *First Number of the Pictorial Atlas of History, Chronology, and Geography*, is just ready.

Instructions for Cavalry Officers, translated from the German of General Count Bismark, by Captain L. Beamish, are nearly ready for publication.

The Rev. A. Law announces a *History of Scotland*, from the earliest period to the middle of the ninth century.

Mr Crofton Croker has in the press a new series of *Fairy Legends*.

Dr Ainslie's *Materia Indica*; or some account of those articles which are employed by the Hindoos, and other Eastern Nations, in their Medicine, Arts,

Agriculture, and Horticulture, is nearly ready.

The "Complete Servant" will be ready in a few days.

The Adventures of Pandurang Hurrée, a Hindoo, designed to illustrate the manners and character of the natives of Hindoostan, but more particularly of the Mah-ratta tribes, will very shortly appear, in 3 vols. 12mo.

EDINBURGH.

A Treatise on Farm Book-Keeping; by Alexander Trotter, Esq. of Dreghorn; exemplified by the forms and accounts actually practised by the Author in the management of his Farm at Colinton, near Edinburgh.

Occasional Sermons; by the Rev. Robert Morehead, A.M. of Baliol College, Oxford, Junior Minister of St. Paul's Chapel, York Place, Edinburgh.

Sermons by the Rev. Robert Gordon, D.D., Minister of Hope Park Chapel, Edinburgh.

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MONTHLY REGISTER.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—On the 1st inst. the Duke of Angoulême received a rich sword and cap from the Pope, blessed and consecrated by his own hand, in commemoration of the wisdom and humanity of his conduct while in Spain.

A report, which originated with the German papers, has of late given rise to a good deal of speculation in the French and London journals, namely, that the French Government has taken a definitive resolution to recognise the independence of Hayti. A negotiation took place last summer between France and commission-

ers appointed to treat on this subject by the President Boyer, which was abruptly broken off, on the ground of a demand on the part of the King of France to retain the exterior sovereignty of the French part of Hayti. It is now said that Villele, anxious to procure money to assist in the completion of his financial schemes, has signified a willingness to accede, for a sum of money, the acknowledgment which the people of Hayti are so anxious to obtain. The terms on which the French Government is said to be on the point of granting this acknowledgment is the payment of 50,000,000 francs

(£2,083,333) in specie, and 90,000,000 in West-India produce (£3,750,000), making in all very nearly six millions sterling. It is not possible, however, to suppose that Boyer would consent to an arrangement so ruinous, without some adequate advantage conceded to his country. That the recognition is not an adequate advantage appears plain, for it is not easy to see what additional benefit would be conferred upon St. Domingo by it, or how it would make the citizens of Hayti richer or more powerful. If any thing else were necessary to show the groundlessness of the report, it might be urged that the *Drapeau Blanc*, a newspaper, the property of which is said to belong almost wholly to Villele, treats the supposition as not worthy to be entertained for a moment.

Several villages in France have lately been ravaged and nearly destroyed by conflagrations, to which no particular cause has been assigned. A more violent one than any of the others broke out last week at the hamlet of Tille, near Beauvais, in the department of Oise. The whole village consisted of 150 houses, of which not less than 78 have been levelled with the ground, and 100 families have been ruined in the course of a few hours. Had not the fire commenced at the middle of the village, the whole would have been destroyed, as the flames were carried down by the wind from house to house, till all those in its course were entirely consumed. The small-pox is committing such dreadful ravages at Lyons, that it has been proposed to hoist a black flag on every infected house, and to prevent all communications between them.

The heat in Paris has been excessive, and disease prevalent and fatal, chiefly amongst children, owing, it is said, to the immoderate use of fruit, chiefly cherries, which are almost the only food of the younger and working classes at this season in France. The glass on Friday was at 27 degrees Reaumur, making about 95 Fahrenheit.

Duel.—The following short account of a duel between General Gourgaud and General Segur, the author of an able work on the expedition to Moscow, is taken from a Paris Paper:—

"*Paris, July 16.*—General Count Segur, feeling himself offended by the personalities contained in the work of General Gourgaud, has demanded satisfaction of him. Yesterday, the gendarmerie prevented the duel, but it has taken place to-day. General Gourgaud had for his seconds General Count Pajol, and Colonel Duchamp; those who accompanied Count Segur were General Count Lobou and

General Count Dejean, both of them formerly aides-de-camps to Bonaparte. M. de Segur first received a slight wound in the arm; M. de Gourgaud then received one in the body. The seconds then decided unanimously that the combat was finished, and that the affair should not be carried any farther.

SPAIN.—The King of Spain, it appears, has been indulging in a new freak,—that is, he has adopted a *soothing system* towards his subjects; and has commenced it by banishing Quesada and others of the apostolic junta from the capital. The new minister of war, the Marquis of Zambrano, is represented as a man of great firmness, and a staunch friend of absolute monarchy. The late Viceroy of Peru, La Serna, and General Canterac, have arrived at Madrid, and, contrary to all expectation, been well received.

Accounts from Cadiz to the 14th ult. state that the Spanish Government hastens the equipment of the 3000 men for the expedition to the Havannah, which is to sail from that port. The Government furnish only the arms for these troops. Their clothing, transports, and provisions, are to be supplied by a private company.

It appears, from the French papers, and from private accounts, that the French flag has usurped authority in matters of international communication at Cadiz, an attempt having been made, on the part of a French vessel off Cadiz, to prevent the entrance of his Majesty's frigate Active before it had performed quarantine. The commander of the frigate, on being challenged, replied, that as he was coming into a Spanish port, he would recognise no flag but that of the Spanish nation. When the English packet arrived, the captain of the Active went alongside of her in his boat, and upon this the captain of a French brig on duty at the mouth of the bay, sent a message, asking who had the temerity to board an English packet without his leave? The answer returned was, that "The commanding officer of his Britannic Majesty's frigate Active, agreeably to, and in conformity with, Admiralty orders, DARED to board his Majesty's packet, and would every other English vessel which should enter the Bay of Cadiz during her stay there, whether it should or should not be agreeable to the French commander." The private accounts say the French took offence at this, and say they will put up no longer with such insults, but that their orders must be implicitly obeyed. "This language," says the London *Courier*, "if used, must have originated in the irritation of the moment; and we have no

doubt the French Government will be ready to give every amicable explanation upon a question which, it is obvious, if not put under a proper basis, may give rise to many embarrassing occurrences."

PORTUGAL.—Lisbon Gazette to the 3d instant arrived on Saturday. They contain a Royal Decree, in which, with the exception of a few of the ringleaders, who are banished, the King pardons the parties concerned in the disorders of the 28th February and 30th April last year. It is introduced by a preamble, in which his Majesty describes the conflicting sensations he experiences from his natural tendency to mercy, and the grave reflections which oppose themselves to permitting crime to pass unpunished.

AUSTRIA.—The Austrian Observer of the 16th contains the convention between the Emperor of Austria and the King of the Two Sicilies, for prolonging the stay of part of the Austrian troops in the kingdom of Naples till the end of March 1827.

Prince Gustavus, son of the Ex-King of Sweden, is appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Emperor of Austria's own regiment of Hulans. A report is in circulation that the young Prince will be proposed to fill a new throne, to be founded in Greece.

ITALY.—*Riot at Pavia.*—On Thursday evening, June 23, towards seven o'clock in the evening, eight students marched into the town surrounded by Tyrolean soldiers and gendarmes. At the sight the inhabitants of the town and students collected from all parts. The prisoners were conducted to the police, and a great number of students assembled to know the cause of the arrest of their companions. It was then ascertained that the only crime these young men had been guilty of was having bathed in a forbidden place. The trifling nature of the crime, forming a strong contrast with the barbarity of the treatment, produced general indignation, and the people cried from all sides, "Set them at liberty—It is infamous!" The military and the police placed themselves at the doors of the Prefecture to impose on the people by their array; but the riot increased, and in spite of the efforts of the professors to restore calmness among the students, they could not succeed. As the night advanced, the people collected from all sides, and the police soldiers loaded their muskets. The students not being terrified at this, marched on the guard, who made a passage through them with their sabres and bayonets. The students threw stones at the soldiers, and attacked them with the benches of the neighbouring coffee-houses.

The prefect Ragazzi then commanded the soldiers to fire. Two muskets were accordingly fired, but no person was wounded. Another discharge then took place, and a student of the name of Guerra was killed. At the same moment the soldiers retreated into the Prefecture, and, shutting the door behind them, left only a space through which they could fire at the students, who continued to collect about the spot. The soldiers continued to fire from the windows, killed some individuals, and wounded a great many, and at length the disorder ceased. Three students were killed, as well as a child; the number of wounded is very considerable, but is not accurately known. Every body who could escape left the city, or took refuge in their houses.—*Constitutionnel.*

GREECE.—We are sorry to state, that the news from Greece are very unfavourable. Letters from Zante and Trieste say, that the Egyptian army is strong enough to march through the interior of the Morea to Patras, and that it is to be farther strengthened by additional bodies of troops from Egypt. Violent dissensions, it is said, rage among the Greek chiefs; and some accounts state, that Colocotroni has beheaded Mavrocordatos. In London, the Deputies are on the worst terms with the Greek Committee, of whom they have conceived a most unreasonable jealousy. Mr Buckingham, whose zeal never slackens in a good cause, has offered to the Committee to go out on a mission to the Greek Government at his own expense, if it is thought that his exertions can be of any service. As a counterpoise to these painful tidings, it is right to mention, that no doubt exists as to the naval victories which late accounts state the Greeks to have gained. The following has been received by the Greek Deputies:—*Extract of an official Proclamation of the Greek Government.*—Thanks to God! The enemy's fleet, that made its appearance off Cape d'Oro, threatened so much to attack the islands of Hydra and Spezzia, that the Government thought it necessary to order the troops that were at Napoli di Romania to be sent there, in order to defend this bulwark of our independence. The aforesaid fleet, consisting of 100 sail, between men-of-war and transports, and which was carrying troops and all kinds of war ammunition and provisions, in order to effect the ruin of Greece, has been completely defeated by our brave sailors off Cape d'Oro and Andros, between the 20th and 21st of May O. S. The proud Capitan Pacha succeeded with much difficulty in effecting his escape with only twenty-seven ships,

still followed by the second division of the Greek fleet under Sactoury. The Admiral's ship, which was the largest amongst the enemy's fleet, was burnt; but the Capitan Pacha was not found on board, he knowing by experience that the Greeks attacked generally the ship on board of which he was. Another frigate, of a smaller dimension, has also been burnt in the engagement; and several other men-of-war, having been dispersed and chased by the Greeks, ran ashore on the islands of Syra and Tyros. A great number of transports had been captured and brought in to the islands of Hydra and Spezzia. The Admiral Miaulis, informed at Milos of the glorious engagement of Sactoury, hastened to the spot in pursuit of the rest of the enemy's fleet, which it was fully anticipated would have met the same fate.

RUSSIA.—*St. Petersburg, June 15.*—His Majesty the Emperor has been pleased to resolve that our Ambassador to the Papal See shall distribute the sum of 5000 rubles annually among the best of our young artists studying at Rome. They are to copy the best paintings of the Roman schools.

AMERICA.

MEXICO.—A vessel which arrived at New Orleans on the 10th May, from Alvarado, brings the following information:—A body of Mexican troops stationed at the Island of Sacrificios, mutinied on the 30th ult. and put all their officers to death. The Mexican general in the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz lost no time in marching against the mutineers, who had hoisted the Spanish flag. They were compelled to surrender. Twenty of the ringleaders were executed the first day, and other executions had followed.

Mexican papers to the 21st of May have been received, which contain the speech of the President on closing the sittings of the Supreme Congress. It is interesting, as it announces, with feelings of great satisfaction, the sanction given by Congress to the commercial treaty with Great Britain.

PERU.—General Olaneta, who held out for Ferdinand after the defeat of Canterac and Lacerna, was routed by the Republican General Sucre early in March. This event will liberate the whole of Upper Peru, the only spot in the new Continent where a remnant of the Spanish power existed. Valdez, one of Canterac's officers, is said to have still a small force under him, but it is too trifling to retard in any material degree the triumph of the independent cause. Some accounts say that Olaneta was killed; others that he

escaped; but of the fact of his defeat there can be no doubt, for the intelligence has arrived both from Colombia and Buenos Ayres, and through the latter channel it comes in an official form. The Independents now occupy La Paz and Potosi, the two most considerable towns in Upper Peru, and feel their power so securely established, that the trade with the provinces of La Plata has been re-opened.

Advices from Bogota, dated early in May, mention an extraordinary rumour having reached that place, of an atrocious attempt to assassinate the illustrious Bolivar, in Lima. The detail states the attempt was made as Bolivar was proceeding to a ball, or some public entertainment, accompanied by M. Montegudo, Secretary to the Congress. The President escaped the blow, but the latter met the daggers of the assassins, and is said to have expired of his wounds the same night. On the ensuing morning a proclamation was issued, offering a large reward for the discovery of the murderers; and an inhabitant of Lima, whose trade was a cutler, came forward, and stated, that he had recently had three poniards to sharpen, from a black man of suspicious character, and it was then ascertained that by one of these weapons M. Montegudo had fallen. Instant orders were given, in consequence, to assemble all the blacks in the great square of Lima, where they were passed, in succession, before the cutler, and he recognised the negro for whom the poniards were whetted, and who, it is added, was forthwith seized, and disclosed the whole atrocious plot. Several of the first residents in Lima are stated to have been implicated, but Rodil was the principal instigator. No information has reached us of any measures by the Government consequent on the discovery of this infernal conspiracy.

BRAZIL.—An insurrection has broken out at Maldonado, in the South of Brazil. It is not very certain what the objects of the insurgents are; but the probability is, that they are discontented with the Imperial regime, and wish to assimilate their government to the Republican models around them. Republicanism is indeed advancing rapidly to a complete ascendancy in the New World. The last intelligence from Mexico states, that among other reforms there, the Legislature had abolished all titles of nobility. Without entering into the abstract question as to the utility of a privileged and titled order, we may say with confidence, that, looking to the state of society, and the distribution of property in the New World, hereditary distinctions have no natural foundation there, and no single

advantage to recommend them; and that from the progress of things they would most probably have sunk into oblivion, without any formal enactment. The perfect and beautiful democracy of the United States, which has sprung naturally out of the state of society, and is now looked to as a standard by all the new republics, has in this respect conferred inestimable advantages upon the Western World.

UNITED STATES.—A terrible storm of wind was experienced in several of the States on the 18th May, which blew down many trees, and at New York some vessels went on shore. In Luking county, Ohio, a small town was prostrated, and several persons killed. In Wayne, Lawrence, and Sandy townships, the hail and wind were tremendous. In Zoar, not a tiled roof escaped destruction. In the south-east part of Stark county the effects were most distressing; houses and barns, timber, &c. were prostrated, and horses, cattle, and sheep, were killed, but no person seriously injured. It is also stated, that a village of twenty houses, in Knox county, was entirely blown down, and several persons killed.

Mr Birkbeck, the author of a book of travels in the United States, and known as an emigrant to Illinois, was lately drowned on his way home from Mr Owen's settlement, at Harmony. The Backwoodsmen, it is said, had given him the name of "Emperor of the Prairies," in consequence of his buying 16,000 acres of public land at one purchase.

Matanzas, June 30.—Captain Brothers, of the schooner *Eagle*, from Matanzas, informs, that intelligence was received here on the afternoon of the 16th instant, that the negroes on several of the principal plantations in the partido of St. Jose, about twenty miles from Matanzas, had revolted, and murdered the proprietors thereof in the most shocking and cruel manner. Immediately on the receipt of this melancholy intelligence, the Governor despatched a large body of troops to quell

them. Captain B. says, that the latest advices from them, just prior to his sailing, stated, that they were pretty well subdued, after killing about 60 or 70 of them. The whole number collected was said to be about 300. They killed about 15 or 20 whites, including one female, principally foreigners. Whole families were flocking into the city for safety.

HAYTI.—By the way of the United States, very important intelligence has been received from Hayti. The President Boyer has determined that no political agent shall proceed to France to treat for the recognition of the independence of St. Domingo, unless an assurance is first received that he will be treated with due honours, and that his mission shall be attended with every prospect of success. The invitation, and the assurance of the honourable reception, must come from the French Government. An official communication to this effect has been transmitted to Paris.

ASIA.

EAST INDIES.—Official despatches have arrived from India, containing unlooked-for and highly-gratifying intelligence. After a series of stockade fighting, in which the Company's troops were uniformly successful, Rungpore, the capital of the kingdom of Assam, surrendered to the British arms. Assam is the north-most state of the dominions of his Burmese Majesty, by whom it was conquered so lately as 1820; and its inhabitants have long wished for an opportunity to emancipate themselves from his tyrannic sway. They have now become our allies; and, besides, the Siamese, another conquered nation, have signified their determination to revolt, and join the British standard. The advance of the troops from Rangoon was fixed for the 15th of February. A small body was to move in advance, in expectation of being joined by the Peguers, who also had deserted the Burmese in great numbers.

PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—*June 2.*—Mr Brougham presented petitions from Mid-Lothian and East-Lothian, Scotland, against the renewal of the Combination Laws. The Honourable Member also presented a petition from the Commissioners of the Southern Districts of Edinburgh against the Leith Docks Bill.

Mr Brougham presented a petition from Mr Carlile and five other persons, now in Dorchester and other gaols for irreligious

libels, praying the introduction of a law for the protection of freedom of inquiry. Mr Secretary Peel said that the publications here prosecuted were of an indecent character. Sir F. Burdett declared that he could not comprehend on what rational ground such prosecutions proceeded; if Mr Carlile had been left alone, he would not have been half so powerful. The petition was ordered to be printed.

Mr Wodehouse moved, that an humble

address be presented to His Majesty, praying him to cause instructions to be given to his Consuls at foreign ports to give their particular attention to the price of foreign corn, and to transmit to this country returns of the prices of such corn; and that all such account of corn so transmitted should state the prices free on board; also the quantity of corn granaried, together with the peculiarities of exchanges.

The Attorney General moved for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the act generally called "the Bubble Act," on the ground that it was "*unintelligible*." Leave was given to bring in the Bill.

Upon the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the House resolved itself into a committee upon the Judges' Salaries Bill. Mr Scarlett moved that the salary of the Lord Chief Justice be £12,000 per annum. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr Peel advocated the sum of £10,000 per annum, which he considered a liberal salary to the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The sum of £10,000 was then agreed to without a division. On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that £500 a-year be added to the retired allowance of the Puisne Judges, Mr Williams proposed that the retired allowances for the Puisne Judges should be £3500 per annum, instead of £3100, which, after a few words from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Peel, and Mr Denman, was agreed to. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then proposed, that those for the Master of the Rolls, the Vice-Chancellor, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, should be £3750, which was agreed to. These officers must serve 15 years, according to a former Act of Parliament, before they can retire on their allowances.

The Bill for granting an additional income to the Duchess of Kent was next read a second time, with perfect unanimity; but on that respecting the Duke of Cumberland, a division took place, when the second reading was carried by a majority of 59 to 48.

On the motion of Mr J. P. Grant, the Wrongous Imprisonment (Scotland) Bill went through a committee of the whole House. The report was ordered to be taken into consideration to-morrow fortnight.

Mr C. Grant moved the first reading of the Bill for building courts and offices of justice in Scotland. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday.

3.—On the further consideration of the report of the Edinburgh Water Works Bill,

moved by Mr H. Drummond, Mr J. P. Grant said, he objected to the measure, and should move, that the report be resumed this day six months. Sir R. Ferguson opposed the Bill, and thought it a great violation of private property. Leith could be supplied with wholesome water much sooner than by passing this Bill. Sir J. Marjoribanks said, that exertion and industry were only wanted to supply Edinburgh and Leith with excellent water. He thought there was no necessity for this measure. Mr J. Smith said, that he had no doubt Edinburgh would increase in population, such was the beauty of its situation and the value of the society. He should assuredly support the Bill. Sir J. Yorke said, that, whenever the population of Edinburgh should amount to 300,000, he should vote for a new company. Sir G. Warrender adverted to the rapid increase of Edinburgh, and conceived, that further competition would be advantageous. Mr H. Drummond said, that Leith had no supply of water at all, and this measure was therefore absolutely necessary. Upon a division, the numbers were,—For the amendment, 54—Against it, 49—Majority against the Bill, 5.

On the motion of Mr C. Grant, the Quarantine Laws Bill was read a third time, and passed, after a short conversation, in the course of which Mr Secretary Caning reprobated the absurdity and evil of the speculations on such topics as the plague, as these speculations in England had induced foreign states to make their quarantine laws more severe against us.

A Bill for restoring to the Mauritius all the advantages which that island enjoyed during its connection with France, by placing it on the same footing as the British West India colonies, was read a second time by a majority of 37 to 14—Adjourned.

6.—Mr Hume said, that he had a petition to present from the inhabitants of the village of Craill, in Scotland, on the subject of burning Hindoo widows, to which he would shortly call the attention of the House. He would state only, with regard to the province of Bengal, what he knew with reference to that frightful custom, which would enable the House to form some notion as to the extent to which it was carried. According to official returns, it appears, that in that province there were burnt, in the year 1817, 707 women—in 1818, there were 839—in 1819, 650—in 1820, 597—and in 1821, there were 654. It became the House to consider whether it would suffer such abominable practices to exist; they could as easily be put an end to as other

revolting customs in India, which the interference of that House had been the means of bringing into disuse. Not one immolation out of 500 was a voluntary act; they were all effected at the instigation of the Brahmens. He should wish to know from his Hon. friend (Mr Buxton) whether he intended to submit any motion to the House on the subject. Mr Buxton pledged himself to bring the whole matter before Parliament next Session. The petition, after some observations from several members, was ordered to lie on the table.

The House went into a Committee on the Mauritius trade, on which a conversation of some length took place, chiefly as to its intended effect, which Mr Huskisson stated to be, the placing of the Mauritius exactly in the same situation as Jamaica, in regard to its trade, and power of exporting its produce. The report was ordered to be received tomorrow.

The Colonial Intercourse Bill was read a third time, and passed.

The Duke of Cumberland's Annuity Bill, after a keen discussion in the Committee, in the course of which, Mr Brougham moved as an amendment, that the resolution be submitted to the Committee this day six months, was carried by a majority of 30—143 voting for the grant, and 113 against it.

Mr Brougham then proposed to grant to His Majesty the sum which would be sufficient to educate the young Prince, say £3000 a-year. The contract then would be in the Ministers, and they would be answerable to Parliament for its application. He concluded by moving an amendment to the effect he had stated. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he should have no objection to insert words to confine the grant to the minority of the young prince; but he could not agree to vesting the money in His Majesty; for that would be only saying, "We cannot trust the Duke of Cumberland; and he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would much rather not give the grant at all, than cast such a stigma."

The Committee then divided—The numbers were—For the amendment, 114—Against it, 152—Majority, 38.

7.—Mr Lyttleton moved for the appointment of a select Committee to inquire into the constitution of private Committees, and to report upon it to the House. The object of the Honourable Member was to prevent the abuses complained of in the conduct of private Committees. The motion was agreed to.

Mr Sykes called the attention of the House to the necessity of reducing the

duty on soap and candles. The Honourable Member contended, that the grievance of these taxes was, that they were expensive in the collection, and vexatious to the individuals paying the taxes. It also gave rise to contraband trade to a great extent, particularly in the article of soap. The duty, in fact, amounted to 130 per cent. and the profit to the smuggler was 100 per cent., while during the war, it was only 30 per cent. The Honourable Member concluded by moving a resolution, that early in the next Session it was expedient that the duty on soap should be considerably reduced.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed the motion. It was accordingly negatived.

Mr Hume moved, that a return be made of all state-prisoners, Europeans or natives, confined in India since the year 1800, the length of their imprisonment, and the particular offences for which committed by the Governors of Madras, Bengal, and Bombay; agreed to.

Sir F. Burdett moved, that there be laid before the House the evidence taken before the commission of inquiry into the abuses of the Court of Chancery. The motion was opposed by Mr Secretary Peel, Mr Canning, and others; and supported by Sir Francis Burdett, Mr Denman, Dr Lushington, &c. The House then divided—For the motion, 73—Against it, 154.

*8.—Mr Herries brought in the Bill for the conveyance of newspapers, &c. to the colonies. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time tomorrow.

Mr Hume moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the 22d of Geo. III. chap. 23, as also to make provision for the greater encouragement of men to enter the service of the navy. The first and most important remedy to be applied was, removing the chance of being punished by flogging without inquiry, without a court-martial, or any period of delay. It was also his conviction, that the rate of wages should be advanced, and that pensions should be allowed—£10, to those who had served 10 years, and £20 to those who had served 20—to be increased according to the length of service. Sir George Cockburn opposed the motion, and denied that sailors had any repugnance to the public service. The House then divided—For the motion, 23—Against it 45—Majority against the motion, 22.

Mr Huskisson brought in two Bills, one to allow a free importation of corn from Canada, for the next two years, and another to allow the sale of the corn ware-

housed in this country, which were read a first time.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved a resolution to empower the Lords of the Treasury, and the commissioners of the land revenue, to make advances of money for the repair of Buckingham House. The Right Honourable Gentleman explained, that the purpose of his motion was to provide the means of rendering Buckingham House habitable by His Majesty, in order that Carlton House, which was no longer a suitable residence for the King, might be devoted to the purposes of a national gallery.

10.—The Duke of Cumberland's Annuity Bill, after another keen discussion, was read a third time, and passed, by a majority of 49; Mr Brougham moving as an amendment, that the sum of £3000 be substituted for £6000, which was negatived without a division.

13.—On the motion for recommitting the Distillery Bill, Mr Curties and Mr W. Smith opposed it, as injurious both to the landed interest and the corn distillers, and also giving unconstitutional powers to the excise. The House went into a committee without dividing. An amendment, proposed by Mr Western, that the clause enabling rectifiers to convert rum into gin be left out, was negatived by a majority of 41.

11.—Mr Hume brought under the consideration of the House the state of the Church of Ireland. The Honourable Member contended at some length, that a reduction of the benefices ought to take place, and referred to the estimates of Mr Wakefield, to shew the great value of the land possessed by the Church. In seven dioceses, only, there was land to the value of £278,000 a-year, if resumed by the crown, and let to individuals. Here was a large fund which might be made applicable to the religious education of the people. He then animadverted on the Board of First Fruits, as one in which the clergy sat as judges on themselves. Things could not remain as they were in the Church of Ireland; and it was both the right and the duty of the House to interfere. He meant to call upon the House to pledge itself to inquiry in the ensuing Session. The Honourable member concluded by moving a resolution, that the property of the Church of Ireland was public property; and another, pledging the House to inquire into the state of the Church of Ireland in the course of the next Session. Mr Secretary Canning objected to the motion, on the ground that, if carried, it would be an innovation on the fifth article of the Union, which related to the English and Irish Church.

The motion was negatived, Mr Hume declining to press it to a division.

16.—Mr Brougham presented a petition from an individual named Bishop Burnett, complaining of various acts of oppression by the colonial government of the Cape of Good Hope, and praying for inquiry. The Honourable Gentleman said, if the allegations in the petition were true, the conduct of Lord Charles Somerset merited impeachment. The petition was ordered to be printed.

The report of the Committee on the Combination Laws was brought up, and ordered to be printed; and on the motion of Mr Wallace, leave was given to bring in a Bill to repeal the Act of last Session, and "to substitute other provisions in lieu thereof." Mr Hume protested against the report. The Committee were instructed to inquire into the effects of the Act of last Session, instead of which they had gone generally into the question of combinations, &c. The charges of the masters had been heard, while the men were not afforded the opportunity of reply. This applied especially to Dublin and Glasgow; and he considered that to be most unfair.

Dr Lushington moved that the petition of two men of colour, who had been sent out of the island of Jamaica, and papers relating to the government of the Duke of Manchester, complaining of oppression towards various individuals, should be printed. The motion, however, at the suggestion of Mr Canning, was withdrawn, on the ground that the late period of the Session rendered it inconvenient as well as unjust towards the Duke of Manchester to enter upon inquiry at present. Meantime, the Commissioners of Jamaica would send home all the information which they might collect on this subject. The Buckingham House Bill was read a second time, and the Scotch Judicature Bill a third time, and passed.

17.—Mr Abercromby presented a petition from licentiates of the University of Edinburgh, for the insertion of particular provisions in the Apothecaries' Bill. The Judges' Additional Allowances Bill, after an amendment by Mr Hobhouse, to reduce the salary to £5000, was rejected, was read a third time, and passed. On the question that the House resolve itself into a Committee of Supply, Mr Abercromby took occasion to bring the services of a gallant officer, Sir Robert Wilson, before them, not, he said, for any other purpose but to give the House an opportunity for expressing its feelings, in the wish to see an oblivion of the past, and an act of gracious benevolence, in the restoration of his gallant friend to his former

rank. A number of members spoke to the merits of the gallant General, and in favour of the suggestion. The House having then gone into a Committee of Supply, Mr Huskisson explained the alterations which he had made since the recess, and the resolutions which he had proposed to Parliament before Easter, for the reduction and abolition of prohibitory or import duties on articles of foreign growth, or manufactures. These alterations consist chiefly in making most of the reductions progressive instead of immediate. He also announced some new ones. The duty on books (not for sale) printed twenty years ago, is to be reduced from £.6.10s. to £.1; that on books printed since that period from £.7 to £.5. The duty of £.50 per cent. on all foreign vessels broken up in this country, is to be given up altogether, and that upon pepper is to be reduced from 2s. 6d. per pound to one shilling. The resolutions thus altered were agreed to.

20.—The Lord Advocate moved the third reading of the Stabbing and Shooting (Scotland) Bill. Mr J. P. Grant objected to that clause in the Bill which made it capital in any person to throw vitriolic acid or other substances, with the intent to disable, murder, or injure the human frame. The crime first appeared in Glasgow, where vitriolic acid was used in the manufactories; and the operatives threw it upon those who refused to join in their combinations. But the clause was expressed in such a manner as to render it quite opposed to the spirit and intent of Lord Ellenborough's Act, on which it was founded. After some observations from Mr Peel, Mr Hume, &c., the Bill was read a third time, and passed. The Distillery Laws Bill was read a third time, and passed. On the order of the day being moved for the second reading of the Newspapers Bill, Mr Hume expressed his intention, on the occasion of the Bill being committed; to propose the reduction of the duty upon newspapers to one half the present amount.

21.—Mr W. Dundas presented the report of the Edinburgh Bonds Bill. Mr Abercromby was desirous that the Bill should pass, to afford the requisite relief to the parties. Report read, agreed to, and the Bill ordered to be read a third time. Mr Denman gave notice that he should move for the attendance of Mr Canfor, and three or four other persons, on Friday next, in order to their being examined respecting the conduct of Mr Kenrick, the magistrate and Welsh judge. He should then have the facts of the case respecting the conduct towards Mr Canfor and John Frankes. Mr Martin's

Cruelty to Animals Bill was lost on the second reading, by a majority of 9;—18 voting for, and 27 against it. The Spring-Guns Bill, after some discussion, was read a second time.

22.—On Mr Hume presenting a petition from a person named Jones, complaining of the refusal of Rickett & Co. bankers, at Bristol, to pay their notes in gold, some conversation arose, in which it was stated, that country bankers were obliged to pay on demand, and that in regard to this petition, it had originated in some mistake. In bringing up the report on the Newspapers Bill, Mr Hume proposed a reduction of duty on newspapers to twopence instead of threepence halfpenny, as at present. The Chancellor of the Exchequer thought the removal of the restrictions, as to the size of the papers, and the reduction of duties on supplements, was a very great relief, and had given satisfaction. He thought, therefore, as so much had been done this Session in the way of reduction of taxes, and as he had nibbled a little at this matter of newspapers, he thought it would be unwise at the end of this Session to go any farther. The amendment was put, and negatived without a division. On the order of the day for the third reading of the Scotch Partnerships Societies Bill, Mr J. P. Grant opposed the measure, as it was declaratory of what was not, in fact, the law of Scotland. The Lord Advocate defended the Bill. He said it was not declaratory, but prospective, and absolutely necessary for the commercial interests of Scotland. The question was then put, and the Bill was read a third time, and passed. The Leith Harbour Bill was read a third time, and passed.

23.—Mr F. Buxton, after alluding to the treatment experienced by Mr Shrewsbury, lately a missionary from the African Society in Barbadoes, where a strong spirit of religious persecution had for some time prevailed, and enumerating a series of brutal attacks, insults, and persecutions which he had endured, not from ignorant and illiterate men, but from persons in a high station of life, concluded by moving a resolution to this effect:—"That this House, from the papers laid on the table relating to the demolition of the Methodist Chapel at Barbadoes, and the expulsion thence of Mr Shrewsbury, a licensed teacher of religion, deem it their duty to declare their utmost amazement at so scandalous and daring a violation of law, and express their hope that his Majesty will be pleased to order some steps to be taken to secure the rebuilding of the chapel, and to afford ample protection, and religious toleration, to all his Majesty's

subjects in that colony. Mr W. Horton would not attempt to justify the outrages which had been committed, but he thought a more conciliatory measure than that proposed by the Honourable Gentleman would be advisable. Mr Canning said, only one opinion could be formed as to the act in question; it was wholly unjustifiable in itself, a transgression of law, and an insolent defiance of Parliament and the country. The expression of a Parliamentary censure would be most efficacious; and with this view, and believing that the original resolution would be greatly improved by his amendment, he would move, "that the House, having taken into its most serious consideration the papers on the table relating to the demolition of the Methodist Chapel in Barbadoes, deem it their duty to declare their utmost indignation at that scandalous and daring violation of the law; and having seen, with great satisfaction, the instructions sent over by His Majesty's Secretary of State to the Governor of Barbadoes, to prevent the recurrence of a similar outrage, humbly express their ready concurrence in any measure His Majesty may deem necessary to secure the most ample protection, and religious toleration to all classes of His Majesty's subjects in that colony."—(*Hear.*)—Mr Brougham approved of the amendment, which was agreed to.

24.—Witnesses were examined in the case of Mr Kenrick, the Welsh Judge, after which, it was finally resolved, that the evidence taken before the committee, and Mr Kenrick's statement, be printed.

27.—Mr Wallace moved the House to go into a committee upon the Combination Laws, and took the opportunity to read from the evidence delivered before the select committee, to which the subject had been referred, several extracts, showing the formidable extent to which the confederated labourers engaged themselves, in some instances, even to the commission of murder, should murder be thought necessary to advance the interests of the body in which they were incorporated. Mr Hume contended, that the statement of the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr Wallace) was somewhat overcharged, and he hoped, therefore, the House would receive his observations with certain restrictions. The House then went into a committee. A conversation of some length followed, upon the clause being read for rendering workmen liable to punishment, who, by threats, intimidation, molestation, or insult, prevented men, not associated with them, from working for the proscribed masters, in which the Attorney-General, Mr J. P.

Grant, Mr Hume, &c. participated, and the clause was carried by a majority of 90 to 18. Mr Hume said, that the House, in agreeing to that clause, were virtually opposing the people. Mr Denman proposed, instead of a summary conviction before two Magistrates, to substitute "by the verdict of a Jury." The committee divided.—For the amendment, 53.—Against it, 78. Mr Hume moved an amendment, that no master manufacturer, or the son of a master manufacturer, should act as a Magistrate under this act. The committee divided.—For the amendment, 15.—Against it, 60. The other clauses being agreed to, the House then resumed, and it was ordered that the report be brought up to-morrow.

In the case of Mr Kenrick, Mr Peel moved,—“That the committee having heard the evidence in support of the allegations contained in the petition of Martin Money Camfor, and having heard counsel in behalf of Mr Kenrick, they do not think it necessary to recommend to the House the institution of any further proceedings, with reference to the judicial character of Mr Kenrick.” A long conversation ensued, in which Mr Tierney, Mr Canning, Mr H. Sumner, Sir F. Byrdett, &c. participated, and Mr Peel's resolution was agreed to without a division.

29.—Mr Hume presented a petition from the principal proprietors of the Glasgow Free Press, praying that the duty on newspapers and advertisements might be reduced. The petitioners stated, that unless some such measure were introduced to protect the proprietors of newspapers, their property must eventually be ruined, in consequence of a system lately introduced of circulating lists of advertisements, neither those lists, nor the advertisements they contained, being subjected to any duty. The Honourable Member said, he thought the subject well worthy the consideration of Government. The duty on newspapers was, in fact, a tax laid upon information. By reducing it, he felt convinced that the revenue would not be in the slightest degree diminished.

The Combination Laws Bill, after some discussion, was read a second time. The Spring-Guns Bill was lost, on a division, by a majority of 1, Mr Tennyson, its great supporter, having been so much displeased with the alterations made upon it, as ultimately to oppose it.

30.—The Combination of Workmen Bill was read a third time, after the insertion of three clauses—the first, that prosecutions under the Bill must commence within six months after the commission of the offence; the second, to limit the term of imprisonment of refrac-

to witnesses to three months; and the third gives the individual convicted a right of appeal to the Quarter Sessions; but upon conviction at the Quarter Sessions, the offender is to pay the costs.

July 1.—Mr Canning moved the adjournment of the House, at its rising, till Tuesday. Mr Brougham wished to know whether the Right Honourable gentleman could give the House any satisfactory information as to the time when the French Army of Occupation would be withdrawn from Spain. Mr Canning said, that in December last, the French Government had been distinctly asked at what period the troops would be withdrawn from Spain; and, from the answer, he was satisfied they would be gradually withdrawn; and of this he was sure, that the Honourable and Learned Gentlemen could not be more desirous of the withdrawal of the

troops than the French Government itself was. He could further inform the Honourable and Learned Gentlemen, that when the Army of Occupation was withdrawn, there was no intention on the part of France to retain possession of the fortresses.

5.—The House met, agreeably to adjournment, when a great number of petitions were presented, and the Lords' amendments on the Combination Laws Bill were read a first and second time.

6.—The Speaker, attended by a number of members, appeared at the Bar of the House of Lords, when, after the Royal assent was given to the Combination Laws Bill, and a number of other Bills, his Majesty's commission for proroguing Parliament was read, and the Parliament was prorogued till the 25th of August.

BRITISH CHRONICLE.

JULY.

1.—*Mr John Watson's Charity.* The foundation of the building for the purposes of Mr John Watson's bequest was laid this day. The fund is under the management of the Keepers and Commissioners of the Signet, and its destination is for rearing and educating destitute children. The plan of the edifice, which is highly elegant in its exterior, and very judicious in the arrangements of the apartments, was furnished by Mr Burn, and the ground on which it is to stand (part of the estate of Dean) corresponds in point of beauty with the simply ornamental character of the design. There were present, besides the Directors of the Institution, the Lord Provost and Magistrates, the Sheriff-Depute of the County, the Rev. Dr David Dickson, and a considerable assemblage of spectators. The stone was in due form laid by Mr Mackenzie, the Deputy-Keeper of the Signet, after which, Dr Dickson, in a suitable and impressive prayer, implored the blessing of the Almighty on the Institution. The party assembled afterwards dined together at the British Hotel. It is a circumstance nearly incredible, but which is ascertained by authentic documents, that this fund, which now amounts to nearly £120,000 Sterling, springs from the accumulation and profits of about £4700, which came under the management of the Keeper and Commissioners of the Signet in the year 1781.

AUGUST.

1.—*HIGH COURT OF JUSTICIARY.*—This day the Court met, and proceeded to the trial of John Murdoch, accused of the crime of culpable homicide, having, on the 23d March last, while driving a cart in a furious and reckless manner along Leith Walk, come in contact with Mrs Gunn, widow of John Gunn, marble-cutter, Leith Walk; the wheel passed over her body, whereby she was severely and mortally wounded, and died in consequence of the internal injuries in a few hours thereafter. The pannel pleaded Guilty, and the jury found accordingly. He was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment in Bridewell.

* John Murray was next put to the bar, on a charge of theft, by means of house-breaking, aggravated by his being previously convicted of theft, in so far as he, on the 15th May last, forcibly entered the house of David Stewart, plasterer, Spring Gardens, Stockbridge, and did steal therefrom a variety of articles of female wearing-apparel, &c. The pannel pleaded Not Guilty.

The circumstances of this robbery, as detailed by David Stewart, were nearly as follow:—He met the pannel accidentally, while walking on the banks of the Water of Leith. The pannel then entered into conversation with the witness, giving himself out as the captain of a vessel then in Leith harbour, and saying, if the witness and his wife would come to Leith, he would give them a

sail to Inchkeith. The pannel called at the witness's house once or twice in the course of the week, and appointed him and his wife to come to Leith on the Sunday following. They went accordingly, and met their friend on the pier; he, however, tried to pass them unobserved. After accosting him, he directed them to his ship, called the Janet of Kirkaldy, giving his name as Captain Henderson. He said, if they would come in about an hour, he would have some tea prepared for them. They accordingly walked about for some time, then went to look for the vessel, but no such ship could be found, and they proceeded homewards; when coming up the Bonnington road, and nearly opposite Claremont Crescent, he observed the pannel coming down from Edinburgh, and a girl with him carrying two bundles, wrapped in silk handkerchiefs, which the witness immediately recognised to be his own property. He then gave chase to the pannel, who attempted to escape by going through a garden, but was caught by a gardener, and conveyed by the witness, along with the bundles, to the watch-house. When the witness took hold of Murray, he gave him a silk handkerchief out of his pocket, and pointed to the place where he had thrown some other articles, when pursued. The pannel had no neckcloth on when apprehended. ("You are a liar," said Murray.) The pannel struck a man who was assisting to convey him to the Police Office, and urged witness to let him go, for he must be hanged. ("Tut, he's a liar," reiterated the pannel.) The witness stated, that when he went home, he found the keeper of the door forced, one of the nails broken, and the other drawn out. The libel being restricted to an arbitrary punishment, Murray, who conducted himself in the most disgraceful manner throughout the whole trial, was sentenced to be transported for life.

11.—James Mitchell and John Sharp, carters and horse-dealers, were placed at the bar, charged with forcibly robbing David Knox of £.25 in bank-notes, and about £.3 in silver. The prisoners pleaded Not Guilty.

David Knox being sworn, proceeded to state, that he resides with his mother at Gilmerton, and that: at the last Dalkeith fair he sold a young and an old horse; the former for £.21, and the latter for £.4.10s. The notes he placed in a pocket-book, and put it into the left pocket of his inside waistcoat; the silver he put into his watch fob. He partook of two gills of whisky and three bottles

of porter, along with one Thomas Marr and Robert Scott, but was perfectly sober. They left Dalkeith about two o'clock in the morning, by the Edinburgh road; at Lugton-toll saw the prisoners, and also William Matheson and William Wilkie. Sharp asked witness to go with him and his friend through a park, to show him a nearer road to Gilmerton, which he consented to do. The second field they came to was ploughed for fallow, in which Sharp came up to him laughing, gripped him by the face, and threw him back on the ground. Mitchell tore away the fob containing the silver; Sharp said that was not all, and bade Mitchell look the other side, which he did, and got the pocket-book, when they left him. His clothes were all torn open, and the pocket-book was lying on his breast, but the contents were gone. Sharp held his hand over witness's mouth, who begged them to let him get up, and he would give all. From a previous question from Sharp, as to his having sold the young horse, he was becoming alarmed, and told them that he had not sold it. He hastened back to the road, where he again met those he had left there, to whom he told what had happened.

After several other witnesses were called, who proved the sale of the horses, the proceeds of which they stated to have been precisely the same as Knox had done, and William Matheson, William Wilkie, Thomas Mar, and Alexander Thomson, deposed to the agitation of Knox, and the state of his clothes, when he regained the road, the Lord Justice Clerk recapitulated the evidence. The Jury having retired for about ten minutes, returned with a verdict, finding both the prisoners Guilty, but unanimously and earnestly recommending them to the Royal clemency. They were sentenced to be executed on the 17th day of August.

Henry Gunn and Walter Broomfield were next placed at the bar, accused of housebreaking and theft. The indictment charged them with entering the cellar of John Stevenson, Pollock's Close, Cowgate, and stealing therefrom a web of carpeting and a box of hats. Gunn was also charged with being habit and reputed a common thief. They both pled Not Guilty.

After the examination of witnesses, Gunn, who had previously been convicted of no less than six acts of theft, was sentenced to transportation for life, and Broomfield for seven years.

12.—Alexander Mackay, weaver, and William Macdonald, flesher, were put to

the bar, accused of having, upon the evening of 25th May last, assaulted William Wilson, blacksmith, at the foot of the Castle Wynd, Grassmarket, and struck him several severe blows, and inflicted a deep wound on his left breast or side with a pocket knife, or other lethal weapon, to the effusion of his blood, and danger of his life. Mackay pleaded Guilty, and Macdonald not Guilty. After several witnesses had been examined for the prosecution, Mackay was found Guilty of the assault and stabbing, and Macdonald of the assault and striking, as libelled. The prisoner Mackay was then sentenced to be exhibited on a platform, at the common place of execution, and there receive, on his naked back, the usual number of stripes, (50) by the hands of the common executioner, and to be transported beyond seas for seven years; and Macdonald to confinement in Bridewell, at hard labour, for twelve months. Wednesday the 27th was appointed for inflicting on Mackay the punishment of public whipping. This young ruffian had, in the course of the last year, been capitally convicted and condemned for breaking into a watchmakers' shop in the Grassmarket, but afterwards pardoned, on account of one of the Jury having been a minor. Same day, Thomas Macdonald, son of a brewer's servant in the Canongate, was put to the bar, accused of having, early on the morning of 6th June last, and within the inclosures of Bridewell, to which he had obtained illegal entrance, assaulted Charles Grant, night-watchman, who had been stationed there to prevent any intercourse between the prisoners and persons from the outside; of having thrown Grant down, and inflicted several severe blows on his side and head, by which his skull was laid bare; kicked him when down till he was reduced to a state of insensibility; and inflicted with a knife, or other sharp instrument, a deep wound upon his right hand. The pannel pleaded Guilty, and was sentenced to be confined in Bridewell, at hard labour, for eighteen months, and on Wednesday the 3d of August, to be placed upon a platform, within its precincts, in sight of the other prisoners, and receive upon his naked back, by the hands of the common executioner, the usual number of stripes.

13.—Alexander M'Farlane Maitland, alias Alexander Maitland, was this day tried for theft, by means of breaking open lockfast places, and assault. The evidence clearly established the theft and assault; the Lord Advocate departed from the charge of breaking open lockfast places, and the prisoner having been found Guilty, was sentenced to 14 years' transportation.

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Paul Fraser pleaded guilty of a violent assault upon Mary Stewart; or Nicolson, and was adjudged to imprisonment for twelve months. The Lord Justice Clerk, in the course of his remarks, said, that in future similar convictions would be followed by the severer punishment of whipping and transportation.

Case of William Murray Borthwick.—

At the conclusion of the foregoing trials, Mr Moncrieff moved the Court on behalf of the above-named individual. A criminal prosecution, it will be remembered, was raised against Borthwick, in 1822, by Robert Alexander, who had been his partner in the proprietorship of the Glasgow Sentinel. This prosecution was abandoned before the trial came on, and the Court allowed Borthwick his expenses against Alexander, who, however, having become bankrupt, left the country. The question now was, whether Mr Niven, who had in the ordinary form become Alexander's cautioner, that the criminal letters against Borthwick should be duly executed, and the prosecution insisted on, was rendered liable by his bond to pay the expenses. The Court considered this as an important question, not only as regarded this, but future cases, and ordered minutes of debate, on the point of expenses, to be lodged by the second box-day of next vacation.

On Thursday, Thomas King, miner, surrendered himself at the bar, charged with poaching in a plantation belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, in the parish of Dalkeith. Alexander Hood, who was included in the same indictment, did not appear when called on, and the Court was about to pronounce sentence of fugitation against him, when his counsel, Mr Fletcher, objected to the indictment that it was irregular, not having been left at Hood's own residence, but at his father's. He called evidence to prove that Hood had been forisfamiliarized; the Court sustained the objection, and the diet was deserted. King pleaded Guilty, and certificates of good character being produced, and other circumstances in his favour urged by his counsel, he was sentenced to be imprisoned in the jail of Edinburgh for 4 months. Lord Pitmilly remarked, that, but for the leniency of the Court, the punishment might have been made transportation.

JULY.

5.—*Negro Slavery.*—The annual meeting of the Edinburgh Society for promoting the mitigation and ultimate abolition of Negro Slavery, was this day held in the Assembly Rooms, George Street, the Right Honourable the Lord Provost in the chair. The reverend Mr Terrot read

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the report, which was principally composed of detailed accounts of what has taken place in the West-India Colonies, with respect to slaves, since the last annual meeting; from which it appeared, that little progress had been made in the great object of the Society. By a statement contained in the report, it appears that the West-Indian monopoly is now supported at the annual expence of £1,200,000, from the bounty on sugar alone. It was calculated that there were about 1800 sugar plantations; therefore, the average to each was nearly £700 above what they would receive were the trade free. "How long will it be borne!" says the report, "and how long ought it to borne, that the free inhabitants of Britain shall be taxed annually £1,200,000, merely to confirm the despotism of 180,000 whites, and to rivet the chains of 800,000 negroes!" The report notices the Tropical Free Labour Company in favourable terms, and recommends it to the attention of the Society. The report concluded, by stating, that the meeting ought to "feel that the system, as it now exists, is a blot upon the fair fame of Britain—a national disgrace, and, what is worse, a national sin. From that disgrace and sin they were personally free, so long as they continued to raise their voice against that monstrous iniquity—unworthy as it is of any Christian nation, but most unworthy of that nation which, under the Divine Blessing, owes its wealth, its power, and its happiness, to freedom." The Society was addressed by J. A. Murray, Esq. in a very long and eloquent speech. He concluded by moving, that that report be printed and circulated; which motion was seconded by A. Ferguson, Esq. of Woodhill, who addressed the meeting, and moved, "That this meeting views, with deep regret, the unaltered state of ignorance, heathenism, and immorality, in which the slave population of the West Indies is still continued by their masters, and that it regards the position as established by the painful experience of many years; that no measure will effectually remove this enormous evil, but the legal admission of the slaves to a participation of those civil rights and privileges as British subjects, from which they have been hitherto most unjustly and unmercifully withheld; and that this meeting pledges itself to use, with firmness and perseverance, every lawful means for the attainment of so desirable an object." The meeting was then addressed by H. Cockburn, Esq., and his motion was unanimously adopted—"That this meeting feels itself called upon to express its deep regret and disappointment, that so little progress

should hitherto have been made, in carrying into effect the benevolent intention of his Majesty's Government, the unanimous resolutions of Parliament, and the wishes and prayers of the nation at large, for the mitigation and ultimate extinction of colonial slavery; that the colonists appear now to exhibit that case of contumacy which Mr Canning, in 1823, declared would demand and justify the direct interference of Parliament; that Parliament, therefore, ought, without further delay, to enact and enforce such measures as are requisite for effectually meliorating the condition of the slave population throughout the British dominions, and for raising them to a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects." The Lord Provost gave a very interesting account of an interview he had lately in London with Lieutenant Clapperton, from whom he learned, that, in consequence of some information he had communicated to Government, there was a hope that something might be done to put an end to the traffic of blood in the interior of Africa.

The meeting was very well attended. A great number of ladies were present; and a liberal collection was made at the close of the meeting.

5.—*Wallace's Sword*.—This day Wallace's Sword was brought here in a box, from Dumbarton Castle, on its way to the Tower of London. The removal has occasioned, not without reason, a good deal of dissatisfaction in this part of the country, where the name of the immortal hero of Scotland is cherished with a peculiar regard.—*Glasgow Paper*.

11.—*Parricide*.—This forenoon an old soldier, who subsists upon a Government pension, was brought, in from Dalkeith, to be examined by the Sheriff, upon the charge of bereaving his aged father of his life. The prisoner, it is said, is excessively addicted to drinking, which occasions temporary fits of madness, in one of which he had attempted to strangle his father with a rope; but that failing, he beat in his skull with a bludgeon. He has been fully committed; and now exhibits indubitable proofs of anguish and remorse.

The Bruce's Birth-Day.—The anniversary of the nativity of King Robert Bruce was celebrated, as usual, on Monday the 11th inst. under the walls of his ancient patrimonial castle of Lochmaben, by a numerous party of ladies and gentlemen from the town and neighbourhood. At four o'clock, the company, about sixty in number, sat down to an excellent picnic dinner, in honour of the day. The Provost of the Burgh in the chair—

Lieutenant Colonel Canuthers of Denbie, croupier. The cloth being removed, a number of appropriate toasts followed, among others, 'The immortal' memory of King Robert Bruce, Sir William Wallace, &c. which were drank with that deep feeling the mention of their very names must ever produce in the bosoms of all who cherish the remembrance of the mighty dead. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the evening—one party seated at tea—another dancing below the ruins of the ancient castle—the splendour and elegance of the scene, and the recollections of the day, gave all that harmony and elevation of spirit, which must ever accompany them, and it was only when the shades of night descended, that the party left the sacred ground, "where Bruce's turrets crumbling fall, the monument of ages passed away."

12.—The Convention of Royal Burghs met. It continued to meet for three days, but was occupied with business merely routine, or of little importance.

Stirling School of Arts.—A School of Arts was established in Stirling under the most favourable auspices. Provost Gillies was in the chair. The Rev. Mr Binnie opened the business of the meeting in an eloquent address, detailing the advantages to be derived from the establishment of such an Institution; a series of regulations were adopted, and a committee of management appointed. Many gentlemen of the town, besides a number of master tradesmen and mechanics, attended the meeting. The Institution is to be opened on the 21st instant, by a course of lectures by Mr Macome of Paisley.

13.—*Presbytery of Glasgow.*—The Presbytery took up the case of Alexander Brown, who was summoned to attend by agreement of the last Presbytery, for having attempted to bribe William Cunningham, Esq. of Lainshaw, in order to get the charge of a church as minister in Stewar-ton, of which Mr Cunningham is patron. Mr Brown appeared at the bar; he expressed his contrition for the rash step he had taken, but hoped the Presbytery would overlook it. After considerable discussion, it was put to the vote, whether he should be deprived of his license, or suspended *sine die*, when there appeared a majority of four to deprive him altogether of ever again becoming a licensed minister; upon which Mr Brown protested to the next meeting of Synod.—A report on the case of Mr Thom of Liverpool was read privately, the matter being only in progress.

15.—*Excise Court.*—An Excise Justice of Peace Court was held in the County Hall, before the Sheriff-Substitute, Sir

Patrick Walker, William Macfarlane, Esq. and James Balfour, Esq. The most important case related to the seizure of six reams of paper, which it was alleged had been sent by a paper-maker to a book-binder, in wrappers different from those prescribed by law. The paper-maker, (he was also a stationer), for whom appeared Mr A. Rutherford, advocate, endeavoured to establish that the paper had been sent from his warehouse at Dalkeith, where he acted only as a stationer; and not from his mill at Colinton, where he was a paper-maker. He called several witnesses, whose testimony went to prove, that the paper in question had been sent to Edinburgh from Dalkeith, and returned; and that it was afterwards resorted, picked, and the broken paper taken out. The defender failed in proving that the paper was the paper actually returned, or that it had paid duty, (which he had previously engaged to make out,) and it was held, that the act of picking was not the business of a stationer, but of a paper-maker. The Justices, with the exception of Mr Macfarlane, who considered the trader had in this instance only acted as a stationer, were of opinion that the statute had been violated—condemned the paper, and fined the defendant in the mitigated penalty of £.15.

22.—A public meeting was held in the Waterloo Hotel, for the purpose of promoting the establishment of a Scottish Military academy. Lord Robert Kerr in the chair. A series of resolutions were moved and adopted, and a Committee appointed to carry them into effect.

24.—The Lord Provost and Magistrates received a respite during his Majesty's pleasure, of the sentence of death pronounced upon Mitchell and Sharp for robbery.

26.—About two o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out in a small tenement in the Back Causeway in Kilmarnock. An alarm was instantly spread, and hundreds repaired to the spot, but all their exertions to arrest the progress of the fire were in vain. The flames spread with astonishing rapidity, and in a short time the whole range of old thatched buildings was in a blaze. It is painful to add, that three women and a child lost their lives. Their bodies were found in the ruins, and they were interred on Thursday forenoon. It is not well known how this destructive fire originated.

28.—*Foundation of the Royal High School.* This interesting ceremony took place with great pomp and display. So early as eleven o'clock in the forenoon, crowds of well-dressed people began to assemble on the Canton-hill for the purpose of

witnessing the procession; and at half-past one o'clock the south and eastern sides of the hill presented one dense mass of spectators. The scene bore a close resemblance to that which our city exhibited on the day of his Majesty's entrance, when Scotland poured forth nearly half a million of loyal hearts, to welcome their Sovereign to his northern capital. The behaviour of the crowd, as on that important day, was distinguished for propriety and order. At one o'clock the different public bodies, &c. intended to form the procession, assembled at the High-School Yards, and were arranged according to the programme previously published by authority. The Yeomanry kept the streets clear, and a strong body of constables also assisted to prevent the crowd from encroaching on the line. The procession, on advancing to Waterloo Place, was joined by the Lord Register, Lord Abercromby, the Solicitor-General, and a number of distinguished individuals. It then wheeled slowly round the base of the hill, the various bands playing martial airs, in the following order:

A body of the Extraordinary Constables.

Mr Stenhouse, their Moderator.

A body of the High Constables.

Mr Ritchie, Moderator of the High Constables.

The remainder of the Extraordinary Constables lining the left side, and the remainder of the High Constables the right side of the High School boys.

Mr Mackean, Writing-Master.

Janitor of the High School.

First Class of the High School, in threes, according to their size, the tallest in the rear.

Mr Pyper, Master.

Second Class, in like order.

Mr Mackay, Master.

Third Class, in like order.

Mr Lindsay, Master.

Fourth Class, in like order.

Mr Irvine, Master.

Fifth Class, in like order.

Mr Carson, Rector.

Gentlemen who have attended the High School, in threes.

University Mace-bearer, with his mace. Professors.

The Very Reverend Principal Baird. Clergy of the city.

City Officers, two and two apart.

The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, in their usual state.

Architect for the building.

Grand Lodge.

Lodges holding under it, according to their seniority, preceded by their officers.

The Lodge of the Sixth Dragoon

Guards, and small party of Yeomanry closed the procession.

At twenty minutes before three, the head of the procession reached the amphitheatre round the stone, and formed in nearly the following order:—The High Constables, and the young gentlemen of the High School, on approaching, diverged to the right, by the first pathway, the latter filling into their appointed seats. The Constables then formed behind the boys at the north side of the platform. The Clergy, Senatus Academicus, Rector, and Masters, took their stations on the south side. The Lord Provost, Magistrates, Sheriff Duff, and several other official gentlemen, took their stations on the west side; the other gentlemen and the Calton Constables formed on the Hill behind them. The Grand Lodge approached by the second path-way, and passed behind the High Constables, taking their station on the east side, the other lodges forming behind. The Rev. Dr Brunton then, in a most impressive prayer, invoked a blessing on the undertaking, after which the masonic part of the ceremony proceeded. Two crystal jars, one containing all the different coins, and the other the latest of each of the Edinburgh newspapers, and an Edinburgh Almanack, were placed in the cavities prepared for them. Above these were placed three plates, one of which contained the following inscription, and the others the names of the City Magistracy, and Office-bearers of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Q. B. F. F. Q. S.

Regnante. Georgio. IV. Patrie. Patre. Scholam. Regiam. Edinensem.

Jam. per. Trecentos. Annos. Illustrem. Ut. Juventuti. Ingenue.

In. Studia. Literarum. Humaniorum. Incumbenti.

Melius. Consuleretur.

Utque.

•Frequentiac. et. Magnificentiac. Urbis.

Ornatissimae. Atque. Florentissimae.

Aedium. Ipsarum. Amplitudo.

Splendorque.

Aptius. Convenirent.

E. Sede. Antiqua.

In. Hunc. Collem. Transferendam.

Vir. Amplissimus.

Alexander. Henderson. Prefectus. Urbi. Senatusque. Edinensis.

Decreverunt.

A. R. Carson, A. M.

Soc. Antiq. Scot. Necnon. Soc. Reg. Edin. Socio. Rectore.

Geo. Irvine. Benj. Mackay.

Sam. Lindsay, A. M. Gul. Pyper, A. M. Magistris.

Tho. Hamilton, Architecto.
A.D. MDCCCXXV.

Primum. Lapidem. Posuit,
Vir. Nobilissimus.

Joannes. Glenorchiae. Vicecomes.
Amplissimi. Sodalitii. Architectonici.
Scotorum.

Curio. Maximus.

V. Cal. Augusti.

Aerac. Architectonicae. 5825.

Anno. 19919CCCXXV.

Lord Glenorchy having performed the

ceremonies usual on such occasions, afterwards addressed the spectators at considerable length, to which the Lord Provost replied. The ceremony then concluded, and the rear of the procession took the lead in retiring from the ground. At six o'clock about two hundred and fifty noblemen and gentlemen assembled in the Waterloo Tavern to dinner, in honour of the occasion; the Lord Provost in the chair, supported by the Earl of Fife and Lord Abercromby. A number of characteristic and loyal toasts were given, and the evening was spent most happily.

APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, &c.

I. CIVIL.

June 30. Major General Sir Thomas Munro, K.C.B. created a Baron of the United Kingdom.
July 1. Major General Bourk to be Lieut. Governor of the eastern district of the Cape of Good Hope.

II. ECCLESIASTICAL.

June 30. The Rev. James Bissett presented by the king to the Church and Parish of Bourne.

— Rev. William Strang inducted to the charge of the Relief Congregation, Carrubers Close, Edinburgh.

— United Secession Church, St. James Street, Paisley, gave an unanimous call to the Rev. Arch. Baird of Auchtermuchty.

— United Associate Congregation, Melville Street, Glasgow, gave an unanimous call to the Rev. Alexander Ogilvie Beattie of Kincardine.

— United Associate Congregation of Kilpatrick gave an unanimous call to Mr Hugh Crichton.
July 7. Mr Alex. Leitch ordained Minister of Gartmore Chapel.

12. Rev. George Tod ordained Assistant Minister of the Parish of Inveresk.

21. Mr Andrew Beveridge Murray presented by the Marquis of Queensberry to the Church and Parish of Mousewale.

III. MILITARY.—In June last.

BREVET.

To be Major-General.

Col. James Campbell Royal Marines 27 May 1825.

To be Colonels.

Lieut. Col. Bethune, h. p. 16 Gar. Bn. 22 Aug. 1819.
— Weston, h. p. 14 do. 27 May 1825.

To be Lieutenant-Colonel.

Major Wetherall, 1 F. 11 Dec. 1824.

To be Majors.

Capt. Denham, 17 F. (Maj. in Africa) 22 Nov. 1821.
— A. Hiell, Royal Marines 27 May 1825.
— M. Timpon, do. do.
— J. S. Hamilton, 1 R. Vet. Bn. do.
— W. Ramsay, Royal Marines do.
— J. B. Orde, 50 F. do.
— W. H. Newton, 75 F. do.
— H. Ross, Royal Marines do.
— P. S. Perry, do. do.
— T. Aslett, do. do.
— E. H. Garthwaite, Royal Marines do.
— H. Priddle, do. do.

To be Aides-de-Camp to the King, with the Rank of Colonel in the Army, 27th May 1825.

Lieut.-Col. Grenvill, 45 F.
— R. H. Dick, 42 F.
— Neil Douglas, 79 F.
— Henry Wyndham, 10 Dr.

To be Lieutenant Generals in the East Indies only, 27th May 1825.

Major Gen. Sir Thomas Dallas, K.C.B.
— Alexander Cuppage
— Alexander Dyce
— Charles Corner
— John Gordon
— Tredway Clarke
— William Henry Blachford
— Malcolm Grant
— John Bailie
— John Cuppage
— Henry P. Laurence
— Sir G. Martindell, K.C.B.
— Charles Rumley
— Sir G. S. Brown, K.C.B.
— Sir Thomas Brown, K.C.B.

To be Major Generals in the East Indies only, 27th May, 1825.

Colonel J. Cunningham
— T. Shulldham
— J. Leith
— F. Pierce
— W. H. Hewitt

To be Colonels in the East Indies only, 27th May 1825.

Lieut.-Col. G. Carpenter
— J. L. Caldwell
— H. S. Osborne

2 Life G. Lieut. Bulkeley, Capt. by purch. vice de Courcy, ret. 31 May 1825.
Cornet and Sub-Lieut. Lyon, Lieut. do.
J. Trotter, Cornet and Sub-Lieut. do.
R. Ho. G. Cornet Gordon, Lieut. by purch. vice Hotchkin, ret. 7 April
Ensign Arthur, Marquis of Douro, from 71 F. Cornet 2 June
1 Dr. G. Cornet Sir G. Aylmer, Bt. Lieut. by purch. vice Bladway, prom. 9 do.
G. Teesdale, Cornet do.
2 W. E. Hartopp, Cornet by purch. vice Hepburn, prom. 12 May
J. E. Dyer, (Riding Master), Cornet without pay 26 do.
Lieut. Dyer, from h. p. 2 Dr. Gds. Quart. Mast. vice Marsden, dead do.
3 Gen. Sir W. Payne, Bt. from 12 Dr. Col. vice Gen. Vyse, dead 2 June
Cornet Warrington, from 11 Dr. Cornet vice Chalmers, prom. 26 May

- 3 Dr. G. R. K. Trotter, Cornet by purch. vice Cockran, prom. 12 do.
 7 Capt. Clark, from 1 Dr. Maj. by purch. vice Anson, prom. 26 do.
 Lieut. Elton, from 15 Dr. Lieut. vice Bowen, h. p. 103 F. 2 June
 2 Dr. Serj. Maj. Gillies, (Riding Master,) Cornet without pay 12 May
 3 Lieut. Tuite, Capt. by purch. vice Manfull, ret. 5 do.
 Cornet Floyer, Lieut. do.
 W. W. Congreve, Cornet 12 do.
 Bt. Col. Lord R. Manners, from h. p. 10 Dr. Lieut. Col. 2 June
 Ensign Levett, from G. F. Cornet by purch. vice Trevilian, ret. 16 do.
 4 Cornet Weston, Lieut. by purch. vice Fancourt, 93 F. 19 May
 Maj. Sale, Lieut. Col. 2 June
 Capt. Fendall, Maj. do.
 Lieut. Heydon, from 12 Dr. Capt. do.
 6 F. Lieut. Col. Keane, from h. p. Lieut. Col. do.
 Cornet Mansel, Lieut. by purch. vice Warrand, prom. 9 do.
 H. F. Mackay, Capt. do.
 5 Lieut. Brett, Capt. by purch. vice Cartwright, prom. 26 May
 Cornet Malet, Lieut. do.
 Major Craufurd, from Cape Corps Cav. Maj. vice Baumeant, prom. 9 June
 Cornet C. Williams, Lieut. by purch. vice Beresford, prom. 26 May
 10 A. C. Williams, Cornet 16 June
 Lieut. Hon. R. Watson, Capt. by purch. vice Hamilton, ret. 19 May
 Cornet Macdonell, Lieut. do.
 L. R. Vice. Frankfort, de Montmorency, Cornet do.
 11 Serj. Maj. Ready, Adj. (with rank of Cornet) vice Butcher, res. Adj. only do.
 W. Roebuck, Cornet by purch. vice Warrington, 3 Dr. G. 26 do.
 12 Maj. Gen. Sir C. Grant, K.C.B. and K.C.H. Col. vice Sir W. Payne, 3 Dr. G. 2 June
 Lieut. Rose, Capt. by purch. vice Andrews, Cape Corps 9 do.
 Cornet Hyde, Lieut. do.
 Lieut. Stewart, from 75 F. Lieut. vice Morris, h. p. 88 F. 10 do.
 F. W. Hamilton, Cornet do.
 13 G. Dewes, do. vice Hyde 16 do.
 Lieut. Stokes, from 20 F. Lieut. vice Elton, 7 Dr. G. 2 do.
 15 Capt. Byam, Maj. by purch. vice Eden, prom. 16 do.
 Lieut. Scott, Capt. do.
 Cornet Dundas, Lieut. do.
 16 Brevet Lieut. Col. Beill, Lieut. Col. 2 do.
 Capt. King, Maj. do.
 Lieut. Harris, Capt. do.
 Cornet Smyth, Lieut. by purch. vice Ball, prom. 26 May
 E. Guest, Cornet do.
 17 Lieut. Badden, Capt. by purch. vice Thompson, prom. 6 June
 Cornet Loftus, Lieut. 9 do.
 Gren. Gds. Ensign and Lieut. Rowley, Lieut. and Capt. by purch. vice Simpson, prom. 24 May
 Hon. P. Ashburnham, Lieut. and Capt. by purch. vice Starke, ret. 25 do.
 do. vice Peel, prom. 26 do.
 Ensign Digby, from 88 F. Ensign and Lieut. 24 do.
 J. Dunkop, Ensign and Lieut. 26 do.
 2d Lieut. Gower, from Rifle Brig. do. 6 June
 Capt. Douglas, Adj. vice Simpson, prom. 26 May
 Colds. Gds. Lord M. W. Graham, Ensign and Lieut. by purch. vice Harcourt, prom. 19 do.
 3 F. Gds. Hon. R. Sandilands, do. vice Fitzroy, prom. 26 do.
 Lieut. Douglas, Lieut. and Capt. by purch. vice Prendergast, ret. 16 June
 Ensign Hood, from 61 F. Ensign and 16 do.
- 5 F. Gds. Lieut. by purch. vice Fairfield, prom. 16 do.
 B. J. Bruce, Ensign do. vice Douglas, 15 do.
 1 F. Hosp. Assist. Russell, Assist. Surg. vice Osborne, dead 19 May
 2 Ensign Raitt, Lieut. vice Leighton, cancelled do.
 E. L. Daniell, Ensign 12 do.
 4 Assist. Surg. Barry, from h. p. 60 F. do.
 Assist. Surg. do.
 Hosp. Assist. Hawkey, do. vice Berry, cancelled 16 June
 Serj. Maj. Tullar, Quart. Mast. vice Bishop, prom. 5 May
 Lieut. Col. Sutherland, from 2d W.I.R. Lieut. Col. 2 June
 2d Lieut. Ramsden, from Rifle Brig. Lieut. by purch. 11 May
 ——— Hamilton, from do. Lieut. by purch. vice Wilnot, prom. 12 do.
 Lieut. Col. Fitz Clarence, from 11 F. Lieut. Col. 2 June
 Lord A. Chichester, Lieut. vice Lord S. Chichester, dead 9 do.
 Lieut. Fitz Maurice, from h. p. Rifle Brig. Lieut. vice M'Lachlan, superseded 19 May
 Lieut. Calder, Adj. vice Drury, res. Adj. only 5 do.
 Brevet Col. Campbell, Lieut. Col. 2 June
 Brevet Lieut. Col. Peebles, Maj. do.
 Lieut. Cockburne, Capt. do.
 Ensign Sandes, Lieut. do.
 H. R. Duff, Ensign do.
 Ensign Hon. A. F. Cathcart, from 25 F. Lieut. by purch. vice Brisbane, prom. 9 do.
 10 W. Musgrave, Ensign by purch. vice Fenton, prom. 12 May
 Lieut. Col. Payler, from h. p. Lieut. Col. 2 June
 Lieut. Galkway, Capt. by purch. vice Gallie, ret. 26 May
 11 Lieut. Col. Knightley, from h. p. Lieut. Col. vice Fitz Clarence, 7 F. 2 June
 12 Capt. Crowther, from h. p. 4 F. Capt. vice Henderson, res. diff. from Capt. Bowler, retained upon full pay 80 F. 5 May
 Assist. Surg. Foote, from h. p. 26 F. do.
 13 Assist. Surg. W. Chambre, Ensign by purch. vice Howard, prom. 19 May
 Maj. Sale, Lieut. Col. 2 June
 Brevet Maj. Thornhill, Maj. do.
 14 Lieut. Fenton, Capt. do.
 G. Newcome, Ensign, vice Capado, dead 26 May
 Ensign Grant, from 37 F. Ensign, vice Newcome, 88 F. 9 June
 15 Lieut. Farmer, from h. p. 77 F. Lieut. vice Byng, 88 F. 5 May
 Hosp. Assist. Knott, Assist. Surg. vice Graham, dead do.
 Ensign Thorold, Lieut. by purch. vice Hope, prom. 9 June
 C. Cooke, Ensign do.
 16 Assist. Surg. Alexander, from h. p. 28 F. Assist. Surg. 12 May
 Brevet Lieut. Col. Ximenes, from 45 F. Lieut. Col. 2 June
 17 Lieut. Church, Capt. by purch. vice Slagg, ret. 19 May
 Ensign Edwards, Lieut. do.
 A. Lockhart, Ensign do.
 J. Henry, Ensign, vice Farwell, prom. 26 do.
 Brevet Maj. Croker, Maj. by purch. vice Nicoll, ret. 16 June
 Lieut. Anley, Capt. do.
 Ensign O'Brien, Lieut. do.
 J. Darley, Ensign do.
 20 Lieut. Thatcher, from h. p. 103 F. Lieut. vice Stokes, 13 Dr. 2 do.
 22 Cent. Cadet. P. J. Petit, from R. Mil. Coll. Ensign by purch. vice Dunbar, prom. 19 May
 Assist. Surg. Parke, from h. p. 20 Dr. Assist. Surg. 2 June
 2d Lieut. Tupper, 1st Lieut. by purch. vice Grey, prom. 16 do.

- 25 F. W. R. Stetson, 2d Lieut. do.
21 F. T. Cunningham, Ensign vice Cunningham, dead 26 May
25 Lieut. Pickering, from h. p. 56 F. do.
Lieut. vice Umacke, cancelled 5 do.
Phibbs, from 89 F. Lieut. vice Sedley, cancelled do.
S. Hilderton, Ensign by purch. vice Cathcart, 9 F. 9 June
26 Serj. Maj. Rogers, Quart. Mast. vice McGregor, dead 26 May
27 Lieut. D'Urban, from h. p. 55 F. Lieut. vice Carroll, dead 9 June
28 Assist. Surg. Portelli, from h. p. 10 F. do.
29 Assist. Surg. 2 do.
Lieut. Blunt, from h. p. 56 F. Lieut. vice Deighton, cancelled 5 May
C. May, from R. Mil. Acad. at Woolwich, Ensign vice Barr, 10 F. 10 do.
Lieut. Stephens, Capt. by purch. vice Chadock, prom. 9 June
Ensign Walond, Lieut. do.
Hopwood, from 72 F. Ensign do.
31 Brevet Maj. Eagar, Maj. by purch. vice McGregor, prom. 2 do.
Lieut. Nunn, Capt. vice Cust, 59 F. 16 do.
Andros, Capt. by purch. vice Eagar, prom. do.
32 Assist. Surg. Campbell, from h. p. Hille Brigade Assist. Surg. 2 do.
33 Ensign Galloway, Lieut. vice Urquhart, dead do.
2d Lieut. Hornsby, from 60 F. Ensign do.
Assist. Surg. Collis, from h. p. 6 F. Assist. Surg. do.
35 R. F. Hickson, Ensign vice Semple, 77 F. 12 May
36 Capt. Cadet, L. F. Thomasset, from R. Mil. Coll. Ensign by purch. vice Murray, prom. 19 do.
Assist. Surg. Bunkett, from h. p. 7 F. Assist. Surg. 2 June
37 J. Bradshaw, Ensign by purch. vice Browne, prom. 12 May
Assist. Surg. Maginn, from h. p. 5 Dr. Gds. Assist. Surg. do.
38 Lieut. Hopper, Capt. vice Forster, dead 18 Sept. 1821.
Ensign Tudor, Lieut. do.
Brevet Lieut. Col. Evans, Lieut. Col. 2 June 1825.
Capt. Bulhe, Maj. do.
Lieut. Young, Capt. do.
Ensign Johnston, Lieut. do.
W. R. Waddell, Ensign do.
39 Lieut. Barker, Capt. by purch. vice Orde, ret. 16 do.
40 Brevet Maj. Ryan, from h. p. 50 F. Capt. 22 May
41 Lieut. Blunt, Capt. vice Browne, dead 29 June 1821.
McIntyre, Capt. vice Macleod, dead 27 Aug.
Macleod, Capt. 10 Feb. 1825.
Ensign Beddingfield, Lieut. 29 June 1821.
Tallon, Lieut. 27 Aug.
O'Neill, Lieut. vice Hume, dead 10 Sept.
Read, Lieut. 10 Feb. 1825.
J. Smith, Ensign 19 Aug. 1821.
Boyce, Ensign 10 Sept.
Stoddert, Ensign 11 Feb. 1825.
Capt. O'Reilly, Maj. by purch. vice Hill, ret. 16 June
Assist. Surg. Edwards, from h. p. 43 F. Assist. Surg. 12 May
Hosp. Assist. Galeani, Assist. Surg. vice Edwards, res. 16 June
Lieut. Smith, from h. p. 78 F. Lieut. vice Cowell, cancelled 5 May
Brevet Lieut. Col. Stackpoole, Lieut. Col. vice Ximenes, 16 F. 2 June
J. M. Stackpoole, do.
Maj. do.
Lieut. Webb, from 69 F. Capt. vice Campbell, 50 F. 26 May
Stewart, do. 2 June
Ensign Urquhart, Lieut. do.
J. J. Foke, Ensign 9 do.
46 F. Lieut. McPherson, from h. p. 50 F. Lieut. vice Graham, 92 F. 19 May
Ensign Taylor, from h. p. 50 F. Lieut. by purch. vice J. Campbell, (2) prom. 26 May
Browne, Lieut. vice James, 77 F. 2 June
W. Jones, Ensign do.
48 2d Lieut. Smyth, from R. Ar. Lieut. vice Gardner, cancelled 5 May
Lieut. Cochane, from h. p. 5 F. Gds. do. (repaying diff.) vice Smyth, Staff Corps 19 do.
49 Ensign Phibbs, from h. p. 101 F. Ensign vice Burrowes, cancelled 5 do.
R. Birch, Ensign by purch. vice Gamble, prom. 12 do.
51 Hosp. Assist. Ryan, Assist. Surg. 16 June
52 Lieut. Col. Fergusson, from 58 F. Lieut. Col. 2 do.
Ensign King, Lieut. by purch. vice Mountain, 76 F. 26 May
G. W. Birch, Ensign do.
Lieut. Gawler, Capt. by purch. vice Yorke, prom. 9 June
Ensign Vivian, Lieut. do.
French, Ensign do.
Hosp. Assist. Paterson, Assist. Surg. 16 do.
55 Lieut. Butler, Capt. by purch. vice Knox, ret. do.
Ensign Kreffing, Lieut. do.
E. Walcheld, Ensign do.
54 Lieut. Slyfield, Capt. by purch. vice Gaconyne, prom. 26 May
Ensign Slade, Lieut. do.
R. S. Orde, Ensign do.
Lieut. Woodgate, Capt. vice Black, dead 27 Sept. 1821.
Ensign Harris, Lieut. do.
56 Ensign Leighton, Lieut. 7 April 1821.
Noyes, Lieut. vice Hewetson, cancelled 12 May
B. T. Funniss, Ensign do.
Capt. Carnes, Maj. by purch. vice Montagu, prom. 26 do.
Lieut. Palmer, Capt. do.
Ensign Barclay, Lieut. do.
G. Hogg, Ensign do.
Hosp. Assist. Connel, Assist. Surg. 16 June
58 Ensign Mattison, Lieut. by purch. vice Seymour, prom. 12 May
P. H. Howard, Ensign do.
H. F. Bell, Ensign vice Mattison, prom. 26 do.
J. F. Acklom, Ensign vice Barney, prom. 9 June
59 Brevet Maj. Cust, from 51 F. Maj. vice Bathurst, prom. do.
60 Lieut. Keil, Capt. by purch. vice Von Boeck, ret. 19 May
Ensign Dalzell, from 95 F. 1st Lieut. Lieut. Hon. G. Hervy, Capt. by purch. vice Krien, ret. 2 June
2d Lieut. Nesbitt, 1st Lieut. do.
C. O'Donoghue, 2d Lieut. vice Hornsby, 55 F. 10 do.
62 Ensign Bouvier, Lieut. by purch. vice Caldecott, ret. 9 do.
Jodrell, Ensign do.
63 Ensign Wootton, from h. p. 25 F. Ensign vice Carter, cancelled 12 May
Brevet Maj. Foulough, Maj. by purch. vice Le Geyte, ret. 26 do.
Lieut. Hunt, Capt. do.
Ensign Gordon, Lieut. do.
T. Levett, Ensign do.
65 Lieut. Farquharson, Capt. 2 June
Hon. H. B. Grey, Ensign by purch. vice Hawke, prom. 12 May
67 Lieut. Webster, Capt. vice C. do.
dead 19 do.
Ensign Hennessy, Lieut. do.
68 Brevet Lieut. Col. Hawkin, Lieut. Col. 2 June
Brevet Maj. Read, Maj. do.
Lieut. Jackson, Capt. do.
Ensign Matland, Lieut. do.
A. Maclean, Ensign do.
71 Brevet Lieut. Col. Jones, Lieut. Col. do.

- 71 F. Brevet Maj. Pidgeon, Maj. do.
Ensign A. Marquis of Douro, from h. p. 81 F. Ensign vice Leslie, cancelled 26 May
- W. J. Myers, Ensign by purch. vice Lord Douro, R. Ho. Gds. 9 June
- Assist. Surg. Gardiner, from h. p. 12 F. Assist. Surg. 2 do.
- Lieut. Gardiner, from Rifle Brig. Capt. vice Pidgeon 16 do.
- 72 E. Hopwood, Ensign by purch. vice Stewart, prom. 12 May
- C. P. Trapaud, Ensign by purch. vice Hopwood, 29 F. 9 June
- 75 Lieut. Owgan, from h. p. 88 F. Lieut. vice Stuart, 12 Dr. 10 do.
- 74 Brown, Ensign by purch. vice Gordon, prom. 9 do.
- 75 R. Preston, Ensign by purch. vice Shade, prom. 12 May
- 76 Lieut. Mountain, from 52 F. Capt. by purch. vice Hatchell, ret. 26 do.
- 77 Ensign Semple, from 55 F. Lieut. vice Elliot, dead 12 do.
- Capt. Clarke, Maj. by purch. vice Price, prom. 26 do.
- Lieut. Rames, from 46 F. Capt. vice Bowen, dead 2 June
- Staff Assist. Surg. O'Donnell, Assist. Surg. vice Fraser, dead 5 May
- 78 Ensign Price, from 95 F. Ensign vice Cameron, 79 F. 16 June
- 79 Ensign Cameron, from 78 F. Ensign vice Townsend, prom. 9 do.
- 82 Hosp. Assist. Ross, Assist. Surg. 16 do.
- 84 Lieut. Worth, Capt. by purch. vice Mahoney, prom. 26 May
- 85 Byng, from 15 F. Lieut. 5 do.
- 87 Ensign Courtenay, Lieut. by purch. vice Archer, prom. 26 do.
- Gent. Cadet, P. Ramsay, from R. Mil. Coll. Ensign do.
- 88 Lieut. Col. O'Malley, from h. p. Lieut. Col. vice Fergusson, 52 F. 9 June
- Ensign Newcome, from 14 F. Ensign vice Digby, Gren. Gds. do.
- Gent. Cadet E. H. Jefferys, from R. Mil. Coll. Ensign vice Finnis, 56 F. 16 do.
- 89 Lieut. Agnew, Capt. vice Coates, dead 25 Dec. 1824.
- Ensign Currie, Lieut. vice Taylor, dead 31 Aug.
- Maclean, Lieut. 25 Dec.
- Lieut. Peck, from h. p. 11 F. Lieut. vice Phibbs, 25 F. 5 May 1825.
- J. Gray, Ensign vice Currie 31 Aug. 1824.
- Ensign Macdonald, from 80 F. Lieut. by purch. vice Harding, 31 F. 25 Jan. 1825.
- 92 Lieut. Graham, from 46 F. Lieut. vice Campbell, h. p. 30 F. 19 May
- 95 Capt. Drewe, from R. Afr. Col. Corps, Capt. vice Maunz, dead do.
- F. Price, Ensign by purch. vice Parker, prom. 12 do.
- 96 Brevet Maj. Mansel, Maj. by purch. vice Paty, prom. 9 June
- Lieut. Cary, Capt. by purch. vice Garland, prom. 26 May
- Lieut. Guseley, Capt. by purch. 9 June
- Ensign Storey, Lieut. by purch. 26 May
- R. J. Massey, Ensign do.
- 97 Lieut. Butler, from h. p. 35 F. Lieut. vice Valentine, cancelled 12 do.
- Hosp. Assist. Cavet, Assist. Surg. 10 June
- Rifle Brig. R. Walpole, 2d Lieut. by purch. vice Ramsden, 7 F. 11 May
- H. Shirley 2d Lieut. by purch. vice Hamilton, 7 F. 12 do.
- H. Capel, 2d Lieut. by purch. vice Gower, Gren. Gds. 9 June
- 2d Lieut. Norcott, 1st Lieut. vice Gardiner, 71 F. 16 do.
- W. S. Tollemaiche, 2d Lieut. by purch. do.
- H. Staff. C. Lieut. Smyth, from 48 F. 1st Lieut. 19 May
- Capt. H. Du Vernet, Maj. 2 June
- Lieut. Hall, Capt. do.
- R. Staff C. 2d Lieut. Pearson, from R. Art. 1st Lieut. do.
- Hayne, from R. Art. 1st Lieut. 9 do.
- 1 W. I. R. Lieut. Warner, from 1st Vet. Comp. Lieut. vice Lewis, 40 F. do.
- 2 Lieut. Col. Carter, from h. p. Lieut. Col. vice Sutherland, 5 F. 2 do.
- Ceyl. Reg. 2d Lieut. Mackay, 1st Lieut. vice Watson, dead 12 Nov. 1821.
- H. Stephenson, 2d Lieut. vice Blahan, dead 19 May 1825.
- H. F. Powell, 2d Lieut. vice Mackay do.
- Cape Co. } Capt. Andrews, from 12 Dr. Maj. by Cav. } purch. vice Crauford, 8 Dr. 9 June
- J. Sargeant, Cornet by purch. vice Lorne, prom. do.
- R. African } Ensign O'Halloran, Lieut. vice Bur- Col. C. } ton, dead 2 do.
- Foss, Lieut. vice McKenae, dead 5 do.
- Lizar, Lieut. vice Greatham, 99 F. 4 do.
- Godwin, Lieut. vice Clements, prom. 5 do.
- Vol. W. P. Godwin, Ensign vice Uniacke, dead 1 do.
- P. Carmody, Ensign 2 do.
- C. S. Robison, Ensign 5 do.
- H. Hawkins, Ensign 4 do.
- H. Smith, Ensign 5 do.
- Lieut. Gregg, from 1 F. Capt. vice Drewe, 95 F. 19 do.
- Ensign Ring, Lieut. vice Lizar, dead 9 June
- H. W. Wyse, Ensign do.
- Garrisons.*
- Lieut. Gen. L. Maclean, Lieut. Gov. of Quebec, vice Patterson, dead 5 May 1825.
- M. Gen. Sir George Adam Wood, R. Art. K.C.H. Gov. of Canble 18 June
- Staff.*
- Maj. Love, 52 F. Insp. Field Officer Mil. in New Brunswick, with rank of Lieut. Col. in the Army 5 May 1825.
- Col. Sir J. Douglas, K.C.B. h. p. Dep. Quart. Mast. Gen. in Ireland, vice M. Gen. Browne 2 June
- Lieut. Col. A. Macdonald, h. p. 5 Gn. Bn. Adj. Gen. in the East Indies, vice M. Gen. Sir T. Mac Mahon, Bt. do.
- Maj. Hon. T. S. Bathurst, from 59 F. Insp. Field Officer of Mil. in the Ionian Islands, with rank of Lieut. Col. in the Army 9 do.
- Ordnance Department.—Royal Artillery.*
- Quart. Mast. Pilton, from h. p. Lieut. R. Art. Driv. Quart. Mast. vice Wigton, dead 5 May 1825.
- Serj. Maj. Wightman, do. vice Crauford, dead 11 do.
- Royal Engineers.*
- Gent. Cadet R. Boteler, 2d Lieut. 11 May 1825.
- E. Frome, 2d Lieut. 21 do.
- Commissariat Department.*
- Assist. Com. Gen. Winter Dep. Com. Gen. 7 June 1825.
- Mackay, do. do.
- Woodhouse, do. do.
- Eschauzier, do. do.
- Hewetson, do. do.
- Laidley, do. do.
- Dobrie, do. do.
- Price, do. do.
- Dep. Assist. Com. Gen. Ramsay, Assist. Com. Gen. do.
- Graham, do. do.
- Jennings, do. do.
- Fumidge, do. do.
- Major, do. do.
- Green, do. do.
- Pennell, do. do.
- Knight, do. do.
- Hendy, do. do.
- Tench, do. do.
- Macbreedy, do. do.
- Robinson, do. do.
- Comm. Clerk, W. Smith, Dep. Assist. Com. Gen. do.

Comm. Clerk F. F. Fiddle, do.	7 June 1825.
— L. Brackenbury, do.	do.
— J. Whaley, do.	do.
— H. F. Ornel, do.	do.
— J. G. Smith, do.	do.
— T. Tew, do.	do.
— F. Cosworthy, do.	do.
— T. G. S. Swan, do.	do.
— H. W. Brown, do.	do.
— T. Duguid, do.	do.

Medical Department.

Dep. Insp. Hogg, Insp. of Hospitals by brevet	27 May 1825.
— Huggins, do.	do.
— Brown, do.	do.
— Thomson, do.	do.
— Draper, do.	do.
— Fraser, do.	do.
— Farrell, do.	do.
— Adolphus, do.	do.
Physician Roberts, Dep. Insp. of Hosp. by brevet	do.
— Browne, do.	do.
— Arthur, do.	do.
— Bone, do.	do.
Staff Surg. Griffin, do.	do.
— Glasco, do.	do.
— Shott, do.	do.
— Mapother, do.	do.
— Bruce, do.	do.
— Grasett, do.	do.
— Sharp, do.	do.
— Mahng, do.	do.
Hosp. Assist. White, Assist. Surg. to the Forces,	do.
vice Magrath, res.	5 do.
— M'Isaac, do. vice O'Donnell, 77 F.	do.
— Carter, do. vice Rhys, superseded	2 June
— J. A. Topham, Hosp. Assist. vice	do.
Knott, 15 F.	5 May
— G. Dryden, do.	do.
— E. Miller, do.	do.
— W. S. Eldrie, do. vice Maury, dead	19 do.
— R. D. Smith, do. vice Russell, 1 F.	do.
— W. Grant, do.	2 June

*Unattached.**To be Lieutenant-Colonels of Infantry by purchase.*

Major Montague, 56 F.	19 May 1825.
— Hon. G. Anson, 7 Dr. Gds.	do.
— Place, 77 F.	do.
— M'Gregor, 51 F.	26 do.
Bt. Lieut. Col. Paty, 96 F.	9 June
Major Baumgardt, 8 Dr.	do.
— Lane, 15 Dr.	do.

To be Majors of Infantry by purchase.

Capt. Gascoyne, 54 F.	19 May 1825.
— Maberly, 84 F.	do.
— Peel, Gren. Gds.	do.
— Cartwright, 8 Dr.	do.
— Garland, 96 F.	26 do.
— Coles, 12 Dr.	9 do.
— Yorke, 52 F.	do.
— Thompson, 17 Dr.	do.
— Hon. J. H. Cradock, 29 F.	do.
— Eden, 53 F.	do.
— Taylor, Cape Corps	16 do.

To be Captains of Infantry by purchase.

Lieut. Seymour, 38 F.	12 May 1825.
— Withnot, 7 F.	do.
— Hatcourt, Colstream Guards	do.
— Archer, 87 F.	26 do.
— Ball, 16 Dr.	do.
— Campbell, 46 F.	do.
— Fitz Roy, 5 F. Gds.	do.
— Beresford, 9 Dr.	do.
— Wortley, 10 Dr.	do.
— Milnam, 75 F.	2 June
— Bladway, 1 Dr. Gds.	9 do.
— Fairfield, 3 F. Gds.	do.
— Warrand, 6 Dr.	do.
— Brisbane, 9 F.	do.
— Hope, 15 F.	do.
— Scarlett, 6 Dr. Gds.	do.
— Quicke, 1 Dr. Gds.	16 do.

Lieut. Wrottesly, 16 Dr.	16 June 1825.
— Doyle, 4 D.	do.
— Hon. C. Grey, 23 F.	do.
— T. Wood, 60 F.	25 do.

To be Lieutenants of Infantry by purchase.

Cornet Hepburn, 2 Dr. Gds.	12 May 1825.
— Ensign Slade, 75 F.	do.
— Cornet Dantry, 6 Dr. Gds.	do.
— Ensign Stewart, 72 F.	do.
— Hon. A. C. J. Howne, 57 F.	do.
— Parker, 95 F.	do.
— Walker, 11 F.	do.
— Curfens, 55 F.	do.
Cornet Corkran, 7 Dr. Gds.	do.
— Phillips, 4 Dr.	do.
— Ensign Fenton, 10 F.	do.
— Murray, 56 F.	19 do.
— Dunbar, 22 F.	do.
— Howard, 15 F.	do.
— Gammell, 49 F.	12 do.
— Hon. S. Hawke, 65 F.	do.
— Cornet Chalmers, 5 Dr. Gds.	26 do.
— Ensign Farwell, 17 F.	do.
— Gordon, 74 F.	9 June.
— Barney, 58 F.	do.
Cornet Loiaunc, Cape Corps	do.
— A. Coryton, Ensign	12 May
— J. Ball, Ensign	do.
— L. J. Hay, Ensign	do.
— A. D. Morrison, Ensign	do.
— J. Thompson, Ensign	19 do.
— J. Tedlie, Ensign	do.
— J. Strong, Ensign	do.
— M. C. Colden, Ensign	26 do.
— G. W. Mayow, Ensign	9 June
— A. F. Ridgway, Ensign	do.

Exchanges.

Major Conolly, from 15 F. rec. diff. with Major	Macintosh, h. p. 81 F.
— Graham, from 59 F. with Hon. T. S. Bathurst, h. p. 56 F.	
Capt. Newburgh, from 1 Life Gds. rec. diff. with	Capt. Hon. Fitz G. de Roos, h. p.
— Brett, from 8 Dr. rec. diff. with Capt. Lord	G. A. Hill, h. p.
— Peevor, from 17 F. with Brevet Major Denham, h. p. 5 F.	
— Burrowes, from 2 Life Gds. rec. diff. with	Capt. de Courey, h. p. 58 F.
— Brackenbury, from 17 Dr. rec. diff. with	Capt. Burrowes, h. p. 58 F.
— Sloyte, from 1 F. with Capt. Lane, 24 F.	
— Hart, from 6 F. with Capt. Cowell, h. p. 66 F.	
— D'Arcy, from 16 F. with Capt. Browne, h. p. 26 F.	
— Wolseley, from 25 F. with Capt. Burgh, h. p. 56 F.	
— Skirrow, from 50 F. rec. diff. with Capt. Young, h. p. 53 F.	
— Hart, from 59 F. with Capt. Urquhart, h. p. 84 F.	
— Bluet, from 41 F. with Capt. Browne, h. p. 69 F.	
— Briggs, from 58 F. with Capt. Hon. R. Murray, h. p. 5 F.	
— Ogden, from 56 F. with Capt. Webster, h. p. 58 F.	
— Graham, from 72 F. with Capt. Mason, h. p. 80 F.	
— Law, from 85 F. with Capt. Crofton, Ceylon, R.	
— Humfrey, from 86 F. rec. diff. with Capt. Wolseley, h. p. 56 F.	
Lieut. Easterby, from 3 Dr. Gds. rec. diff. with	Lieut. Chalmers, h. p.
— Brett, from 7 Dr. Gds. rec. diff. with Lieut. Corkran, h. p.	
— Temple, from 1 F. with Lieut. O'Brien, 60 F.	
— Rainsford, from 7 F. with Lieut. Phillips, h. p.	
— Murray, from 8 F. rec. diff. with Lieut. Stewart, h. p.	
— Drury, from 8 F. with Lieut. Gardiner, h. p. 88 F.	
— Jennings, from 11 F. with Lieut. Horner, h. p. 5 F.	
— Breary, from 55 F. with Lieut. Betty, h. p. 27 F.	

Lieut. M'kison, from 18 F. with Lieut. Nisen, h. p. York Chass.
 ——— M'Queen, from 75 F. rec. diff. with Lieut. Evans, h. p. 17 F.
 ——— G. A. Browne, from 75 F. rec. diff. with Lieut. Hon. A. C. J. Browne, h. p.
 ——— Read, from 90 F. rec. diff. with Lieut. Parker, h. p.
 ——— Fitz Gerald, from Rifle Brig. rec. diff. with Lieut. Slade, h. p.
 ——— Anderson, Adj. of Rec. Dist. with Lieut. Hodges, h. p. 15 Dr.
 Ensign Carr, from 76 F. with Ensign French, h. p. 3 W. I. R.
 ——— de Daubrawa, from 1 W. I. R. with Ensign Porter, h. p. 55 F.
 Quart. Mast. Kennedy, from 27 F. with Quart. Mast. Douglas, 1 W. I. R.
 Quart. Mast. Mackenzie, from 72 F. with Quart. Mast. Macpherson, h. p. Cape R.

Resignations and Retirements.

Major Generals.
 W. H. Beckwith.
 Hon. H. A. B. Craven, h. p. Indep.
Colonels.
 Sir W. Cox, h. p. Port Serv.
 Hon. W. J. Gore, h. p. 9 F.
 Clavering, h. p. 98 F.
 Coningham, h. p. 82 F.
Lieut.-Colonels.
 Nicoll, 17 F.
 Le Geyte, 65 F.
 Midgley, h. p.
 Campbell, 62 F.
 Chatham, 61 F.
 Hacker, Newfound. Fen.
 Gilman, 15 F.
 Coote, 52 F.
 And. R. Wagg, Tram.
 Hewitt, Port. Serv.
 Tuffnell, Indep.

Majors.

Hull, 41 F.
 Moncrieff, h. p. 52 F.
 Sir N. Traut, Port. Serv.
 Nicholls, 97 F.
 Colegrave, 5 W. I. R.
 Langton, 8 F.
 Reed, 5 Gar. Bn.
 Carew, 82 F.
 Frazer, late of 7 Vet. Bn.
 Orde, h. p. 39 F.
Captains.
 De Courcy, 2 Life Gds.
 Manfull, 5 Dr.
 Hamilton, 10 Dr.
 Prendergast, 5 F. Gds.
 Gallic, 10 F.
 Slegg, 17 F.
 Von Boeck, 60 F.
 Krien, 60 F.
 Hatchell, 76 F.
 Hope, R. Art.
 Liddiard, h. p. Liverpool R.
 Madden, 100 F.
 Farrough, 90 F.
 Bick, 11 F.
 Drake, 56 F.
 Macartney, 28 F.

Captains.

De Courcy, 2 Life Gds.
 Manfull, 5 Dr.
 Hamilton, 10 Dr.
 Prendergast, 5 F. Gds.
 Gallic, 10 F.
 Slegg, 17 F.
 Von Boeck, 60 F.
 Krien, 60 F.
 Hatchell, 76 F.
 Hope, R. Art.
 Liddiard, h. p. Liverpool R.
 Madden, 100 F.
 Farrough, 90 F.
 Bick, 11 F.
 Drake, 56 F.
 Macartney, 28 F.

Appointments Cancelled.

Lieutenants.
 Loughton, 2 F.
 L'naeke, 25 F.
 Sedley, 25 F.
 Doughton, 29 F.
 Peattie, 35 F.
 Cowell, 45 F.
 Gardiner, 48 F.
 Hewatson, 56 F.
 Carter, 63 F.
 Thomas, 89 F.
 Valentine, 97 F.

Lieutenants.

Bracy, 1 R. Vet. Bn.
 Daintry, h. p. Unatt.

Ensigns.

Burrowes, 49 F.
 Leslie, 71 F.
 Howard, 58 F.

Staff Surgeon.

Rice, from h. p.
Assistant Surgeon.
 Berry, 4 F.

Superseded.

Lieutenant M'Lehlan, 8 F.
 Staff Assistant Surgeon, T. Rhys.

Wounded in the attack on the Factory and Stockades of Syriam, Rangoon, 11th and 12th January 1825.

Capt. Backhouse, 17 F. slightly.
 ——— Forbes, do. severely, not dangerously.

Deaths.

Gen. Vyse, 5 Dr. Gds. Litchfield 30 May 1825.
 Lieut. Gen. Burne, late of 56 F. Gov. of Carlisle 1 June
 ——— A. Brown, East India Comp. Serv.

Major Gen. Bridges, R. Inv. Eng. 4 May
 Major Anstruther, h. p. 100 F. 1 June
 ——— Loddington, h. p. Royal Marines

Dec. 1824.
 Capt. Holland, 5 F. Fort Macquarie, New South Wales 16 Nov.

Wales
 ——— Pagan, 53 F.
 ——— Bowen, 77 F. Jamaica 5 April 1825.
 ——— W. Clements, late of Royal Marines

3 March
 ——— Cosby, h. p. 15 F. 19 Jan.
 ——— Meard, h. p. 15 F. 1 March
 ——— Matthews, h. p. 47 F. 5 May
 ——— Bowden, do 1 Feb.

Lieut. Lord S. Chichester, 7 F.
 ——— Urquhart, 35 F.
 ——— T. Hull, 18 F. (late Ensign 18 F.) Corfu 22 March

——— Elliot, 77 F. Stony Hill, Jamaica 1 do.
 ——— Lazar, Royal African Col. Corps
 ——— Walker, late 2 R. Vet. Bn. Haddington, N. B.

17 May
 ——— Gilbert, late 5 R. Vet. Bn. 26 May
 ——— Lorrimer, late 10 R. Vet. Bn. Daumagway, Ireland 27 Nov. 1824.

9 Oct.
 ——— J. Cooke, Royal Marines
 ——— R. Turnbull, Royal Marine Art.

15 May 1825.
 ——— F. M. Wills, Royal Marines Dec. 1824.

10 March 1825.
 ——— Franchkin, h. p. Royal Marines

1 Feb.
 ——— Shuttleworth, Royal Marines
 ——— Winter, Royal Marines 16 do.

30 March
 ——— Collis, h. p. 8 F. London
 ——— Begbie, h. p. 56 F. Kilmarnock 12 May

19 do.
 ——— Cochran, h. p. 60 F. Loughrea, Ireland
 ——— Townsend, h. p. 61 F. 5 Nov. 1824.

8 May
 ——— Hogg, h. p. York Han.
 ——— De la Pierre, h. p. Watteville's R. Moyses, Switzerland 8 April 1825.

8 May
 ——— O'Brien, Nottingham Mtd.
 2d Lieut. Atchison, Royal Marines Art. 1 Feb.

16 Jan.
 ——— King, h. p. Royal Marines
 ——— Moses, Royal Marines Jan. 1824.

31 May 1825.
 ——— Willox, late R. Inv. Art. Aberdeen

Ensign Geldes, 17 F. killed in action with the Burmese Jan

——— Smith, Royal African Col. Corps
 ——— Lodemann, h. p. 1 Line Ger. Leg. Hanover 31 May

4 April
 ——— Danvers, late 1 Vet. Bn. Dublin
 Chaplain Bart, h. p. 24 Dr. Cannington, Somerset 27 May

17 Dec. 1824.
 ——— Ruteman, h. p. 95 F.
 Paymast. Webster, 1 Dr. Gds. died at Fulham 16 June 1825.

8 April 1825.
 Adjutant Walker, h. p. 91 F.
 ——— Connet Niess, h. p. 2 Light Dr. Ger.

4 June 1825.
 Leg. Hanover
 Quart. Mast. McGregor, 26 F. Tralee 18 May

1 April
 ——— Perry, h. p. R. H. Gds. London
 ——— Peden, h. p. 2 Dr. 19 do.

27 May
 ——— Wardley, h. p. 15 Dr. Sheffield
 ——— Rodd, h. p. Somerset Fen. Cav.

31 Jan.
 ——— Exeter
 Surgeon Neale, h. p. 94 F. 10 Nov. 1824.

27 March 1825.
 ——— Quarry, h. p. Med. Staff, Wimborne Dorset
 ——— Dowse, h. p. Med. Staff 17 June

17 Jan
 Asst. Surg. Steele, 11 Dr. Mecriut, Bengal

CORN MARKETS.

Edinburgh.

		Wheat.			Barley.	Pease.				Potat. p. peck	1825.	Oatmeal.		B. & P. Meal.	
		Bls.	Prices.	Av. pr.		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.			Peck.	Bls.	Peck.	
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		d.	s. d.		
July	20	519	53 0	58 6	55 8	—	—	18 0	22 0	20 0	22 0	0 10	1 4	July 19	4 41 1 5
	27	571	53 0	58 6	55 11	—	—	17 0	21 0	19 0	21 0	0 10	1 2		4 43 1 3
Aug.	3	544	54 6	57 6	56 1	—	—	19 0	22 6	18 0	22 0	0 10	1 2	Aug.	4 42 1 3
	10	561	55 6	59 0	56	—	—	18 0	22 0	19 0	22 6	0 10	1 2		4 43 1 5
	17	506	56 6	40 0	58 2	28 0	52 6	18 0	22 6	21 0	24 0	0 10	1 2		4 16 1 5

Glasgow.

1825.	Wheat, 240 lbs.			Oats, 264 lbs.			Barley, 320 lbs.		Bns. & Pse.	Oatmeal,	Flour,
	Dantzic.	For. red.	British.	Irish.	Scottish.	Irish.	Scots.	Stirl. Meas.	140 lbs.	280 lbs.	
	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. s.	
July 21	—	—	31 0 34 6	18 0 20 6	—	—	25 30 32 0 34 0	22 0 28 0	17 6 20 0	54 55	
28	—	—	31 0 31 6	18 6 20 6	—	—	26 30 32 0 34 0	22 0 28 0	17 6 20 0	54 55	
Aug. 4	—	—	31 0 31 6	18 0 21 6	—	—	26 31 32 0 34 0	22 0 25 6	17 6 20 0	54 55	
11	—	—	31 0 31 6	18 0 20 6	—	—	26 31 32 0 34 0	22 0 25 0	17 6 20 0	54 55	
18	—	—	32 0 35 0	18 6 20 9	—	—	26 30 32 0 34 0	24 0 26 0	18 6 20 0	54 55	

Haddington.

Dukeith.

1825.	Wheat.			Barley.	Oats.	Pease.	Beans.	1825.	Oatmeal.		
	Bolls.	Prices.	Av. pr.						Pr. 1	Pr. 2	
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.	
July	22	266	55 0 58 0	55 10	27 0 34 0	17 0 21 6	17 20 6	17 0 20 6	July	18	17 6 18 9
	27	531	52 0 57 0	54 9	26 0 32 0	17 0 22 0	17 21 0	17 0 21 0		25	17 6 18 9
Aug.	5	550	52 0 57 0	0	20 0 30 0	17 0 22 0	17 21 6	17 0 21 6	Aug.	1	17 6 18 9
	12	528	52 0 58 6	56 2	27 0 33 0	17 0 22 0	17 21 6	17 0 21 6			17 0 19 0
	19	241	55 6 40 0	58 8	28 0 35 0	18 0 22 6	17 21 6	18 0 22 9		15	17 6 19 0

London.

1825.	Wheat, per. qr.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.		Beans.		Pease.		Flour, 280 lb.		Qual. Loaf.	
				Fd & Pol.	Potat.	Pigeon.	Tick.	Boiling.	Grey.	Fine.	2d.		
July	18	s. 8. 50 75	s. 8. 52 56	36	22 28		14 48	48 54	56 58	60 65	32 60	10	
25	1	50 75	52 56	51	22 28		48 50	48 54	58	60 65	32 60	10	
Aug.	1	50 75	55 56	52	25 29		50 52	40 44	48 54	56	60 65	32 60	10
	8	52		52	21 50		50 52	40 44	48 54	58	60 65	32 60	10
	15	52 76	55 56	52	25 50	25 51	50 52	40 44	45 58			60	

Liverpool.

	Wheat. 70 lb.	Barley. 60 lb.	Rye, per qr.	Beans, per qt.	Flour.			Oatm. 240 lb.							
					Eng. 240 lb.	Irish.	Amer. 196 lb.	Engl.	Seots.						
July	4 0 10 0	2 12 12 0	5 6	4 6 5 6	55	40	56	41	34	52	48 55	16	54 18	27	50 31
	4 0 10 6	2 12 12 0	5 6	4 6 5 9	58	41	40	46	51	52	48 56	46	54 13	26	50 31
Aug.	4 0 11 0	2 12 12 0	5 6	4 6 5 9	58	41	41	50	53	44	54 61	50	60 18	26	50 33
	4 0 11 5	2 12 12 0	5 7	4 6 5 9	58	41	44	50	50	41	51 61	50	60 18	26	50 33
	4 0 11 5	12 12 12 0	5 6	4 9 5 9	58	41	44	50	50	54	54 61	50	60 18	26	50 33

England & Wales.

1825.	Wht.	Rye.	Barley	Oats.	Beans.	Pease.	Oatm.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
July	9 67 11	40 6	57 8	21 8	41 1	37 10	—
	16 68 5	41 7	56 6	21 6	40 5	33 5	—
	25 68 5	40 10	55 11	21 0	40 2	42 5	—
	30 67 10	41 5	53 8	25 8	41 5	41 5	—
Aug.	6 67 2	50 11	56 11	26 2	42 8	40 8	—

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE,

Kept at Edinburgh, in the Observatory, Caltonhill.

N.B.—The Observations are made twice every day, at nine o'clock forenoon and four o'clock after noon.—The second Observation, in the afternoon, is taken by the Register Thermometer.

25.	Ther.	Baro.	Attach. Ther.	Wind.	Weather.	1825.	Ther.	Baro.	Attach. Ther.	Wind.	Weather.
uly 1	M.44 A. 55	29.586 .755	M.61 A. 60	Cble.	Sunshine and showery	July 17	M.57 A. 68	29.939 .939	M.79 A. 75	SW.	Very warm.
2	M.42 A. 55	.816 .856	M.62 A. 65	W.	Sunshine and warm.	18	M.52 A. 68	.972 .989	M.75 A. 77	Cble.	Ditto.
3	M.48 A. 60	.806 .769	M.65 A. 65	NW.	Morn. dull. cold, but fair.	19	M.56 A. 67	.999 50.142	M.76 A. 67	Cble.	Dull foren. after. warm.
4	M.46 A. 54	.856 .894	M.65 A. 65	W.	Morn. cold, day sunsh.	20	M.55 A. 60	.104 .104	M.67 A. 62	E.	Dull, but fair.
5	M.45 A. 60	.991 .982	M.65 A. 65	W.	Day fair, w. rain at night.	21	M.48 A. 57	.103 29.998	M.65 A. 65	E.	Morn. cold, foren. warm
6	M.50 A. 60	.990 .968	M.65 A. 62	Cble.	Dull, but fair.	22	M.46 A. 60	.920 .856	M.65 A. 66	E.	attem. dull.
7	M.45 A. 56	.962 .920	M.64 A. 64	E.	Morn cold, day sunsh.	23	M.45 A. 57	.896 .909	M.60 A. 61	NE.	Ditto
8	M.45 A. 54	.918 .902	M.64 A. 65	NE.	Sunsh. and very warm.	24	M.47 A. 55	.976 .969	M.62 A. 67	W.	Very warm, clear.
9	M.44 A. 58	.820 .780	M.66 A. 62	Cble.	Ditto.	25	M.45 A. 58	.970 .991	M.64 A. 67	W.	Ditto.
10	M.45 A. 54	.712 .702	M.62 A. 62	E.	Fog, m. even. and day clear.	26	M.48 A. 60	50.128 .128	M.68 A. 68	E.	Ditto, fog evening.
11	M.45 A. 51	.702 .702	M.66 A. 65	E.	Th. & light. altern. warm.	27	M.68 A. 66	.101 29.998	M.71 A. 72	E.	Very warm.
12	M.45 A. 60	.670 .660	M.61 A. 67	Cble.	Sunshine, show. aftern.	28	M.51 A. 58	.999 .990	M.70 A. 70	NE.	Dull morn warm day.
13	M.51 A. 56	.513 .581	M.65 A. 67	SW.	Dull, with showers rain.	29	M.47 A. 58	.962 .970	M.67 A. 70	E.	Very warm.
14	M.60 A. 70	.750 .721	M.72 A. 72	SW.	Dull foren. very warm.	30	M.51 A. 72	.961 .730	M.70 A. 77	Cble.	Ditto.
15	M.65 A. 65	.678 .676	M.68 A. 68	SW.	Dull, with showers rain.	31	M.56 A. 68	.720 .756	M.75 A. 76	Cble.	Ditto.
16	M.55 A. 65	.878 .904	M.71 A. 70	SW.	Dull, but fair, warm.						

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

THE temperature throughout the whole of July continued high, the mercury frequently rising to 80° in Fahrenheit. Thermometer on the 27th stood at 87° in the shade, and in some sheltered and low situations, at 91°—a heat almost unprecedented in the annals of meteorology in Scotland: as this heat was unaccompanied with rain, the ripening process came forward most rapidly, and on light lands the crops, as may easily be supposed, will be very short. In the north-east Highlands the supply of rain was regular, and the heat less intense; the crops, therefore, in these quarters, are luxuriant, but in all the Lowland districts the effects of the drought and heat have been severely felt on dry and light soils: in carse lands, the crop seldom appeared to greater advantage. Since the commencement of the present month, slight showers have been frequent, but not regular; in some instances, the supply has been abundant; in others, the moisture has scarcely reached the root.

In all the early districts shearing has partially commenced, and will be general in a few days. Wheat has a most flattering appearance; bright in the straw, and full in the ear. Barley more various, according to the nature of the soil. Oats are, for the most part, short in the straw, but the ear appears full. Beans, in some instances, are not well podded; in general, the crop is fair, and pease have podded well. Potatoes have improved a little by the late rain, but from the lateness of the season before these rains commenced, the after-cutting of clover, on black land, will be light. Prices continue nearly stationary since our last. In the London market they are rather looking up. Canadian corn will soon meet ours in the market, and a slight fall may be anticipated.

• Perthshire, 15th August 1825.

Course of Exchange, London, Aug. 12.—Amsterdam, 12 : 2. Ditto at sight, 11 : 19. Rotterdam, 12 : 3. Antwerp, 12 : 3. Hamburg, 36 : 10. Altona, 36 : 11. Paris, 3 days sight, 25 : 25. Ditto, 25 : 50. Bourdeaux, 25 : 50. Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 151. Petersburg, 9½, 3 U. Berlin, 7. Vienna, *Eff. No.*, 9 : 57. Trieste, ditto, 9 : 57. Madrid, 37. Cadiz, 37. Bilboa, 37. Barcelona, 36. Seville, 36½. Gibraltar, 31. Leghorn, 49½. Genoa, 45. Venice, 27. Buenos Ayres, 43½. Naples, 40½. Palermo, per oz. 122. Lisbon, 51½. Oporto, 51½. Rio Janeiro, 49. Bahia, 52. Dublin, 9½—Cork, 9½ per cent.

Prices of Bullion, 7 oz.—Foreign Gold in bars, £.3.17.10½d.—New Dollars, 4s. 11½d. New Dollars, 4s. 11½d. Silver in Bars, standard, 5s. 1d.

Premiums of Insurance at Lloyd's.—Guernsey or Jersey, 10s.—Cork or Dublin, 10s. 6d.—Belfast, 10s. 6d.—Hamburgh, 6s. 6d. a 12s. 6d.—Madeira, 15s. 9d. a 20s.—Jamaica, 25s. a 30s.—Home, 35s. a 40s.—Greenland, out and home, 0 a 0 g's.

Weekly Prices of the Public Funds, from July 20 to August 17, 1825.

	July 20.	July 27.	Aug. 3.	Aug. 10.	Aug. 17.
Bank Stock.....	—	—	230	230	229
3 7/8 cent. reduced.....	98½	91¼	91½	90¾	90½
3 7/8 cent. consols.....	90¾	90¾	90½	90½	89¾
3½ 7/8 cent. do.....	98½	98¾	98½	98¾	98½
4 7/8 cent. do.....	103½	103½	103½	103½	103
Ditto New do.....	—	—	—	—	—
India Stock.....	273½	—	270½	271½	—
— Bonds.....	54	53	—	—	46
Exchequer bills.....	33	30	27	23	22
Consols for account.....	91¾	90¾	90½	90½	90½
French 5 7/8 cents.....	—	103fr.—c.	102fr.50c.	—	—

Prices of Stocks.—Edinburgh, 19th August 1825.

	Shares.	Paid	Price.
Royal Bank of Scotland,.....	£.100 0 0	£.100 0 0	£.203 0 0
Bank of Scotland,.....	83 6 8	83 6 8	220 0 0
Commercial Banking Company of Scotland,...	500 0 0	100 0 0	224 0 0
National Banking Company,.....	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
British Linen Company,.....	100 0 0	100 0 0	315 10 0
Edinburgh Friendly Insurance Company,...	0 0 0	0 0 0	—
Caledonian Fire Insurance Company,.....	100 0 0	10 0 0	No sales.
Hercules Insurance Company,.....	100 0 0	10 0 0	Ditto.
North British Insurance Company,.....	200 0 0	10 0 0	27 0 0
Edinburgh Life Assurance Company,.....	100 0 0	10 0 0	No sales.
Insurance Company of Scotland,.....	10 0 0	10 0 0	12 15 0
Scottish Union Insurance Company,.....	20 0 0	1 0 0	1 3 0
West of Scotland Insurance Company,.....	10 0 0	10 0 0	—
Edinburgh Coal Gas Company,.....	25 0 0	17 2 6	No sales.
Ditto Oil Gas Company,.....	25 0 0	11 10 0	15 0 0
Leith Oil Gas Company,.....	20 0 0	20 0 0	No sales.
Edinburgh Portable Gas Company,.....	10 0 0	3 0 0	—
Edinburgh Joint Stock Water Company,.....	25 0 0	25 0 0	No sales.
Forth and Clyde Canal Company,.....	Average.	400 16 0	Ditto.
Union Canal Company,.....	50 0 0	50 0 0	49 0 0
Australian Company,.....	100 0 0	40 0 0	No sales.
Caledonian Iron and Foundry Company,.....	25 0 0	2 0 0	Ditto.
Shotts Iron and Foundry Company,.....	0 0 0	0 0 0	—
Edinburgh and Leith Glass Company,.....	20 0 0	9 0 0	No sales.
Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Alloa Glass Co....	20 0 0	2 0 0	—
North British Loan Company,.....	50 0 0	3 0 0	2 0 0
London, Leith, Edin., & Glasgow Shipping Co.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Scotch Porter Brewery Company,.....	20 0 0	2 0 0	No sales.
Leith and Hamburg Shipping Company,...	0 0 0	0 0 0	—
Caledonian Dairy Company,.....	25 0 0	2 0 0	2 4 0

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ENGLISH BANKRUPTS, announced between the 23d of June and the 19th of July 1825: extracted from the London Gazette.

Buxton, T. Compton, Derbyshire, tanner
Cadogan, J. Water-street, Arundel-street, Strand, carpenter
Casswell, Geo. Jun., Borough fen, Northampton-shire, potatoe-merchant
Dennis, W. W. Billericay, Essex, butcher
De Pinna, J. S. St. Ann's-lane, Cheapside, ostrich feather-manufacturer
Drake, J. Shoreditch, oilman
East, S. Stratford, victualler
Farnworth, Geo. Fotherhall, Lancashire, dealer
Gorst, Wm. Stafford, hide and leather-dealer
Gunnell, J. Platt-terrace, Battle bridge, bobbin and cap-maker
Hime, M. Liverpool, auctioneer
Hope, G. sen. Wapping, corn-factor
Isborn, Chas. Whitelion-street, Norton Falgate, victualler
Jackson, J. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, draper
Jarvis, J. Brompton, Kent, tailor
Jupp, J. Horsham, Sussex, miller
Kahner, W. Dorrington-street, Clerkenwell, victualler
Lathbury, J. Burton-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, mercer
Lucy, J. V. Paddington green, hay-sales-man
Maie, T. T. J. E. and W. Plymouth, smiths
Marshall, J. Birmingham, victualler
Norton, Geo. White's-yard, Rosemary-lane, builder
Norton, Jas. Brompton, master-mariner

Parkins, T. Borough-road, Southwark, baker
Pearson, T. Redman's-row, Mile-end Old Town, and Cooper's-row, Tower-hill; merchant
Purser, J. Bowyer-lane, Camberwell, and Huil-street, St. Luke's, dyer
Richardson, J. Liverpool, merchant
Rutter, J. formerly of Banbury, Oxfordshire, baker; afterwards of Farnborough, Warwick, farmer, and late of Whitechapel-road, London, corn-chandler
Shave, J. Monchan Aspull, Suffolk, grocer
Shelles, J. Merthyr Tiddvill, Glamorganshire, mercer
Street, J. Manchester, Commission agent
Sumnerfield, T. B. New Crane wharf, Wapping, coal merchant
Swindells, T. Bosden, Cheshire, farmer
Thackaray, J. Garratt, Lancashire, cotton-spinner
Thewles, R. Huddersfield, ironmonger
Wall, E. Hastings, shoe-maker
Waring, S. St. John's street road, carpenter
Waipole, W. Canthusian street, Aldersgate street, dealer
Welchman, J. Trowbridge, Wilts, linen draper
Welchman, J. Bristol, linen-draper
Wells, J. Aldbourn, Wilts, corn-dealer
Wheatley, E. Leicester square, bookseller
Winder, E. Manchester, tailor
Wisdom, J. Uckfield, Sussex, grocer
Worthington, J. Manchester, draper

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SCOTCH BANKRUPTCIES AND DIVIDENDS, announced: July 1825; extracted from the Edinburgh Gazette.

SEQUESTRATIONS.

Bleackie, Robert, flesher and spirit-dealer, Gore Bridge, near Dalkeith
Martin, George, merchant in Edinburgh
Tulloch, Robert, grocer and haberdasher in Campbelltown and Fort George
Young, William, tanner in Muir foot

DIVIDENDS.

Galletly, David, innkeeper and brewer in Perth, by Robert Robertson, merchant there
Graham, James, manufacturer in Glasgow, by Alexander Mein, accountant there
Hendry, James, late merchant in Glasgow, at No. 5, Ganthland Street, there
Turnbull, the late Thomas, carpet-manufacturer, in Hawick; by Oliver & Elliot, writers there

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

1824. Aug. 18. At Padang, island of Sumatra, East Indies, Mrs William Purvis, a daughter.
1825. May 22. At Gibraltar, the Lady of Major Marshall, of Calderhead, a son.
— The Lady of Sir William Jardine, Bart. a daughter.
June 19. Mrs Gordon, of Outer Evie, Orkney, a daughter.
23. At Belhaven, Mrs Dudgeon, a son.
24. At Strathairn Cottage, the Lady of Major Briggs, a son.
25. At Nenagh, Ireland, the Lady of Dr Dempster, a son.
27. At Grange House, the Lady of George Joseph Bell, Esq. advocate, a son.
28. At Digger Park, Mrs Gillespie, a daughter.
29. At Catherine Bank House, Mrs Ireland, a daughter.
30. At No. 9, Abercromby Place, Edinburgh, the Lady of James Greig, Esq. of Eccles, a son.
— Mrs Hood, of Stoneridge, a daughter.
— At Jordanhill, Mrs Smith of Jordanhill, a daughter.
July 2. At Holderness House, Park Lane, London, the Marchioness of Londonderry, a son.
— At Camberwell, Surrey, Mrs Dudgeon, a daughter.
— At Borough House, Kentish Town, the Lady of James Wilson, Esq. advocate, and of Lincoln's Inn, a son.

July 5. At Newington Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Peter Forbes, a daughter.
6. At Fredrickton, New Brunswick, the Lady of Major J. McNair, 52d light infantry, a son.
7. At the Admiralty, London, Mrs Keith Douglas, a son.
9. At Burham Grove, the Lady of Thos. Pottier Macqueen, Esq. M. P. a daughter.
— In Montagu Place, Montagu Square, London, the Lady of Major General Sir James Lyon, K.C.B. a daughter.
13. At Whittingham, the Right Hon. Lady Eleanor Balfour, a daughter.
14. At 95, George Street, Edinburgh, Mrs C. Scott, a daughter.
15. In Stratton Street, Piccadilly, Lady Jane Peel, a daughter.
16. In Grosvenor Place, London, the Lady of Charles Drummond, Esq. a son.
17. At Heriot Row, Edinburgh, the Lady of W. H. Dowbiggen, Esq. a son.
— At Penrice, Mrs Pitt, a daughter.
21. Mrs Fraser, Culduthell, a daughter.
— At London, the Lady of Captain Sanderson, Bengal cavalry, a daughter.
— In 13, Forth Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Orr, a daughter.
22. At Portman Street, London, the Lady of Capt. Drummond, Coldstream guards, a daughter.
— At 45, Queen Street, Edinburgh, the Lady of William Ferguson, Esq. of Kilrie, a son.

July 21. At Tamfarn'me, Mrs Henry Russell, a son.

— At S. South Castle Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Samuel Anderson, a daughter.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs J. Cockburn, a daughter.

26. At Mary's Cottage, Trinity, Mrs J. Patison, junior, a daughter.

— At Society Hall, Edinburgh, Mrs John Tawse, a daughter.

Lately. In Grosvenor Square, London, the Duchess of Richmond, a son.

MARRIAGES.

1821. Dec. 17. At St. George's Church, Madras, Capt. D. Montgomery, of the light cavalry, Deputy Surveyor General, to Harriot, third daughter of the late Major General Durrand of the Madras establishment.

1825. March 1. At Nelson, Miramichi, province of New Brunswick, Mr Archibald Duncan, merchant, to Miss Grace McCallum.

June 30. At St. Rollock's, near Glasgow, Dr John Coupar, Glasgow, to Charlotte, daughter of Charles Tenant, Esq.

July 4. At Kirkcudbright, Anthony Laurie, Esq. Liverpool, to Margaret, only daughter of the late John Kerr, Esq. of the island of Granada.

— At Gartmore House, Alexander Tolmie, Esq. to Margaret Anne, second daughter of the late Captain Beaton, 9th regiment of foot.

1. At Edinburgh, Lieutenant Colonel George Henry Zuhleke, C.B. to Miss Elizabeth Liddell, youngest daughter of the late Andrew Liddell, Esq.

7. At Manchester, Mr Robert Thornton, Preston, to Miss Rosamond, youngest daughter of John Cooper, Esq. Manchester.

— At Edinburgh, the Rev. David Simpson, of Trinity Chapel, Aberdeen, to Jane, fourth daughter of the late Mr William Kinnaird, chemist, Edinburgh.

9. At Felbagg, Henry Baring, Esq. M. P. of Somerset, in the county of Hants, to Cecilia Anne, eldest daughter of Rear Admiral Windham, of Felbagg Hall, Norfolk.

12. At No. 18, Dublin Street, Edinburgh, Ninian Little, Esq. of Chapelhill, to Mary Anne, second daughter of the late John Smal of Overmans, 1. q. Berwickshire.

15. At Mount Gerald, Ross-shire, Archibald Dick, Esq. of Windsor Castle, Jamaica, and a member of the Honourable House of Assembly of that island, to Isabella, third daughter of the late John Mackenzie, Esq. of Mount Gerald.

— At Portobello, Colonel James Hamilton, of the Colombian army, to Marion Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late John Anderson of Wintehfield, Esq.

— At Inch House, Major Robert Gordon, of Hillhead, to Jane, daughter of the late Walter Little of Cairn, Esq. of Libberton and Craigmiller.

— At Lemonbank, John Semple, Esq. to Anne, eldest daughter of John Stuart, Esq.

15. At East Drums, Wm. Sharpe, Esq. surgeon, Brechin, to Anna, only daughter of William Petter, Esq.

19. At Foodie, George Martin, Esq. merchant, Leith, to Betsy, daughter of Alexander Christie, Esq. of Foodie.

— At Edinburgh, James Stormonth Darling of Leith, Esq. W. S. to Elizabeth Moir, only surviving daughter of the late James Tod of Deansfoot, Esq.

20. At Edinburgh, John Anderson, Esq. merchant, Glasgow, to Frances, daughter of the late Robert Burn, Esq. architect.

25. At Dumfries, Mr Philip Forsyth, writer, youngest son of P. Forsyth, Esq. of Nithside, to Catherine, eldest daughter of the late Mr William Conery.

26. At Carlton Place, Glasgow, Mr Wm. Hunter, merchant, Glasgow, to Mary, only daughter of the late Mr Thomas McAlpine, merchant there.

— At Edinburgh, Robert Magee, Esq. eldest son of William Snell Magee, Esq. of Parson's Green, in the county of Dublin, to Jessy, daughter of Richard Prentice, Esq. Pinner's Street.

Lately. At St. Jane's Church, Piccadilly, John Capel, Esq. of Russell Square, London, nephew to Major General Capel, to Lady Caroline Beauclerc, second daughter of the Duke of St. Alban's.

— At St. George's Church, Hanover Square, London, Captain Price Blackwood, R. N. to Helen Selma, eldest daughter of the late Thos. Sheridan,

Esq. His Royal Highness the Duke of York gave the bride away.

Lately. At Edinburgh, Mr Samuel Vincent Bradbury, of Sheffield, merchant, to Miss Sophia Henrietta, third daughter of John Law McCellan, Esq. R. N.

DEATHS.

1824. Dec. 11. Near Lamerston, Van Diemen's Land, Mr John Thomson, late of Cornistown.

1825. May 17. At the Manse of Robertson, the Rev. James Hay, minister of that parish.

19. At Montreal, Charles Lusiani, Esq. aged 106 years and seven months. He was born at Florence in October 1718. He married when 70, and had six children.

June 5. At Auchtertool, Henry Spears, Esq. in his 59th year.

8. Anne, daughter of Hugh Cleghorn, Esq. of Stravithie.

9. At London, in the 52d year of his age, the Rev. Abraham Rees, D.D. F.R.S. editor of the Cyclopaedia, &c. &c.

— At Taunton, Dr Angus Macdonald, physician there.

11. At Dumbarton, Baillie John Laing, merchant.

— At Clury, in Strathpey, Ranald Macdonald, Esq. late of Gellovie.

— At Langside House, James Bartram, Esq. writer in Peebles.

— At Worthing, in the 73d year of her age, the Hon. Mrs Lionel Damer.

12. At Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Howison, relict of Mr James Laing, merchant, Lawnmarket.

— At Liverpool, Alexander Gilliland, Esq. in the 35d year of his age.

2. At Elmfoot, Little Govan, John Knox, Esq. writer, Glasgow.

15. At Edinburgh, the Right Hon. Lady Mary Seymour, wife to Frederick Seymour, Esq. and third daughter to the Earl of Abeyne.

— At Paris, Capt. Alexander Renny, R. N.

— At Bathgate, aged 75 years, Mr John Dick, merchant there.

14. At Paris, M. Grappe, one of the advocates of the Royal Court, and Professor of the Code of Civil Law in the University of Paris.

14. At the manse of Clyne, Sutherlandshire, the Rev. Walter Ross, minister of that parish.

— At Portobello, Miss Margueretta Jane Lauriston, youngest daughter of the late Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Lauriston, of the Hon. the East India Company's service.

— James Tod, Esq. Burton, Ringwood, Hants, in his 80th year. His friends in Scotland will please accept this notification of his death.

15. At Lansdown Place, London, James Forsyth, Esq. in the 66th year of his age.

— At Dupplin school-house, near Perth, in the 67th year of his age, and the 14th of his incumbency, Mr John Peddie, parish schoolmaster of Aberdeen. Mr Peddie was father of that distinguished and lamented officer, Major John Peddie, of his Majesty's 12th regiment of foot, who fell a victim to the pestilence of an African climate, on the 1st of January 1817, while in command of the mission appointed by the Government of this country to explore the interior of Africa, and to discover the source of the Niger.

— At Inveresk, Mrs Home, relict of the late Admiral Riddall Home, of Longfornnaeus.

— At Castle Douglas, Mr Samuel Cochran, aged 83 years.

— At Leith, Mr Charles Roberts, master in the royal navy, in the 86th year of his age.

16. At Greenock, Wm. Campbell, Esq. writer, and many years town clerk.

16. At Gogar Bank, Mr Charles Edward De Caffrane, Teacher of Foreign Languages at the Academy at Dollar.

— At Culross, Mrs Christian Davidson, wife of Mr S. Davidson, surgeon.

— At Kilbride manse, island of Arran, the Rev. John Stuart, minister of that parish, in the 72d year of his age, and 50th of his ministry.

— At Edinburgh, Miss G. Dysdale, daughter of the late Mr Alexander Dysdale, merchant in Edinburgh, and niece of the late Rev. Dr Hugh Blair.

17. At Glasgow, John Ritchie Wallace, Esq. M.D.

June 17. At Hawick Paddock, the Rev. Dr Bond, one of the Magistrates for the county of Middlesex.

— At Edinburgh, Francis Fraser, solicitor, Supreme Courts of Scotland.

18. At the manse of Wilton, in the vicinity of Hawick, the Rev. Samuel Charters, D. D. in or about the 84th year of his age, and 57th of his ministry. The father and grandfather of Dr Charters were successively ministers of Inverkeithing, in the Presbytery of Dunfermline. Dr Charters, after going through his preparatory studies at the college of Glasgow, and obtaining a licence to preach the gospel, passed a short time on the Continent, and was, after his return, ordained minister of Kincardine, in the Presbytery of Dunblane, in the year 1765. During his incumbency there, and ever afterwards, he enjoyed the friendship of the late eminent judge and scholar, Lord James, whose country seat, Blair Drummond, was in the parish. He had thus a favourable opportunity of extending his literary acquaintance, and his knowledge of the world. In the year 1772, he was translated to the church and parish of Wilton. In that retired and rural residence, on the banks of the Teviot, far from the strife and bustle of the world, he passed the remainder of his useful and unambitious life, attracting to his hospitable dwelling not only many of his early friends, who delighted to renew their intercourse with him from time to time, but enlightened strangers, who were desirous of cultivating his acquaintance.

— At Duncanlaw, Mr John Hay, aged 70.

19. At Delvine, Amelia Euphemia, youngest daughter of Sir Alex. Muir Mackenzie, Bart.

— At Bonnington Place, Mr Francis Taylor, shipmaster in Leith.

20. At Edinburgh, Mrs Susan Hay, wife of Mr David Cunningham, jeweller.

— At Edinburgh, Mr George Stewart, merchant, 115, High Street.

21. At No. 5, Crescent, Perth, Gen. Seton, Esq.

22. At West Linton Manse, Catherine Hunter, only daughter of the Rev. Alexander Forrester.

— At Kirkpatrick Juxta, the Rev. Duncan Stewart Singer, in the 51st year of his age.

— At the manse of Auchterderian, Mrs Mackie, aged 90.

23. At his house, Leith, Henry Gutzmer, Esq. at the advanced age of 87 years, much and justly regretted.

— At Tower Bank, Portobello, Mrs Elizabeth Ann Hay, aged 55, widow of the late John Turnbull, Esq. of Portobello Tower.

26. At Annfield, Newhaven, William Jamieson, Esq. W. S. of Rosefield, Portobello.

— At Davenport Barracks, Lieutenant William P. Baird, of the 24th regiment.

— James Gentle, Esq. late of Demerara, on his passage from Trinidad to London.

27. At North Charlotte Street, Edinburgh, John Wilson Home, Esq. of the Bank of Scotland.

— Henry Malcolm, of Clapham, Surrey, in the 22d year of his age, in consequence of a short illness, caused by misplaced affections on a public singer of much notoriety, who is now on the eve of marriage to another.

28. At Ormiston, John Millar, Esq. St John's Street, Edinburgh.

— At Cunnar, Mrs Barbara Rose, spouse of Walter Rose of Nigg.

29. At Burrowick, near Edinburgh, Mrs Isabella Menzies, relict of the late Mr Hugh McGregor, merchant, Edinburgh.

— At Pirig House, Mrs Anne Mackintosh, spouse of James Balfour, Esq. of Pirig, W. S.

— At Leith, Mr Peter Harrie, merchant.

30. At Wauk Mill, Musselburgh, Mr James Connell, aged 67.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Ann Mackenzie, relict of the late Kenneth Mackenzie, Esq. formerly of Torriden.

July 1. In Portman Street, London, Vice Admiral John Clements.

2. At Delvalack, Captain Peter Grant, of the 1st regiment Royal Scots, on half pay.

— At Glasgow, Morricad London, Esq.

July 2. At Edinburgh, Mr John McLean, fishing-rod-maker, North Bridge.

— At Haddington, Miss Mary Matland, daughter of the late Capt. Thomas Matland of Southa.

3. At Kilmarnock, Mr John Thomson, son of the late John Thomson, Esq. and of the house of John Thomson & sons, carpet manufacturers there.

— At Edinburgh, Miss Mary Sarah Grant, youngest daughter of the late Colonel Louis Grant of Aucharnie.

— At Sanquhar, William Broom, Esq. late merchant there.

— At Greenlaw, Berwickshire, Mr Thomas Johnston, merchant in Greenlaw, aged 65 years.

4. At his house, Grosvenor Place, London, the Right Hon. Lord Lilford.

5. At Haydon, Mrs Catherine Russell, in her 79th year.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Jean Drummond, wife of John Moncreiff, Esq. No. 7, York Place.

6. At the Manse of Gladsmuir, Mrs Elizabeth Dickson, spouse of the Rev. Dr George Hamilton, minister of Gladsmuir.

7. At Havre de Grace, Mr Joseph Fell, junior, in the 22d year of his age.

8. At Edinburgh, Mary, eldest daughter of the late John Dalrymple, Esq. of Largo.

10. At the Rectory House, Quarley, near Andover, Hants, Mrs Agnes Mackie, relict of the late Wm. Mackie, Esq. of Ormiston, East Lothian.

11. At Glenearn, Charles Husband, Esq. younger of Glenearn; only son of Charles Husband, Esq. of Glenearn, Sheriff-substitute of Perthshire.

— At Crossly, Charles Grant, Esq. of Barwood House, Lancashire.

— At St. Andrew's, Mrs Harriet Hill, widow of Principal Hill.

12. At her house, Brown's Square, Edinburgh, Mrs Sarah Cleghorn, in the 9th year of her age, and in the perfect possession of her mind.

— At his house, Hillhousefield, Mr Robert Bayne, merchant in Leith.

— At Glasgowfield, Thomas Stewart, Esq. of Westforth.

13. At Cupar, Miss Margaret Horsburgh, youngest daughter of the late Mr John Horsburgh, Sheriff Clerk of Fife.

— At Foss, Alexandrina Charlotte, fourth daughter of Joseph Stewart Menzies, Esq. of Foss.

— At Winchester, Capt. James Maclay, of the 70th regiment.

14. At Clapham, Surrey, Capt. Ogilvie Stuart, of the Cape corps.

— At Edinburgh, aged 11, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late William Scott, Esq. Receiver-General of the Isle of Man.

11. At Viewforth Cottage, near Leith, William Graham, Esq. of Orchill.

15. At Edinburgh, Henrietta Nimmo, third daughter of John Wardrop, Esq. No. 105, George Street.

— At Southbar, Boyd Alexander, Esq.

16. Mr John Milne, spirit-dealer, Pleasance, Edinburgh.

— After a short illness, the Rev. Dr Mountain, the Bishop of Quebec.

17. At his house, in St. James's Square, London, the Most Noble William Beaulieu, Duke of St. Albans, Hereditary Grand Falconer of England, in the 60th year of his age.

18. At Brougham Hall, Lady Elliot, daughter of the late, and sister of the present, Earl of Minto, of Minto House, Roxburghshire.

— At Downpatrick, Ireland, Mr John Raeburn, late clerk of works in the Barrack Department, N. B.

— At Aberdeen, Mr Peter Stuart, surveyor of taxes in Aberdeen.

— At No. 21, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, Miss Janet Kennedy.

19. At Edinburgh, the Rev. James Hogg, well known for his great knowledge and successful teaching of civil law.

— At No. 79, George Street, Edinburgh, Mr Thomas Huddiman, in the 71st year of his age.

— At Boness, Captain Thomas Mitchell, late of the ship Magnet, son of Mr Tobias Mitchell,

THE EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,

AND

LITERARY MISCELLANY,

BEING A NEW SERIES OF

The Scots Magazine.

SEPTEMBER 1825.


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EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & COMPANY.

HIGH WATER AT LEITH.

<i>Days.</i>	<i>Morn.</i> 		<i>Even.</i>		<i>Days.</i>	<i>Morn.</i>		<i>Even.</i>	
Oct. 1825.	H.	M.	H.	M.	Oct. 1825.	H.	M.	H.	M.
Sa. 1	4	0	4	16	M. 17	5	45	6	13
Su. 2	4	33	4	53	Tu. 18	6	42	7	11
M. 3	5	15	5	38	W. 19	7	47	8	26
Tu. 4	6	6	6	36	Th. 20	9	7	9	46
W. 5	7	11	7	49	Fr. 21	10	18	10	47
Th. 6	8	37	9	19	Sa. 22	11	15	11	41
Fr. 7	9	59	10	34	Su. 23	11	59	—	—
Sa. 8	11	6	11	35	M. 24	0	19	0	38
Su. 9	—	—	0	3	Tu. 25	0	56	1	12
M. 10	0	27	0	52	W. 26	1	30	1	45
Tu. 11	1	15	1	39	Th. 27	2	1	2	18
W. 12	2	2	2	25	Fr. 28	2	31	2	50
Th. 13	2	45	3	7	Sa. 29	3	6	3	23
Fr. 14	3	30	3	51	Su. 30	3	42	3	59
Sa. 15	4	14	4	37	M. 31	4	20	4	14
Su. 16	4	59	5	22					

MOON'S PHASES.

	<i>Mean Time.</i>		
	D.	M.	H.
Last Quart...W.	5	58	past 5 morn.
New Moon...Tu.	11	4	— 11 aftern.
First Quart...Tu.	18	38	— 6 aftern.
Full Moon...W.	26	33	— 9 aftern.

TERMS, &c.

<i>Oct.</i>
10. River Tweed closes.
25. St. Crispin.

* * The Correspondents of the EDINBURGH MAGAZINE and LITERARY MISCELLANY are respectfully requested to transmit their Communications for the Editor to ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & COMPANY, Edinburgh, or to HURST, ROBINSON, & COMPANY, London; to whom also orders for the Work should be addressed.

THE
EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,
AND
LITERARY MISCELLANY.

SEPTEMBER 1825.

ON THE ORIGIN AND PRIVILEGES OF ANCIENT COLONIES.

(*Translated from the OPUSCULA ACADEMICA of Heyné, Vol. I., pp. 201, 227.*)

No idea of a colony can be presented to the mind unconnected with that of an assemblage of men emigrating from one country to another, to obtain new habitations. But the mere circumstance of men leaving the place of their birth, or where they have long resided, and settling in a new country, does not, in every case, constitute what we mean by a colony. For, as any part of a people or a state may emigrate into new territories, and settle there, so also may the whole inhabitants of a country. But this last proceeding is not considered as identical with the founding of a colony; it may more properly be designated by the general term *migration*, and is in many respects different from the other. On this principle we do not apply the word *colony*, either to those hordes of barbarians who, advancing from the east, and spreading over Europe and other portions of the globe, overthrew ancient dynasties, and erected others on their ruins; or to the Crusaders, who flocked in such numbers to the Holy Land, though their express object was, by expelling the Infidels, to obtain for themselves new settlements *. Instances of this kind are innumerable. We do not say, for example, that the Jews colonized Palestine, when, having left Egypt, they settled in that country; nor do

we apply the term to the Spaniards who obtained settlements in foreign countries by the slaughter and annihilation of the people who formerly inhabited them.

Territories seized upon by new colonists are either entirely unpeopled, or the inhabitants are but few, or they are driven away, and the land thus left free for the new occupants. The earliest colonies were planted in countries in the first of those states, or which were not inhabited at all; and in more modern times, we have seen the same thing take place in the case of several remote islands. The European colonies in various parts of America, Africa, and Asia, as well the colonies of the Phœnicians, Grecians, and others, were planted in countries where the inhabitants were but few; and the principal Spanish colonies were planted in countries where the aboriginal inhabitants had been subdued, and partly expelled by force of arms. Thus strangers take possession of new countries, either by extirpating the original inhabitants, or by incorporating with them. In this latter way, that is, when the new and the old race of people incorporate, the result is obtained, either by violence, as the greater part of the Ionian colonies were established in Asia,—by an express condition, or bargain, such

* *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr.* XXXVII. 496, 506.

as took place when Carthage, in ancient times, and Pennsylvania in modern, were founded,—or as the Ionians are said to have intermingled with the Cretans who inhabited Colophon *. And it is distressing to think that it is by violence and blood that the settlement of the various colonies, which have in recent times been planted by Europeans in the different quarters of the world, has been accomplished. They have thus, as it were, imitated the barbarism of their ancestors, who, by force of arms, over-ran the Roman Empire, and the most rich and fertile countries of Europe, sacrificing, as they proceeded, the lives or the liberty of the former inhabitants.

A striking diversity that takes place in the formation of colonies must not be overlooked; namely, that some colonies are founded by people emigrating from a fertile to a barren country, while others are founded in directly opposite circumstances. To this latter kind may be referred those swarms of barbarians who not unfrequently lay waste and ravish the lands on which they have resolved to settle.

We have been thus minute in treating of the various kinds and modifications of colonies, that an idea may be formed of the meaning we attach to the term, and which is attached to it in general and common language. Among savage and barbarous people the word has no existence; but when, among a people possessed of fixed laws and regular government, a portion of the inhabitants emigrate to obtain new settlements, whether they depart of their own accord, or are sent or led away,—whether they go under the sanction of law or against it,—whether the State approves or disapproves,—in whatever circumstances their emigration takes place, or wherever they settle, they are re-

garded as forming a colony, and the term is universally applied to them.

The causes on account of which a State would command or permit a portion of its people to leave their native soil, and to settle among strangers, originate either in *necessity* or in *utility*. Whatever be the character of a nation, whether it be distinguished by indolence, folly, or superstition, (which last cause has in modern times driven away some of the most eminent citizens of France and Spain,) or whatever be the ostensible motive from which it seems to encourage the formation of colonies, it founds its conduct on some principle of utility or necessity, either real or supposed. In cases of superabundant population, *necessity* is appealed to as the cause for adopting this measure. But a superabundant population is a thing that seldom takes place under a well-organized Government; and were it not on account of the indolence of the parent State, many effectual plans might be devised for giving employment to the whole of the inhabitants, and for supporting them. In nations, however, where neither agriculture, nor navigation, nor commerce, are well known, this supposed necessity will frequently occur, even from the deficiency of the crop, or the unproductiveness of the soil, for a single year. Accordingly we find, that in the first stages of society the greater part of the colonies, particularly those of the Greeks, which were settled on the coasts of Italy, Gaul, Asia, and Africa, owed their origin to such a calamity. Nor did the *ver sacrum* of the Gauls, and other countries, take its rise from any other source †. This necessity often originates in the parent State being over-run or destroyed by war, as was the case with the Phocæans when their country was ravaged by the Persians, or in

* Pausanias, *Hist.* VII. 3. p. 528. Ib. VII. 2. 3.

† Dion. Halic. l. 16. Puffendorf *de Jure N. et G.* VIII. 11. 6. *Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* VII. 93, *et seq.*

The *ver sacrum* was said of things produced in Spring, and consecrated to the gods, whether corn, cattle, children. In circumstances of danger and emergency, nations frequently vowed to sacrifice, in case of delivery, all the animals that were produced in the following Spring. They sacrificed cattle; but as it seemed cruel to sacrifice human beings, they had recourse to subterfuge: they veiled the heads of the children born at that time, when they had attained the age of maturity, and sent them off to obtain new settlements. This is the meaning in which the expression *ver sacrum* is used in the text. (*Translator.*)

civil wars, in which one of the factions is conquered and expelled by the other. Emigration and the formation of colonies, however, are probably never more necessary than when irruptions of barbarians are directed against a country unfortified, and in every respect unprepared to resist them, so that the invaders easily obtain possession of the whole territory.

In addition to the colonies which originate in necessity, those which originate in *utility* come next to be considered. This principle is not susceptible of being strictly defined, and varies according to the circumstances of States. It is not known, or not operative, till a regular Government has been established; and is in part the cause, and in part the effect of fixed laws and institutions*. According to the maxims of utility, a colony is planted, that the mother country may more rapidly improve, and that the poorer citizens may obtain property in land, in their new settlements, which they could not acquire at home: a motive which, it is well known, actuated the Romans and Athenians in establishing many of their colonies†. A State, by adopting this measure, may have in view, either to free itself of an idle and indolent population, predisposed to favour any change or revolution, or to acquire for a portion

of its inhabitants a greater extent of land, and a more genial climate in a new country‡. Such instances are of repeated occurrence: but probably the most ancient examples of colonies founded from motives of utility, occur when conquerors, having driven the vanquished into other territories, assign the lands thus evacuated to new settlers, with a view of retaining both subject to their dominion; examples of which are afforded us by the Assyrians and Babylonians, in the case of the Jews, by Alexander, and by the Romans. A plan similar to this is that under which bodies of men were sent into conquered cities to supply the ravages of war; or when, instead of inflicting punishment on the vanquished, their lands were wrested from them, and assigned to strangers. The Athenians were in the habit of sending such colonists to the cities and territories of those whom they had conquered in war, even though they meant to unite them to the State as allies§; a measure which, as mentioned by Isocrates, was adopted, that the name of the Greeks might extend as wide as possible, and that that of the barbarians might be repressed||. It was a favourite plan with the Romans to establish colonies in the territories of their enemies, in order to prevent their incursions**. And it is said that the Incas, the ancient

* Servius, in his notes on the twelfth line of the first book of the *Æneid*, says, *Est pars civium aut sociorum missa, ubi rempublicam habeant, ex consensu suae civitatis aut publico ejus populi, unde profecta est, consilio. Hæ autem coloniae sunt, quae ex consilio publico, non ex secessionem sunt conditae.*

† Liban. argument. Orat. Demosth. περί τῶν ἐν χερσίνῃσιν.

‡ The most of the causes from which colonies take their rise are enumerated by Seneca, *De consolat. ad Helv. c. 6.* *Alii longo errore factati, non judicio elegerunt locum, sed lassitudine proximum occuparunt; alii sibi arma jus in aliena terra fecerunt: quosdam gentes, cum ignota peterent, mare hausit, quosdam ibi condescerunt, ubi illas rerum inopia deposuit. Nec omnibus eadem causa relinquendi quaerendique patriam fuit. Alios excidia urbium suarum, hostilibus armis elapsos, in aliena spoliatos suis expulerunt; alios domestica seditio submovit; alios nimia superfluentis populi frequentia, ad exonerandas vires, emisit; alios pestilentia aut frequens terrarum hiatus aut aliqua intoleranda infellicis soli vitia ejecerunt; quosdam fertilis orae et in majus laudatæ fama corruptit, alios alia causa excivit domibus suis.* Nothing can be conceived more excellent and applicable than this passage of Seneca.

§ Diodor. XV. 23. Isocrates apologises for this avaricious conduct (πλεονεξία) on the ground that none were sent except to deserted lands (*Paneg.* 89); but at length, Ol. c. 9, they agreed to restore to their former owners the lands thus wrested from them, (παρηννομήσια; κληρονομία ἀποκαταστήσαι τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κυρίων 2025); and a law was made that no Athenian should cultivate land beyond the limits of Attica, (μὴδὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων γαιουργεῖν ἔκτος τῆς Ἀττικῆς.)

|| *Paneg.* l. c. 9.

** Sigon. *de ant. Jure Ital.* II. 2.

princes of the Peruvians, a people infinitely superior to the cruel and sanguinary nation by which they were subdued, followed the same plan; and that they led their subjects from provinces where the soil was poor and ungrateful, to others distinguished by greater fertility and a milder climate*.

But how useful soever these modes of colonization may be, there is another species unspeakably more beneficial, namely, when a colony is instituted for the purpose of promoting navigation, trade, and commerce. In modern times, this species has been cultivated with great ardour, and brought to a state of perfection unknown and unthought of in the early ages of society: and as it has promoted the objects just specified, it has at the same time rendered the connection of the mother country with the colonies more frequent and intimate; enabling her both to command their allegiance more stedfastly, and more fully to enjoy the advantages of their commerce; and if the colonies of recent times have been productive of greater utility than those of antiquity, it is owing entirely and exclusively to this circumstance. Colonies of this kind, however, though chiefly cultivated by the moderns, were not altogether unknown to the ancients, but were adopted so far as their limited knowledge of naval and commercial affairs allowed; and accordingly we find that such colonies were planted, not merely by the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, and Massilians, but by the Athenians in Thrace and Pontus †, by the Ptolemies of Egypt on the coasts of the Erythrean Sea, by the Idumeans and Jews on the same Ocean, and by the Macedonians in India. These colonies seem generally to have been founded to answer a double purpose; both to promote commerce and navigation, and to serve as emporiums or marts, where, as in a place of security, merchants from the parent State and those from the interior of the country might meet and transact business. This appears to have been the reason which

prompted the Dutch to plant colonies in Asia, and other nations to plant them on the shores of Africa,—combined, too, with a vague but strong desire of extending their authority and the bounds of their empire. Intimately connected with this motive, and inseparable from it, was that of affording security to those enterprising labourers from the parent State who emigrated thither, and of getting the soil better cultivated from which the materials of commerce were to be derived. Such, for example, were the circumstances from which, in many instances, the American colonies took their rise and derived their utility; for the precious metals were not discovered in such quantities as the first adventurers flattered themselves they would be; they were, indeed, got only in certain places, and in limited abundance: and other products, such as sugar, tobacco, and herbs, which could be converted to medical purposes, dyes, stuffs, &c., being subsequently cultivated by the European settlers, were found more effectually to reward their industry. All these causes for planting colonies had more or less influence on the nations of antiquity; though the object of each in founding settlements was necessarily determined by its internal circumstances, or relative situation. The Tyrians and Sidonians had only in view to obtain safe stations for their shipping, and emporiums for trade; and the Carthaginians to these objects added a desire to extend the boundaries of their empire,—a wish which they endeavoured to carry into effect, not from any abstract principle of utility, but in order to obtain a superiority over their two great rivals, Alexandria and Rome. There is one thing peculiar to ancient colonies, namely, that when they had arrived at any territory on which they had resolved to settle, they did not, like the moderns, endeavour to extirpate the original people, or reduce them into slavery in the name and under the disguise of religion.

Having thus considered the causes,

* Garcillasso de la Vega *Yncarum Histor.* P. I. lib. VII. c. I.

† Will. Clarke's *Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins*, Lon. 1767. 4to. pp. 53, et seqq. This work, though professedly on another subject, throws greater light on the topic in the text than any other book we know.

the nature, and the design, of planting colonies, we now proceed to examine the rights and privileges which they enjoyed, or to which they seem entitled. As the laws which regulate society have not been traced and defined with any accuracy till a comparatively recent date, no inference respecting the rights of colonies can be drawn from remote times. It is easy to imagine that, in ancient ages, colonies were often formed without any law existing on the subject, or even against the will of the parent State, as when a portion of the inhabitants were expelled during civil broils; and that in such circumstances neither the mother country ever dreamt of claiming or exercising any jurisdiction over them, nor they of acknowledging any tie or obedience. A territory, or city, occupied by a new colony, seems in those remote days to have constituted the beginning and source of a new state, at liberty to form a constitution for itself, and to be governed by its own laws. This was most decidedly the case when the colony was separated from the parent State by the intervention of the sea. In cases in which necessity was the cause and origin of a colony, there could be no question on the part of the mother country relative to any allegiance due to her. Those inhabitants who were driven from home, either by famine or a scarcity of food, or by any other urgent calamity, were entitled to regard the parent State as a stepmother, to whom they owed no obedience, and whose will and authority they were not called upon to consult or recognise. Manners, customs, and institutions, received from their ancestors, together with their vernacular language, were indeed transferred by the colonists to their new settlements, and such a general sense of relationship and affection towards the mother country, as obtains in ordinary life, was long felt and cherished; but *obedience* was never contemplated or thought of. This idea, however, occurred to parent States when it was seen how much it would be for their advantage to exercise authority over their colonies; and it was first adopted when the mother country had herself planted the colony from motives of utility, particularly in the design of extend-

ing or fortifying her boundaries, or for the sake of some commercial or naval advantage. Under these circumstances, she thought she possessed some natural and unalienable jurisdiction over her colonies, though at first she neither perceived nor alluded to the nature, extent, or even the existence of such a privilege. This right, however, could not but be recognised by colonists established under such circumstances, and it was exercised variously at different times, and by different nations. But it was generally reckoned sufficient that the mother country should possess free and uncontrolled intercourse with the colonies,—that she should have stations for her ships and emporiums for trade, so that the barbarians who inhabited the interior of the country, or the neighbouring territories, might come thither with their merchandize. In all other respects, the colonists were completely free and unshackled, and governed by their own laws. The intercourse between them and the metropolis, instead of remaining vague and undefined, and changing with the course of events, was regulated and secured by fixed statutes and enactments: and not only so, but laws were in course of time made respecting the planting of colonies; and different modes and principles were fixed upon for this purpose, according to the various circumstances of time and place under which the plan was to be carried into execution.

Thus the intercourse which subsists between colonies and the mother country derived its origin partly from their natural connection and relationship, and partly from express laws, which necessity or policy dictated. The former, though felt at the establishment of the earliest colonies, was not at first fully understood or defined; the latter took place gradually,—law after law being made as conjunctures required; and at length that form of jurisprudence was settled which now generally obtains. The Latin writers have examined this subject with a diligence unrivalled by other nations; but neither the two modes of intercourse in question, nor the principles on which they are founded, have been treated with that degree of care and

labour which their importance deserves.

We cannot, however, duly appreciate and understand the rights and privileges of ancient colonies, unless we examine those of each colony separately; for the constitution and circumstances of each differed more or less from those of others; and though we take a view of most of the laws which we may suppose to obtain between a colony and its parent State, yet no instance can be quoted in which all these laws can be found to obtain. The different circumstances of time and place occasioned immense differences in the character and constitution of colonies. Nor, indeed, can any thing which affects States and Governments be properly understood, unless a considerable space of time be comprehended in our investigations. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose, that a correct knowledge of the laws which should bind together a colony and its mother country was the result of time and experience, founded on that intercourse which would naturally take place between them from the earliest date. As men are slow in acquiring a clear perception of these laws, and as such knowledge presupposes some progress in navigation, commerce, and reciprocity of advantages, a colony, over which the mother country wished to exercise any jurisdiction, required to be situated near her, or at least at no very considerable distance. In such circumstances, a colony is, as it were, obliged to put itself under the dominion of its parent State; and it is generally governed by a viceroy appointed by her. Colonies, founded by free States, of which the citizens who emigrate enjoyed while at home the same privileges as those who remained behind, have mostly had the continuance of these privileges in their new settlements guaranteed to them. History sufficiently testifies, that in a great variety of instances new cities and new colonies have been in every respect regarded as a part of the state which planted them. Countries which, in other matters that have a tendency to strengthen and improve their resources, shew much

wavering and imbecility, have availed themselves most studiously of every measure calculated to extend their boundaries: a remark that is equally applicable to the most barbarous as well as the most civilized people, as the universal object apparently is to add indefinitely to their territory. That the connection we have been describing may take place, it is necessary, as previously hinted, that the colony be not too far distant, or too near; lest, if the latter, it should become an integral part of the mother country; and if the former, they should be held together by no tie. The Romans anxiously took care that this latter result should not be realised in any of their colonies, as, until the time of the Gracchi, they founded none beyond the boundaries of Italy*. And, besides, they had before their eyes examples of colonies which, through the carelessness of the parent State, had attained to too great importance and power, and had become both formidable and hateful to them; such as Carthage, Marseilles, Syracuse, Corcyra, Cyzicum, Byzantium, and even Alba itself.

The States of Greece, which contended for the sovereignty, seem to have been the first that made any progress towards cultivating that connection and intimacy we are contemplating, and which directed their attention to the consideration of those mutual laws which should bind a colony and its parent State together. They saw that their colonies were connected with them by a kind of natural relationship, which it would be criminal, at least undutiful, in them to violate or disregard. In order to strengthen and extend their power as widely as possible, they began severally to avail themselves of the affection of their colonies, and thus to ascertain how much dependence could be placed on them. This vague, natural alliance, was in process of time enhanced by the advantages to commerce and navigation of which it was productive: advantages so important, that no step that could secure their continuance was overlooked. If this opinion be correct, it is evident that the laws

* Velleius, II. 15. For an enumeration of colonies, ib. I. 11. 15.

that exist between a colony and its parent State are not the result of caprice or accident, but are founded on the nature of things and the ordinary course of events, and can be easily traced and delineated. We have many examples of this, indeed, in modern colonies. Many districts on the shores of America were occupied by Europeans, and much resorted to long before the advantages which these colonies were capable of conferring on the mother country occurred to her. No other object, indeed, was at first in view than to procure the precious metals: and accordingly, in the charters which grant the privilege, either of sailing to these regions or settling in them, scarcely anything is reserved to the parent State more than a fifth or a tenth part of the gold and silver which might be dug from the mines. The other great benefits resulting from colonies were not then even imagined.

It is, indeed, scarcely credible, how little the nations of Europe consulted their own interests in planting the first colonies in America, and how extremely ignorant they were of the principles, or how much they neglected them, on which colonies should be established, and of the rights which should reciprocally be recognised on either side*. There were not, however, wanting authors who laid before them examples of colonies from ancient history; and they might, perhaps, have provided against the evils and disadvantages which neglect or ignorance of correct principles produce; were it not that modern Governments rather wish to submit to inconveniences, or to indulge prejudices which have existed for ages, and not to adopt any improvements unless compelled by signal losses, than to follow the example of ancient states and republics, however salutary, or to convert to their own use the maxims and advices submitted to them by philosophers as the result of a comparison between ancient and modern times.

On account of this ignorance and prejudice, the lapse of several generations, the shedding of much blood,

and protracted experience, were necessary to give nations correct ideas on this subject; and to establish the following important principles, which, though elementary, were not soon recognised, namely, that in ordinary circumstances, it is not allowable to any citizen, unless with consent of the State to which he belongs, to leave his country and emigrate to another, as the State possesses sovereign control over every one of her subjects; that a State alone enjoys the right of planting a colony, of deciding respecting the necessity or utility of it, of prescribing the number of individuals of which it is to consist, and the territory where it is to be settled, and of determining the conditions and laws by which it is to be regulated; that it is not expedient or wise in colonists to allow the mother country power over their persons or resources, or those of their posterity; and that, though the parent State has the right of instituting a colony, and of determining when such a step is advantageous or necessary, and how it is to be carried into execution, yet the colonists, when planted, are entitled to retain the same privileges, the same relative situation and rank in society, which they severally enjoyed in their native country.

As the causes and objects of the Roman colonies were different from those of the Greeks, it is not to be wondered at if their laws and institutions were also different. The Roman colonies formed an integral part of the empire, and in every respect bore the impress of the parent city. Each colony seemed another Rome on a subordinate scale; yet it so depended on the ancient State, that its laws and policy were not its own, but those of the Roman people†. This state of things was somewhat modified by circumstances, and, besides, the colonists, under every circumstance, enjoyed the uncontrolled privilege of making laws relative to their private and domestic concerns, and their intercourse with each other. But of Roman colonies we need not give any enlarged account, as the

* Des Brosses *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes*, V. I. pp. 22, et seqq. Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, book IV. c. 7.

† Gellius, XVI. 13.

subject has been exhausted by Sigonius* and Spanhemius†, from whose labours Heinæcius, and other writers, have drawn the materials of their works. Nor do we mean at present to treat of the colonies of the Carthaginians and other ancient nations: and the remainder of this essay shall be devoted chiefly to the consideration of the Greek colonies, and of the connection which obtained between them and their parent states.

We know of no author who has examined the subject of Greek colonies in all its extent and bearings, and who has brought forward all the principles and illustrations belonging to it. This is to be accounted for, from the circumstance that the connection which existed between Greece and her colonies was not regulated by any specific law. For what, in modern times, we regard as the law of nations and universal law, the ancients referred to custom, or some principle of ethics, derived from nature, and founded on justice, and handed down to them by their forefathers. To this belief and association there was thus imparted a degree of sacredness and majesty, which almost forbade any discussion respecting their nature or truth: nor is it probable that any discussion could have effected a change in the sentiments or prejudices entertained on the subject. Modern writers have not in general paid due attention to these sentiments, and have therefore, in many instances, arrived at very unsound conclusions. In this treatise, without dealing in any vague speculations, we shall draw our opinions from the authority of the most ancient authors, and thus endeavour to ascertain what was really the state and rights of the Greek colonies, and the nature of the connection that existed between them and their parent city. It is necessary, in the mean-

time, for the reader to remember, that the nature of colonies, and the tie that bound them to the mother country, varied according to the circumstances of time, place, &c., under which they were planted; and particularly, that the Greek colonists went from cities which, for the most part, enjoyed a popular form of government.

The Greeks, and all the ancients, seem to have expressed the connection which subsists between a colony and its parent state, by a term signifying natural alliance or relationship; as, for example, by the words *necessitudo*, or *συγγενεια*; for it is sufficiently evident, from ancient writers, that a communion and identity of race and extraction were regarded as existing between the mother country and her colonies, and the citizens of both were looked upon as blood-relations and kindred‡. This relationship, which nature and reason concurred in strengthening, was distinguished by the sacred name of *filial attachment*, and its obligations were ardently revered, and any violation of them strongly dreaded and reprobated. In establishing this principle, ancient lawgivers showed the most intimate acquaintance with the human heart, and the nicest insight into the springs of human actions; for, by every association and feeling which can excite reverence and love, they have hallowed those laws which, if proposed in plain terms, or enforced by logical subtleties and disquisitions, would have had comparatively no effect, but, on the contrary, every means would have been tried to violate or elude them. A colony, therefore, imbibing these feelings, loved and revered its mother country as a child reverences and loves a parent§; and as the duties of filial affection are performed, on

* *De Ant. Jure Italicae* lib. II. c. 2, et seqq. lb. III. 3, et seqq.

† *Orb. Rom.* c. 8, 9.

‡ From this fact, Hobbes has drawn this inference, that a colony is the offspring of the parent State, and must continue in subjection till it be emancipated by the parent State; but from this analogy, he has illogically argued, and he has been followed by others, that the growth and increase of colonies depend also on the will of the mother country.

§ *Ὁς γονεὺς πρὸς τέκνον*, as in the public monuments of the Locrians. *Exc. de ptut. et vit. ex Polyb.* Lib. XII p. 40. Edit. Vien. See the note of Valesius page 169. Dionysius Halic. III. c. 7. p. 137. A similar instance of the Phœnians may be found in Herodotus III. 19.

the part of children, without any regard to law or compulsion, but solely from the natural impulse of the mind, strengthened by domestic and parental kindness; so a colony, from the same sacred motives, performs its filial duties to the mother State, without thinking of the authority or obligation of law. And as the original country treated the colony as if with parental indulgence and love, she also laid claim to rule it with corresponding authority and admonition. Thus the Corinthians, according to Thucydides*, are said to have founded Corcyra, in the view that the colonists might be subservient to their authority, and that they might cultivate their friendship. From the same writer, and from other sources, it is evident, that, in most cases, some power was reserved by the parent State over her colonies; though, from various causes, this power, together with all intercourse, appears sometimes to have been interrupted or abolished. Of this we have an example in the inhabitants of Albania†, and other colonies, who had greatly improved their resources; as Carthage, Cyprus, Byzantium, and Marseilles. Yet this power of the mother country gradually increased in most instances, and was sometimes maintained even by force of arms. From these statements, it is apparent that, in ancient times, the original State possessed considerable power over her colonies; and although that power was not always well understood or accurately defined, and though in different cases it might refer to different duties and obligations; yet, if we were to ad-

duce various examples, we should embrace every species of jurisdiction or allegiance which it is possible for a State to exercise over her colonies, or to claim from them. Parent countries, as just stated, did not hesitate to maintain their authority by force of arms, and to compel their colonies to obedience‡; an alternative to which, Thucydides tells us, the Bœotians had recourse, and they flattered themselves, that, when doing so, they were acting according to law§. But the circumstance of the mother country supporting her power by arms, shews that there was a point of obedience beyond which the colonists would not go, and that if the parent State sacrificed the welfare of the colonies to her own aggrandisement,—if she arrogated every advantage to herself,—if, instead of kindness, she shewed harshness; instead of indulgence, hatred,—if she envied their increasing wealth, and endeavoured maliciously to counteract or prevent it; in such circumstances, the colonists were of opinion they should no longer recognise her authority, or yield her any allegiance; but should use all the means in their power to repel such aggressions, and to proclaim and maintain their independence. “Every colony,” to use the words of the Corcyreans, when complaining of Corinth||, “honours the parent State so long as she seems well disposed towards it; but if she treat it injuriously and haughtily, it is the duty of the colonists to withdraw their allegiance; for colonists were not sent out on the condition of being

* Thucydides I. 38. ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμονεῖ τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ εἰκότα θαυμάζεσθαι. αἱ γοῦν ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι τιμῶσι ἡμᾶς, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἀποίκων στεργομένη. This is that ἡγεμονεῖσθαι in Thucydides III. 63, where the Thebans are complaining of the Plataeans: ὅτι ἡμῶν κτισάντων Πλατῆται, ὑπερον τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας καὶ ἄλλα χάρις μετ' αὐτῆς, ἃ ξυμμικτοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐξελασάντες ἐπιορκεῖν, οὐκ ἠξιοῦν οὗτοι, ὥσπερ ἐταχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡγεμονεῖσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν.

† Dionys. Halic. III. s. 10. p. 140, and s. II. p. 142.

‡ Many colonies have been destroyed, because they had revolted, δι' ἀπίστην, as the inhabitants of Camarina by the Syracusans, (Thucyd. VI. 5.), and the Samians by the Athenians, (Diodor. XII. 27, 38.)

§ Thucyd. III. 61. The Bœotians say that the Plataeans violated the institutions of their country, παραβαίνοντες τὰ πάτρια, from which example we see that the laws of the parent State were denominated by a word signifying the custom, the practice of the country, equivalent in Latin to *mores patrii*. The Bœotians calling the Plataeans to join in the war, say, (Thucyd. II. 2.), ὅτις βούλεται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια των πατρίων Βοιωτῶν ἐμμεχεῖν. Compare Thucyd. III. 65-6.

|| Thucydides, I. 34.

slaves, but that they might enjoy the same privileges as those citizens whom they left behind them."

Some other circumstances, particularly a community of religious observances and sacred rites, of laws and institutions, impart greater sanctity and veneration to the relationship which we have been contemplating. Before plans for increasing their wealth, or any other considerations, induced nations to prescribe laws and regulations to their colonies, the colonists transferred their ancient laws and jurisprudence into their new settlements, and established them there*. What, besides, could form a union so effectually between kinsmen thus separated, as that the colonists should continue in their new abodes, to maintain and cherish those religious principles and sacred rites in which they had been educated? The tie thus formed would be the more binding and endearing, as the religion of those days could be referred to nothing higher than rites and ceremonies, established and observed by former generations, and handed down from father to son, thus appealing to their prejudices and early associations. There is yet another circumstance, which must have had a tendency to make their religion, and consequently their native land, more dear to the colonists, namely, their carrying with them into their new habitations their country's religious utensils; such as the images of its gods, its sacred instruments and ves-

sels, and particularly the sacred fire of Vesta, alive from the altar in the *prytaneum* of their native city†. The sepulchres of their ancestors, which the colonists left behind them, and other monuments, whether connected with the dead or allied to religion, exercised also great power in influencing their minds with feelings of filial duty to their original home, and in retaining them in subjection‡. In more ancient times, the responses of the oracles, and the authority of the prophets, had the same effect, as no colony was attempted to be planted unless with the sanction of the gods; a measure which, we may believe, was adopted, in order to gain greater reverence, and to add strength to the decrees of the State§. We might here speak of the authority of the auspices; but this belongs to Roman, not to Greek colonies, and cannot, therefore, be considered in this place||.

Though the nature of the subject has led us to offer these observations, yet the colonists, overlooking most other ties, were governed chiefly by the customs and principles of their ancestors; insomuch that they regarded their relationship to the mother country, and their community of laws, as the foundation and basis on which all their privileges and duties depended:—a very few observations will be sufficient to explain this. It was reckoned a duty due to the original State, that, in case she was involved in war, or threatened

* This took place whether the form of the Government was popular or otherwise. Thus the Cyclades, in almost every particular, embraced the polity, *πολιτεία*, of the Athenians, *Isocr. Panath. p.* 243. But if the colonists were composed of people from several countries, they had to agree among themselves by what laws and institutions they chose to be governed. Thus Gela, a colony founded in Sicily by the Rhodians and Cretans, chose to be regulated by the laws of the Dorians, *νομίμα δὲ Δωρικά ἐτίθη ἀντοῖς*, *Thucyd. VI. 4. 5.*—A singular instance of this occurred in the case of the Thurians, with whom it was a question *ποίας πόλεως ἀποικισαὶ δὲ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἑταίρους*, *Diodorus, XII. 35.* A similar example was offered when Cumæ was founded, *Strab. V. p.* 372. For an account of the colony at Zanic, see *Pausanias, IV. 23, 337.*

† *Herodotus* (I. 146.) when he wishes to say that the colonies of the Ionians went from Athens, uses these words, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἱερμηνεύει*. Respecting the images of the gods, consult *Pausanias, VII. 2.*

‡ On this principle, exiles from Epidamnus conjure the Corcyreans, by their common sepulchres, to restore them to liberty. *Thucyd. I. 26.*

§ *Cicillmach. Hymn. in Apoll. 56—7.*; *Pausanias, VII. 2—3.* *Cicero de Div. l. 1.* These things were done with due rites, and they are those *νομίζματα* of which *Herod. speaks* (V. 42.) who, when he saw Cleomenes preferred to him in royal dignity, wishing in his indignation to depart from Sparta, obtains from the people liberty to found a colony, *ἀίτησας λην, Σπαρτιντας ἀγίς ἐς ἀποικίαν, οὗτε τῶν Διόφρων*

Χρηστῆριον χρησαμένως, ἐς ἡντίαν γῆν πτίσαν ἴν, οὗτε πικρίας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων.
|| *Cicero Philipp. II. 40.*

by hostile invasion, the colonies, as becomes a child to a parent, should send her all the aid in their power*.

This circumstance was of uncommon advantage to the Athenians, (who, of all the Grecian states, planted the greatest number of colonies†,) in contributing to their gaining the sovereignty of Greece. But this filial assistance was not long allowed to remain in a vague and arbitrary shape. It was defined and confirmed by solemn treaties; and the conditions on which the colony was to supply forces, provisions, and other necessities, were accurately ascertained: on this principle we can explain why colonies came to be designated by the name of *allies* (συμμάχοι ‡). If the colonists declined to perform their duty, they were regarded, not only as guilty of an act of injustice, but, what constituted a much higher crime, and had a greater influence over their conduct, as having violated the most obvious principles of filial attachment, and of religion. But if a colony, instead of remaining neutral, should throw its weight into the opposite scale, and assist, by its resources, those who carried on war against the mother country, it was stigmatized, as they ought to be who carry arms against those of the same race and nation with themselves §; it was hated both by gods and men; it was viewed as guilty of the most impious and nefa-

rious conduct; and seemed to deserve a punishment, for its perfidy, peculiarly disgraceful and severe ||.

In the mean time, however, notwithstanding this public connection with the mother country, the internal and domestic affairs and jurisdiction of the colonies were not interfered with, and were regarded as perfectly independent. No infringement was made on the liberty they enjoyed, of forming treaties, of making peace, or transacting business with whomsoever they chose, provided always they made no alliance with those who were in a state of hostility with the mother country. The inhabitants of Potidæa, a colony of the Corinthians, while they received magistrates sent them by their parent State, had formed a treaty of alliance with the Athenians, and were even tributaries to them**.

But as certain duties were due by the colonies to the mother country, so she, on her part, owed certain duties in return. She was bound to exercise parental solicitude over them, to protect them, to study their interest and welfare, to afford them assistance if in danger, to encourage and befriend them if labouring under any public or private calamity††. If she failed in the performance of any part of what was thus incumbent on her, she was treated as guilty of a base dereliction of duty ‡‡. But it was reckoned peculiarly dishonour-

* *Thucydides*, VII. 57. *passim*. The Corinthians frequently sent assistance to the Syracusans.

† *Isocr. Paneg.* p. 47. Edit. Steph.—*Panath.* pp. 392—3. 400. *Meurs. de Fortune Attic.* c. VI. *Aristid. Panath.* p. 112. Jebb. Ed.

‡ The word *allies* had a very general application: when the Athenians are said to have harassed their allies by levying heavy duties from them, the expression included also the colonies and islands. The *φορος* and *συρταξις*, at first a moderate tribute, was soon much increased. (*Sphanhemius ad Julian. Or.* I. p. 166.) *Meurs. de Fortune Attic.* c. VII.

§ As if the Dorians bore arms against the Dorians; the Ionians against the Ionians. *Thucydides*, VII. c. 57.

|| Hence the conquered were so cruelly treated. For the behaviour of Pericles towards the Estiænsians consult *Plutarch's* life of that commander: also *Thucyd.* V. 85. et seqq. The relationship between a colony and its parent State in process of time becomes obliterated, as is evident from what we knew of Alba and Rome: *Dionys. Halicar.* III. 3.

** *Thucydides*, I. 56. *ἱστέον* (the Athenians) *ἐνμαχῶσι φέρου ὀφειλῆς*. For an account of the annual tribute which the allies paid to the Athenians, according to the law of Aristides and Pericles, for carrying on the Persian war, consult *Thucyd.* I. 95.

†† *Plutarch. in vit. Timoleonis*. Hence wars were so often undertaken and shared with others, as the Sicilian war by the Athenians, *διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν*. (*Thucyd.* III. 86. VI. 6. *Diodor.* XII. 53-4.)

‡‡ An instance of this kind in the history of the Corecyæns may be found in *Thucyd.* I. 24. A similar instance may be seen in the same author, V. 106.—See *Herodotus* III. 19. for the treatment shewn by Phœnicia to Carthage her colony,

able and criminal, however she might sometimes be driven to do so by foreign force, to carry arms against those who derived their origin from her *; such conduct was looked upon as that of a parent doing violence to his own offspring, and, as it were, lifting his hand against his own bowels.

It is, we think, a matter of doubt, whether the rights and power of the parent State over her colonies were ever so great, that, in cases of approaching war, the latter, (as we sometimes read,) applied to the former for a General to command their army †. Circumstances, however, have sometimes occurred, (such as when a colony, after shaking off the yoke of a tyrant, has newly recovered its liberty,) when it was found expedient or necessary to petition the mother country to send experienced and learned men to assist in drawing up a new code of laws ‡: but this, when it did take place, seems to have resulted rather from the reasonableness of the measure, and the emergency of the case, than from any right or superiority on the part of the parent State. The internal administration and civil jurisdiction of the colonies, as previously mentioned, were completely independent; the mother country had not the slightest control over them, or interest in them; but it might have seemed proper to the colonists to send for men deeply skilled in the laws and institutions of their ancestors, from that country from which, on their emigration, they received the original

forms and principles of their laws. When a colony wished to send out a colony from itself, a leader to conduct it was, with greater propriety than in the former case, requested of the mother country §. Thucydides mentions, what affords a striking instance of this, that Phalius, the Corinthian, according to ancient custom, was sent for by the colony of Epidamnus, of which he had been the founder, from the parent city ||. Spanhemius has endeavoured to prove from a passage in Pausanias, that a part of the booty taken by the colonists was due to the mother country. But neither the scope of the passage, nor the reason of the thing, bear him out in this opinion; for who doubts that the plunder of a vanquished city can justly belong only to the conquerors **? But in cities that had been pillaged, or recovered from the Barbarians, the Athenians are not to be blamed, if, in restoring them to their former state, they mixed some new colonists as a supplement to the old inhabitants, and appropriated to them part of the land ††. The circumstance that the colonists preserved on their coin the stamp of the parent city can be explained on the principles previously laid down; and was the result, not of any law or obligation, but of filial attachment and custom ‡‡. The *προεδρία*, or seal of distinction, of the mother country, (of which we shall afterwards speak,) and the practice of sending thither for priests to preside in their higher sacred rites, if such a practice did exist, resulted, on the contrary,

* Thucyd. VII. 57. p. 482.

† Spanhemius, L p. 582. The Syracusans enacted a law in honour of Timoleon, whom the Corinthians had sent them, that whenever the colony should be threatened with war, they should procure a General from the mother country. (Plutarch in vit. Timol.)

‡ See instances of this in Plutarch's life of Timoleon, and in Dion. *μιταπικπιται* ix Κορινθίου συμβούλους και συναρχοντας.

§ For this reason, that the mother country's right was supposed to extend, not merely to the colony immediately derived from herself, but to the sub-colonies. Respecting the sub-colony of Leucadia, see Plut in vit. Themistoclis, p. 123.

|| Thucyd. I. 24. *κατα τον παλαιον νομον*. Peculiar honour, however, was always paid to the founder of a colony, *οικιστος*. (Id. VI. 4.) The Athenians, when they planted the Ionians as a colony in Asia, did not send the leader or founder with them, but before them, *προικιστην* (not *προικισμεν*), *ηγμενος* *ικαστοι* *σφιστων*. (Aristid. in Panath. 114.)

** Spanhem. de usu et præst. Numism. I. 570. Pausanias, V. 22. 436.

†† Isocr. Panath. 215. Herodot. V. 79. Aelian. VI. 1.

‡‡ Spanhem. 568 et seqq.

not from relationship, or filial love, but from an express law and stipulation *.

Several instances occur of magistrates being sent by the mother country into the colonies. Thucydides mentions, that a magistrate was sent from Corinth to Potidæa, a noble city of Pallene in Thessaly, to manage the public business of that colony †. The same author informs us, that the Lacedæmonians yearly despatched a magistrate to Cythera for a similar purpose ‡. This practice, however, was not founded on any common law of colonies, but proceeded from some peculiar and specific agreement and condition made with the colony when it was first established. Accordingly, we have already ascertained in this treatise, that different laws and conditions were made with different colonies on their first institution, by which severally they were to be regulated, and hence the dissimilarity and diversity which obtain among them §. To this circumstance must, we think, be referred that instance of a tribute being imposed on colonists in return for the lands assigned them ||. Other instances might be quoted **; and these conditions seem to be those of which Harpocration speaks when he

interprets the word ἀποικιστής, as signifying the terms, or formulas, according to which colonies were sometimes planted.

Colonies, also, after they were planted, formed, as mentioned before, leagues with their parent States: such, for example, as Timæus says took place between the Locrians of Italy and the Locrians of Greece ††. They respectively passed laws, sometimes for the benefit and honour of the one, sometimes of the other, or for their mutual friendship and advantage. Timæus also mentions an enactment, by which it was ordained that these two people should have a common right of citizenship with each other §§. Thus sometimes the privilege of intermarrying between kindred States has also been secured to them ||||. These enactments, however, had rather in view to revive old laws which had become obsolete, than to make new ones; since the laws and privileges of all colonies, proceeding from a free state, were at first common, unless something to the contrary was expressly mentioned when the colony was instituted.

From a community of sacred rites, and of religion, between the mother country and her colonies, certain privileges or duties seem to have

* *Id.* 575. The scholiast in *Thucydides*, l. 25.

† The word used is ἰσθμιοεργός. (*Thucyd.* I. 56. consult the scholiast on the passage.)

‡ Κυθηροδικὴν. *Thucyd.* IV. 53. *Spanhem.* 581. The colonists of Ægina sought laws from Epidaurus their mother country. τούτων ἐπὶ τὸν χρόνον, καὶ τὸν πρὸ τούτου, Αἰγινήταις Ἐπιδαυρίων ηἰκούν τα τε ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκαι, διαβαίνοντες εἰς Ἐπιδάυρον, ἰδίδοναι τε καὶ ἐλαμβάνειν παρ' ἀλλήλων ἢ Αἰγινήται. (*Herod.* V. 82.)

§ *Puffendorf de Jure Naturæ et Gentium*, VIII. 11. 6. The Athenians imposed tribute only on some of the colonies which, in all other respects, were free: while others were not permitted to make any enactment unless the name of the Athenians was prefixed to it. When the Athenians very cunningly comprehended the colonies under the general name of *allies*, *συνμαχοί*, the relative duties of both were much confounded. Sometimes, when any matter of great importance was referred to the decision of the people, the *συνμαχοί* were summoned to attend. (*Xenophon de Athen. Republica*, 694. Other instances may be found in *Exercit. de Delo*, *Misc.* VII. 5. 15.)

|| *Xenoph. Cyri Expedit.* V. 5. 3. 6.

** *Thucyd.* I. 27. The Corinthians, if they wished any colony to be numerous, issued this proclamation, εἰς τὴν ἰσθμὸν καὶ ὅμοιον τὸν βυλομένον ἵναί. A similar thing was done by other people. If foreigners were sent along with the citizens of any country, the constitution of the colony was somewhat different from what it would otherwise have been. (*Thucyd.* III. 61.)

†† ἀποικισαί (-ων τὰ, not singular,) ἰδίως τὰ γράμματα, καὶ ὁ ἀποικιστὴς τινίς. (*Valerius ad Polybium*, p. 159.)

‡‡ *Polyb. Exc. Vales.* XII. 40. Ed. Vien.

§§ *Ib.* 1b

|||| ἐπιγαμίαι.

taken their rise. Thus the colonies yearly sent deputies loaded with sacrifices and gifts to the parent State, to be present at certain solemnities made in honour of the country's gods (πατρώϊς). These deputies were admitted to the sacred festivals, and in the sacred games had a place assigned to them in the theatre*. The sacred rites of the colonies in like manner were attended by deputies or envoys from the mother country, to whom ancient custom gave the honour of sprinkling

the salt cake on the victim, and of pouring out the sacred libation. They also enjoyed the honour of obtaining the principal seats (ροεῶν) at the games†, a distinction bestowed on all official and public characters from the mother country, if any were present‡. All colonies were placed under similar circumstances, that were obliged to send yearly the first fruits, or tithes, to the parent city, as an offering to the gods; an obligation to which the Carthagenians, a colony of the Tyrians, were subjected§.

T. M.

Sonnet.

On burning a Lock of Hair.

Ho vinto alfin, si non m'inganno, ho vinto ;
Spenta è la fiamma che vorace ardeva
Questo mio cuor da indegni lacci avvinto,
I cui moti l'amor cieco reggeva. *Alfieri.*

BUT a lock of glossy raven hair—
A ringlet waving o'er the syren brow
Of one to whom I breathed too pure a
vow,
That nearest to my heart I'd constant
wear
That farewell token, ay to nestle there ;
'Twas when I left my native home, and
now
I blush to think, when blind to well-
feign'd woe,
I wiped her tears, and bade her not de-
spair.

But, oh ! I joy that mocking dream is
past—
Now, now I learn that I did love too
well ;
So I this night unclasp'd that lock, and
cast
It in the flames, nor felt a chiding knell ;
For much it griev'd me, that I kept so
long
The worthless gift of one who did me
wrong !

Θ

Florence.

* Θιωρως. (Thucyd. VI. 3.)

† Περίοδια.

‡ Thucyd. I. 25.—The Corinthians were exasperated against the Corcyraeans, their colonists: ἄμα γὰρ καὶ μισοῖσι τὸν Κερκυραίων, οἷσι αὐτῶν παρημίλου, οὐτις ἀποικία. Οὗτοι γὰρ ἐν πανθηνοῖσι ποιεῖ κοινὰς δίδοντας γὰρ τὰ νομιζόμενα, οὗτοι Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχομένοι τὸν ἴσον. ὅσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι. The γὰρ mentioned in this passage is regarded as synonymous with τιμαὶ and περιόδια, honours and places of distinction.

§ Polyb. Exc. legat. CXIV. 761. Curt IV. 2. 10. Vales ad Polyb. 160. Diodor. XX. 14. Spanhem. de usu et præst. Numism. 581. These authorities support the opinions expressed in the text. But the truth of this opinion may be called in question. It is evident from Isocrates (Paneg. c. 7. 153) that, in some instances, at least, the practice in question was observed in memory of the corn received from the Athenians, and that it did not result from any express law. Aristides entertains the same sentiments (in Panath. 105. 188). Examples of an opposite nature are not wanting: for we are assured that several colonies sent for the Panathenæan oxen to Athens to be used at the festival. (Meurs. Panath. c. XV.)

SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND'S "ORIGINES."—OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS, CONSIDERED AS A MARITIME PEOPLE.

M. MALTE-BRUN, in his "*Histoire de la Géographie*," Book Second, makes the following observations, to which we request the reader's particular attention: "*Les peuples agricoles ne sortent guère des fertiles contrées qui les nourrissent; voilà pourquoi les anciennes mappemondes, des Indous ne présentent de clairement tracé que l'Indostan, la Perse, le Thibet, et l'île de Ceylan: la même raison doit faire rejeter les obscures traditions qui tendent à placer le berceau de la géographie sur les bords du Nil. Les Egyptiens ont pu tracer des méridiennes; les inondations périodiques ont pu leur rendre nécessaire l'art de lever des plans topographiques; mais cette application de la géométrie ne suppose point des idées géographiques chez un peuple qui avait la mer et la navigation en horreur; et la prétendue carte de Sésostrius est aussi problématique que les expéditions attribuées à ce héros, et que les histoires Egyptiennes avant Psammitichus (Psammetichus),*" p. 18.

The justly-celebrated author from whose excellent work this passage is extracted, has fallen into the common error of considering the ancient Egyptians as a people who held the sea in abhorrence, and were utter strangers to the art of navigation; and has, in consequence, treated as a mere fable all that has been preserved in regard to the naval expeditions of Sesostris, and the chart which that Prince is said to have constructed of the different countries he explored. Proceeding upon the same hypothesis, he contents, as unworthy of credit, all the accounts of Egypt prior to the reign of Psammetichus, and rejects "the obscure traditions which would lead us to place the cradle of geography on the banks of the Nile." We think it may be clearly shown that he is wrong on both points:—that he has received this erroneous impression from the Greek writers, without sufficiently considering that these Greeks visited Egypt in the days of her adversity, when she was groaning under the yoke of a merci-

less conqueror; and that "traditions" and arguments, neither "obscure" nor uncertain, warrant us in placing the cradle of geography on the banks of the Nile." And

I. With regard to the abhorrence in which the ancient Egyptians are supposed to have held the sea, and their ignorance of the art of navigation.

If we may believe Plutarch, such was the detestation of the Egyptians for the sea, that they symbolized it by Typhon, or the evil demon, and that the priests abstained from eating fish, and never made use of salt, which they denominated the froth of the malignant principle. But, as Sir William Drummond remarks, these superstitions had probably only a partial existence, and were, in all likelihood, never observed beyond the limits of the sacred college. It seems evident, indeed, that the worship of Osiris was often confounded with that of the Nile; and as the god had been destroyed by Typhon—in other words, as the waters of the river were swallowed up and lost in the sea, the mythologists might naturally enough have represented the sea as hostile to the stream, and identified it with the dæmon Typhon, the enemy of Osiris. But it is absurd to suppose that these mythological dreams had any practical or political influence; and, in point of fact, it will be shown in the sequel that they had none whatever, till after the period when Egypt was compelled to submit to her Persian conquerors.

Herodotus again informs us, that Naucratis was the only Egyptian port open to the navigators of the Mediterranean, till the reign of Psammetichus; that foreign vessels entering into any other harbour, unless compelled to do so by stress of weather, were condemned; and that strangers who landed on any other part of the coast were considered as enemies, and repelled as invaders, unless the perils of their situation justified their debarkation. "This regulation is generally supposed to

have proceeded from the dislike of the Egyptians to foreigners, and especially to mariners; and is advanced as a proof of their indifference to commerce, and of their peculiar prejudices against all naval enterprises." The Phœnicians, however, were the only people on the side of the Mediterranean with whom the Egyptians traded in remote times; and as the whole extent of the coast hardly amounted to eighty leagues, ships with oars might easily proceed to any particular station in calm weather; and in case of danger, an exception to the rule was always admitted. The interests of commerce could not, therefore, have been seriously affected by the regulation in question, from whatever cause it may have proceeded.

But even admitting that the ancient Egyptians were remarkable for the dislike and hatred of strangers which have been ascribed to them, it does not, therefore, follow, that they were indifferent to commerce, or cherished peculiar prejudices against all naval enterprises. Of all the nations of antiquity, the Phœnicians were the most distinguished for their skill in navigation, and the extent of their commerce; yet their jealousy of strangers was extreme, and they employed every means, without distinction, to conceal their discoveries, and prevent other States from following in their footsteps, or interfering with the commercial monopoly they had obtained. It is true, that in one memorable instance they relaxed this jealous and exclusive system; for we find, from the sacred volume, that Solomon established a correspondence with Hiram, king of Tyre; and that his fleets, under the direction of Phœnician pilots, sailed to Tarshish and Ophir, and, after a voyage of three years, (probably occasioned by the ignorance of the pilots respecting the monsoons, or periodical winds,) returned laden with the rich merchandise of India. But the Hebrews were essentially an agricultural and pastoral people; and this relaxation of the habitual policy of the Phœnicians in their favour is not so much to be considered a deviation from their system, as a compliment to the personal character and celebrity of the great

prince who then sat on the throne of David. "Moins jaloux d'un peuple agricole et pasteur," says M. Mahe-Brun, "les Phœniciens de Tyr associèrent les Hébreux à quelques-unes de leurs expéditions maritimes; mais, ces liaisons ne furent pas d'une assez longue durée pour aggrandir considérablement la sphère des connaissances de ceux-ci." *Histoire de la Géographie*, p. 15. This commercial and naval jealousy, relaxed in only one instance, the Phœnicians communicated to the colonies which they planted on the shores of the Mediterranean. The most distinguished of these was Carthage; and we are informed by Strabo, (Lib. xvii.,) that when the Carthaginians had made themselves masters of Sardinia, they ordered every foreign navigator who approached the coasts of that island to be thrown into the sea. If, therefore, it would be absurd to infer from this spirit of exclusion, that neither the Phœnicians nor the Carthaginians were maritime States, and that they were indifferent to commerce, and held the sea in abhorrence; it is surely not less absurd to conclude, from the regulation above mentioned, which is far more liberal in its provisions than any thing we know of the policy of these States, that the ancient Egyptians were strangers to navigation; and embodied in their superstitious the unaccountable hatred they are supposed to have cherished to the sea, and to all naval enterprises.

But if we inquire when this regulation was established, we shall be at no loss to discover reasons sufficient to justify it on the most obvious principles of prudence and policy. From the events which happened during the reign of Psammetichus, it is manifest that Greek pirates were in the habit of making depredations on the coast of Egypt, for the purposes of a plunder. Is it not probable, therefore, that the kings of Egypt established the regulation in question, not to preclude the intercourse of their subjects with foreigners, but to prevent the intrusion of pirates, in the same manner as the southern states of Italy are compelled to adopt regulations to secure their subjects against the incursions of the Barbary corsairs? Strabo,

* indeed, says, that "the ancient kings of Egypt were satisfied with the productions of their own country, hating (*διαβεβλημένοι*) all navigators, but especially the Greeks." But if the Greek navigators who landed in Egypt plundered the country whenever they could find an opportunity of doing so, the hatred shown to them by the Pharaohs was not at all unaccountable. It may likewise be observed, that the dislike of the ancient kings of Egypt to Greek strangers may be dated from an event which is alone sufficient to explain and excuse it. The reception of Paris and Helen by Proteus, as stated by Herodotus, shows the hospitality of the ancient Pharaohs towards strangers who landed in the country with no hostile intentions. When Menelaus arrived, he, too, was received with all the honours due to his rank. But how did the Spartan king requite the kindness that had been shewn him? By immolating two Egyptian children on the altar of his sanguinary god. Can it be matter of surprise, then, if the Egyptians, who abhorred human sacrifices, evinced their hatred of a people, one of whose princes had requited the hospitality with which he had been treated, by a foul and disgusting murder, rendered the more odious, as it was done in compliance with the dictates of a bloody and debasing superstition?

But the very writers upon whose authority it has been too hastily concluded that the ancient Egyptians had violent prejudices against the sea and navigation, afford sufficient evidence to induce us to draw a very different inference. When Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch relate, without animadversion, the voyages of Osiris, they tacitly admit the Egyptians to have been a maritime people from the earliest period of their history. According to them, Osiris was a great navigator, and a great navigator can scarcely be supposed to have reigned over a people who held the sea in abhorrence, and were utter strangers to navigation. The voyages of Osiris may, it is true, be pronounced entirely fabulous; but the writers above mentioned do not contest the truth of them, which they

not only ought to have done, but likewise to have declared them impossible, had the sea been always an object of abhorrence to the Egyptians, and had that people been always total strangers to the art of navigation. In like manner, Sesostris, who is generally supposed by chronologists to have flourished about seventeen centuries before our era, is said by Diodorus to have fitted out a fleet of 400 sail, with which he navigated the Erythrean Sea and the Indian Ocean; and Pliny asserts, (Lib. vii.) that the ships were of large dimensions. Such a fleet could not have been created in the infancy of navigation; its very existence supposes a long acquaintance with naval affairs, and much experience both in the construction and management of ships. M. Malte-Brun, in the passage quoted at the head of this article, no doubt pronounces the expeditions of this prince "problematical," or fabulous; a decision which supersedes inquiry, and which any body might pronounce as well as M. Malte-Brun. But if we are to come to this conclusion in regard to the expeditions of Sesostris, we must at once reject the authority of ancient history, which positively asserts the reality of these enterprizes; and indeed M. Malte-Brun himself receives as true many statements which are not so well supported. It is sufficient for our present purpose, however, that the Greek writers themselves betray no doubt of these expeditions having actually taken place; which proves, that they believed the ancient Egyptians to have been a maritime people, and that the contrary inference has been hastily deduced from their statements, without duly considering the period to which these statements refer. It is only necessary to add, that the voyages of Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus, all of which took place more than fourteen centuries before the Christian era, do not announce the Egyptians to have been afraid of undertaking naval expeditions, or destitute of ships and mariners; and that if they had had neither the one nor the other, they could not have had any colonies, either in Greece or the shores of the Euxine; yet the Cecropian towers were built by one

Egyptian colony, and the plains of Colchis were peopled by another.

It appears, from the testimony both of Herodotus and of Diodorus Siculus, that the Greeks had little commercial intercourse with the Egyptians before the reign of Psammetichus; and that what little knowledge they possessed of the history of Egypt, previously to that period, was gathered from the obscure, doubtful, and reluctant communications of the priests. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if they have furnished us with no distinct or connected history of the naval enterprises of the Egyptians, from the age of Sesostris to that of Nechos, the son of Psammetichus. But no sooner were the Greeks enabled to speak from their own observation, than they announced the naval enterprises of the Egyptians. Nechos despatched a fleet from the Red Sea which circumnavigated Africa, and returned to Egypt by the Mediterranean. But it may be argued, on the authority of Herodotus, that Nechos employed Phœnician ships, and Phœnician sailors; and it is certainly true, that the father of history makes this statement in his fourth book: but he had said before, in his second, that Nechos built ships of three banks of oars, both on the Mediterranean and on the Red Sea; and if this was true, there could be no reason why the Egyptian prince should have hired ships at least from the Phœnicians. The fact is, the Egyptians had a navy of their own, superior to that of the Phœnicians; for we find that Apries, the grandson of Nechos, defeated the king of Tyre in a naval combat.

The accounts of the Greek writers are therefore altogether inconsistent and contradictory. How is it possible to believe, that a people, who had once possessed a navy of 400

large ships, should suddenly abandon all naval enterprises,—far less, that they always detested navigators and navigation? How are we to reconcile with the allegation, that the Egyptians hated the sea and were ignorant of navigation, the statements admitted by the very same authorities, viz. that the fleets of Sesostris navigated the Erythrean Sea, and the Indian Ocean,—that, after the time of that monarch, Egyptian colonies passed into Europe, and established themselves in Attica, in Bœotia, and in Argos,—that the vessel in which Armais, or Danaus, came to Greece, had fifty banks of oars,—that the ships of Nechos sailed round Africa, from the gulph of Suez to the Canobic mouth of the Nile,—and that in the time of Apries, the Egyptians disputed the empire of the sea with the Phœnicians? Either the Greek writers are not to be believed at all, or the substance of their testimony is entirely subversive of the character which they chuse to ascribe to the Egyptians.

But it is useless to weary the reader with hypothetical solutions. The real truth is,—and this sufficiently explains the inconsistency to which we have adverted,—that when the Greek writers whom we have named visited Egypt, the Egyptians were a conquered people. At the time when Herodotus wrote, they had suffered the most cruel and continued persecution from the Persians of which history affords any example. Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Plutarch, knew them after they had long been humbled under the authority of their Greek and Roman masters; when the spirit, the energy, and the independence of the nation, were utterly extinguished, and its superstition only remained. From the time of Cambyses*, the Egyptians had

* The destructive ravages of the Persian conquest are finely alluded to in the exquisite "Address to the Mummy in Belzoni's Exhibition," which appeared in Campbell's Magazine:

"Didst thou not hear the pother o'er thy head,
When the great Persian conqueror, Cambyses,
March'd armies o'er thy tomb with thundering tread,
O'erthrew Osiris, Orus, Apis, Isis,
And shook the Pyramids with fear and wonder,
While the gigantic Memnon fell asunder?"

neither ships nor mariners; but that this was not the case in the time of the Pharaohs has, we think, been clearly shewn from the writings of the Greeks themselves†.

II. Having said thus much, tending to prove that the ancient Egyptians were a maritime people, we shall now, in the second place, make a few observations for the purpose of showing that the science of geography in all probability owes its origin to the same remarkable people.

M. Malte-Brun admits, that the ancient Egyptians were acquainted with the method of tracing or measuring arcs of the meridian, and that the periodical inundations of the Nile rendered necessary the art of constructing topographical plans; but he maintains, strangely enough, that this application of geometry “ne suppose point des idées géographiques chez un peuple qui avait la mer et la navigation en horreur.” But we have shown that the Egyptians did *not* hold the sea and navigation in horror; that, on the contrary, previous to the time of the Persian conquest, they were a maritime people,

and undertook naval expeditions for the purpose of exploring remote and unknown countries; that they had sailed round Africa, penetrated to the western coast of the peninsula of India, established colonies in Greece and on the shores of the Euxine, and navigated the Mediterranean; it follows, that the conclusion of M. Malte-Brun is utterly untenable; and, *e converso*, it seems reasonable to believe, that geography owed its rise and its first improvement to the earliest maritime nation of the ancient world,—a nation, moreover, acquainted with the principles both of geometry and astronomy, and with the practical application of those sciences to the business of life. Many circumstances unite to confirm this deduction.

It is well known that the Greeks were indebted for the rudiments of science, which they afterwards cultivated with so much ardour and success, to the school of Miletus, the founder of which, Thales, was instructed in the knowledge which he first communicated to his countrymen by the astronomers and geometers of

† It has been argued, that the hatred of the ancient Egyptians to the sea may be inferred from the fact, that Neptune was not admitted, at least in early times, into their crowded Pantheon, and that, on the contrary, the sea was symbolised by Typhon, or the evil dæmon. But it may be easily shown that there is nothing in this argument; for although the Egyptians adored no divinity answering to the description given by the Greeks of their Poseidon, yet there can be no doubt of their having acknowledged a divinity who presided over the sea, and protected mariners. This deity was Isis. To her the Greeks erected temples; and it is clear that they must have borrowed their notions of Isis from the Egyptians. She was represented by different deities among the Greeks and Romans, but her identity can never be mistaken. According to Plutarch, she was the same with Thetis: she is addressed in Apuleius as *Regina Cæli*, *sive tu Ceres, seu tu castis Venus*; Homer, Hesiod, and Plato, point out the same divinity under the name of *Aphrodite*, so called, *διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀφροῦ γένεσιν*, because she was feigned to have been produced from the foam of the sea. She was, therefore, the same with the sea-born (*ποντογενής*) Venus. Venus was the patroness of navigation, (*Sic te Diva potens Cypri, &c.*) Isis was adored under a similar character. The Corinthians built temples to her under the names of the Egyptian and Pelagian Isis; and Juvenal, in speaking of the votive tablets hung up by mariners, says, *Pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci*? Many temples were consecrated to Isis in the sea-port towns, not only of Greece, but also of Italy and Gaul. The Egyptians celebrated a festival in her honour, which was called the Festival of the Ship; and thus a ship became the symbol of the goddess, under which form she was worshipped from a very remote antiquity. Tacitus has the following remarkable passage, which bears closely on this subject:—“*Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum, in modum liburnæ figuratum, docet adjectum religionem.*” That the worship of Isis, under the form of a ship, was of Egyptian origin, no one duly informed on the subject will dispute; but how this superstition found its way among the Suevi, it will be impossible to explain, unless by supposing the ancient Egyptians to have been less hostile to strangers, and more accustomed to navigation, than most modern writers seem willing to allow. It seems an incontestable fact, that the worship of Isis was introduced at a very early period into Germany, Gaul, and Britain.

Egypt. He is said to have been the author of two books, one on the Tropics, and another on the Equinox, the exact times of which he probably determined by the shadows of the gnomon; and by this he was naturally led to another of his discoveries, which was the division of the year into its four seasons,—a consequence of his finding the particular days when the sun appeared to be in the Tropics and in the Equinox. His division of the year into 365 days was undoubtedly brought by him from Egypt, as is universally allowed (Herol. II. Macrob. Saturn. I., 12. Strabo xvii.) to have been an Egyptian discovery prior to his time; and Pliny informs us, that this discovery was made by observing when the shadow returned to its mark, (*ut observatio umbrarum ejus redeat ad notus;*) a clear proof that it was done by the use of the gnomon. It is extremely probable, that this method of observing by the gnomon was originally imported from Egypt, where it was known long before the dawn of science in Greece; and it is the opinion of Riccioli, Cassini, and other eminent astronomers, that the Egyptian Pyramids and Obelisks were really sun-dials upon a large scale, by which the variation of the length of the shadow, in proportion to its height, could be ascertained with a greater degree of accuracy,—an opinion confirmed by the fact, observed so long ago as the year 1694, by M. de Chazelles, that two sides, both of the larger and smaller pyramids, are placed exactly north and south, so as to be in the true meridian, while the other two stand due east and west; which seems to prove that they were contrived to serve, among other purposes, that of astronomical observation. It is proper to add, that Anaximander, one of the disciples of Thales, erected at Lacedæmon the first sun-dial seen in Greece, upon the principles disclosed by his master, and which the latter had undoubtedly learned in Egypt. (*Diogenes Laertius in ANAXIMANDRO, L. II. Έγρε δε και γνωμονα πρωτος, και εστηεν επι των σκιωδερων εν Λακεδαιμονι—τροπας τε και ισημερίας σημεινοντα και ωροσκοπια κατασκευασας, &c.*)

These few observations serve to

show that the Egyptians were acquainted with the practical application of science, which is, indeed, admitted on all hands; but there is likewise proof that this application was extended to objects purely geographical. M. Malte-Brun admits that they knew how to construct topographical plans, yet oddly enough endeavours to throw discredit on the map or chart which Sesostris is said to have made of the countries he explored. But surely the transition from a topographical plan to a map or chart is not very difficult to conceive, seeing the Egyptians are admitted to have been skilled both in theoretical and practical geometry and astronomy; and it is certain that the Phœnicians, who were originally an Egyptian colony, and must have derived their knowledge from the mother country, constructed maps or charts of their different discoveries, and carefully corrected and preserved them for the prosecution of their commercial enterprises. But, independently of these general views, Diodorus Siculus expressly informs us, (L. XI.) that on his return from his expedition through Persia to India, and thence through Scythia, and by the Black Sea to Thrace, Sesostris ordered plans or charts of the countries he had explored to be delineated on boards, some of which he distributed among the Egyptians, and others he transmitted to the Colchians or Scythians, by whom they were held in great estimation. This is direct testimony to a fact which every circumstance conspires to render probable; and as these are the first maps or charts mentioned in history, it seems reasonable to ascribe the origin, and first improvement of the science of geography, to the people by whom they were first constructed.

There are other considerations which tend to confirm this conclusion. "Il faut avouer," says M. Malte-Brun, "que nous n'avons point d'aperçus géographiques, dignes d'attention, qui soient antérieurs à ceux de Moïse. Les livres de cet historien, et ceux de ses successeurs, contiennent les notions des Hébreux, des Phéniciens, des Arabes, et des autres peuples de l'Asie occidentale." p. 13. But Moses received his edu-

cation at the court of Pharaoh, and was initiated in all the learning of the Egyptians, before he received his divine commission to become the deliverer and legislator of the Israelites. In the books which he composed, and in which are contained the principles upon which the Jewish theocracy was to be established and administered, it certainly was far from the intention of this divine person to deliver a system of cosmogony or geography; yet these books contain the most accurate descriptions of almost all the countries then known; and it is not improper to suppose that Moses was indebted to his Egyptian education for much of the knowledge which it would be absurd to suppose immediately revealed by Heaven, like the religious and political institutions of which he was chosen by God to be the founder. At the period when the events recorded in the Pentateuch took place, the power of the Pharaohs was at its height, and no foreign and barbarian conqueror had ravaged the country, or mutilated and destroyed its monuments. It is to be presumed, therefore, that the reputed son of Pharaoh's daughter was made acquainted with all the knowledge and science for which Egypt was then renowned, and that his writings would betray evidences of the education he had received; and such, accordingly, is the fact. We have not room to illustrate this point farther at present; but we may mention, as corroborative of the view we have taken, that when Moses and Joshua divided the land of Canaan among the tribes of Israel, the division was effected by means of a *map*, or delineation of the country, constructed for the express purpose. The passage that conveys this information is extremely curious, and highly deserving of attention: it is contained in the book of *Joshua*, chap. xviii. verse 4, &c., and is as follows: "Give out from among you three men from each tribe; and I will send them, and they shall rise and go through the land, and describe it according to the inheritance of them, and they shall come again to me. And they shall divide it into seven parts, &c., and ye shall therefore describe the land into seven parts, and bring the

DESCRIPTION hither to me, that I may cast lots," &c.

For a considerable part of the curious and novel information contained in the first part of this article, we have been indebted to Sir William Drummond's lately-published work, entitled, "*ORIGINES; or Remarks on the Origin of several Empires, States, and Cities*," Book IV. chapter 4. It is our intention, in a series of short papers, to make our readers acquainted with some of the most remarkable discussions in this very learned and original production; and we propose to adopt this plan, because it is quite impossible, in the ordinary limits of a Review, to give any adequate idea of the infinite ingenuity by which every page of this book is characterized, and of the new and striking lights which the author has thrown on many of the most obscure and difficult portions of ancient history and geography. In his hands, etymology, instead of an unprofitable exercise of petty acuteness, is rendered a powerful instrument, by means of which he disentangles the intricate, elucidates the dark, reconciles the contradictory, and exhibits, in a clear and convincing form, what was formerly nothing more than conjecture; and by his intimate knowledge of the ancient and modern oriental languages, and by concentrating the different scattered lights of history and geography, he has been enabled to draw the most satisfactory conclusions in regard to subjects which have puzzled and confounded the most learned and ingenious of his predecessors. To the Biblical scholar in particular this work is absolutely invaluable; and he will peruse it with the greater pleasure, from observing the happy change which has taken place in the author's sentiments in regard to the inspiration and authenticity of the Jewish Scriptures. Forgetting that the author ever wrote such a book as the "*Œdipus Judaicus*," and ever degraded himself by the ribaldry contained in the preface to that ill-starred production, he will feel unmixed pleasure in observing the invariable skill and success with which he illustrates and confirms the narrative of the sacred historian; and he will

be impressed with a just admiration of the unwearied industry, the various learning, the philosophic spirit, and the good taste displayed in every part of this remarkable production. To antiquaries, it is a present peculiarly attractive, and such as they can hardly expect above once in a century.

Venetian Song.

"We came close under a dreary-looking wing of the building of the Lazaretto,—so close, that we distinctly heard a young silvery-toned voice frequently repeating *Venite per me—venite per me, cari amici?* Directed by the sound, we perceived a pale face pressed against the bars of a sashless window, in an elevated part of the building,—a hand, that looking like snow in the sunshine, had forced itself through the gratings, and accompanied by its impatient motion the oft-repeated question of *Venite per me, cari amici?*"—*Lady Morgan*.

"ARE ye coming for me—are ye coming for me?"

Implor'd a voice plaintive and long;

"Are ye coming for me—are ye coming for me?"

Were the words of a craz'd maiden's song,

Who was waving her hand from a lattice on high—

And had press'd her pale cheek through the rail,

Where she earnestly beckon'd on us to draw nigh,

But changed not the words of her wail.

'Twas a fair tender maiden, whose lover had died

On the morn of the bridal-fix'd day;

And often she wonder'd they call'd not the bride—

Or why did the bridegroom delay.

Oh! 'twas piteous to see, when they told her his fate,

She would not believe he was dead—

But incessant she moan'd, like a dove for its mate,

And wept that he came not to wed.

To a Convent of Venice they bore her away,

Where wild in her madness she raves;

To the stranger who passes in vain she will pray,

Till her sad plaint is lost on the waves.

At that dark iron grate she unwearied appears,

And watches the barks leave the shore;

While she frantically means the same cry when she hears

The splash of a gondolier's oar!

Venice. (G.)

NOTICES OF AUTHORITIES UPON PROVENÇAL LITERATURE, AND OF PROVENÇAL ROMANCE.

Why came I so untimely forth
Into a world, which, wanting thee,
Could entertain us with no worth,
Or shadow of felicity?

Waller.

I made this fellow give me the history of his office; he fell to discourse of his palate science, with such a grave and magisterial countenance, as if he had been handling a profound point of divinity.—*Montaigne's Essays*.

WE love old things, "old customs, old friends, old books, and old wine." Such feelings, however, increase our sorrow, when we contemplate the neglect with which the literature of Provence, the manners, opinions, and conduct of its inhabitants in the olden time, are, in this country especially, very generally regarded. We know of no other literature which

has met, for so long a period, treatment equally unmerited. When the Provençal poetry flourished in its highest splendour, there were no untoward circumstances to "freeze the genial current of the soul," that breathed there "its short date of breath;" but how long is it now since the harp of the Troubadours has been suspended in solitude and

"midnight deep," without one "touch of fire" to rekindle its energies; or "brush of Fairy's frolic wing" to sweep the strings, and wake the harmony of other times? The "pride of years" hallows the remembrance of "these gentle tenants of the shade;" though ever and anon it might have been said for centuries, "this flowery race their sunny robes resign" to successors of a more fortunate or hardy family. Yet it is but fair to notice, that the early poets and critics of Italy have been by no means deficient in their admiration of this minstrelsy of

"The sweet south

That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing and giving odour."

Some may even think they have at times overrated its merits. For the remark of Pasquier is quite consistent with the opinions of some of the best Italian writers, "*Les Italiens sobres admirateurs d'autrui sont contraincts de reconnoistre tener la leur (poesie) en foy et hommage de cette cy (la Provençale *.)*" And when such confessions were made, the *Borcal scettro inesorabil duro*, though felt undoubtedly, did not overpower, and bend down in the dust the choicest promises of Tuscan genius.

But we have room for no more of these lamentations; and we must proceed with the remarks we have now to offer on Provençal literature. We do not intend here to repeat the general descriptions, so often given, of the Troubadours, their intrigues, and love-songs. We shall rather run the risk of being thought to have restrained ourselves too much, than of having laid down for discussion too extensive a subject, or of making our remarks upon it in too general and peremptory a manner. But, in truth, we shall have enough before us, though we shall only, at present, enumerate a few of the authorities, that are most accessible, on the literature of the Troubadours, and put down some notices of a small number of the Provençal romances; and the Provençal romance is one of the most interesting and least-known topics in the whole of that literature,

so hid "as if no man's eye, nor Heaven's, should interrupt its soft repose."

In the study of the poetry of the Troubadours, considerable assistance may be derived from the labours of various writers, who incidentally or professedly disclose the early efforts of the Provençal music. In Italy, this was a favourite object of research. Dante and Petrarch, Tasso and Pulci, exalted the character of the Provençal poetry, and of those who cultivated it. Their praises were received, and transcribed, by many in their own country, and in other parts of Europe; and preserved a traditional remembrance of those poetical saints, at whose shrines such homage had been paid, and votive offerings presented, by pupils or admirers of so illustrious a reputation. But all these great poets introduced the Troubadours only incidentally. Though Dante raised high the merits of Arnaud Daniel, and placed in Paradise, Fayditt, whose verse Petrarch declared in his *Triumfo d'Amore*† to be "shield, helmet, sword, and spear;" condescending, at the same time, to borrow many fine ideas in that poem from the Troubadour he thus celebrated, still the beauties which earned so much applause were not, and could not with propriety be developed by these panegyrists. The Troubadours were by them described as men would be whose fame, though somewhat impaired, was still great and venerable, and the camp of whose minstrelsy was yet found "by living streams among the trees of life." Their verses and persons, "of all human race the best," had been beloved and admired in the two ages that were past. And never was it imagined, that that loss of consideration, or cessation in the flow of song, which could not be concealed, was the forerunner of the destruction of the tongue in which so many lays had appeared,—of disregard of the lays themselves,—and of the "*Science Gaye*," whose prosperity they promoted, while they were, in their turn, rendered more popular by the spirit it diffused, and the system of manners which it cherished. It

* Pasquier *Roch. de la France* Liv. 7.

† Cap. 4.

would extend our observations to a very disproportionate length, were we to enumerate the names, and ascertain the deserts, of all those poets, historians, and critics, that walk "darkling full up the middle steep to fame," who, in the earlier periods of the literature of Europe, re-echoed the glories of the Troubadours, and the fame of their "Jonglerie." Their history was recorded by three writers of their own country,—the Monk of the Golden Isles, Hugo de Sanceserio, and Nostrodamus or Nostredame, the amount of whose labours we shall not now formally display. It has been long since estimated, and it is stated, in some respects, clearly and concisely, by Ginguene* and Sismondi†. Crowds of Italians followed the example of their own early poets, and of these three Provençal authors, one of whom, indeed, was an Italian by birth, being descended from the house of Cibo, a most illustrious family in Genoa, whose exploits in the middle ages do honour to Italy.

"Thou, Italy! whose ever-golden fields,
Plough'd by the sunbeam solely, would
suffice
For the world's granary!"

In the commentaries upon the principal Italian poets of the first age, with which Italy abounds,—of Velutello and Gesualdo, on Petrarch and Dante especially,—and of the more ancient writers on Italian antiquities, who, though sometimes perhaps not aware of the extent and nature of the compositions of the Troubadours, had opportunities we no longer enjoy, many useful notices may be derived. Several Spaniards, too, have employed their talents and learning in illustrating the songs of Provence. As in its language were recorded the statutes of its own States-general; so, if we are not mistaken, in that dialect were long embodied the laws and resolutions of the Free Cortes of Aragon; and the abolition of this

practice, sanctioned by the usage of an independent and martial ancestry, formed one of that series of attacks by which a race of tyrants ultimately deprived Spain of her liberty and her happiness. But the Spanish literature is not sufficiently well known in this country to justify a decision on the value of its contributions; though we are told by Sismondi‡, that they have shewn the connection of the lays of the Troubadours with the fictions of the Arabians, and all the Romantic poesy. There are some observations on this subject in a note to Warton's History. They are rather too minute to be introduced into this sketch, and we therefore refer our readers to them§. Warton had them from an anonymous correspondent, supposed by Mr Ashby to be the Reverend John Bowles. More than a century ago, Basteró, a Spaniard, published at Rome his "*La Crusca Provenzale*," a work of research and utility. And another Spaniard, though he wrote in the Italian language,—Giovanni Andres,—in his "*Storia d' Ogni Letteratura*," has given, in the rapid manner which the nature of his work required, some account of the Troubadour poetry.

At the commencement of the last century, Crescembine, in the second volume of his "*Istoria della Volgare poesia*," published a complete translation of the lives of the provençal poets by Nostrodamus, and added to it a large body of notes, in which, as well as in the first volume of his laborious history, he has collected much information relative to Provence, and the opinions of the Italians on the "*versi d'amore e Prose de Romanzi*," of its gay and licentious bards. The preface of Crescembini may shew, that, along with his patron Monsignore Marcello Severoli Prelato, he entertained a high idea of the biography of Nostrodamus. The work of Tiraboschi, which M. Roscoe, with bad

* Hist. Lit. d' Italie. Vol. I. Chapter on Troubadours.

† Lit. du Midi, Vol. I. Chapter on Troubadours.

‡ Lit. du Midi I. 82.

§ See Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, Vol. IV. p. 172. Edit. 1824.

The public are much indebted to the gentleman who superintended this edition, and added much new matter of his own. He has performed his task with credit to himself and advantage to his author.

taste; but, with much truth, characterized as a "colossal attempt," contains a considerable mass of information regarding Provençal literary history. We had almost forgot to mention Bembo, Denina, Muratori, Gravina, Quadrio, Ignerelli, Castelvetro, Gemma, and Bettinelli, all of whom, though some of them are anterior to the period of which we are speaking, deserve at least to be named by us. In the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth volumes of the "*Histoire Littéraire de France*," and in several volumes of the "*Memoires de l'Académie*," much knowledge may be gleaned on the Provençal poetry, and kindred topics. But the antiquarian, who, during the last century, was most distinguished for his attachment to the poetry of the Troubadours, was M. de la Curne de St. Palaye. He cherished it with ardour, and reposed on it "as on a refuge and a sweet refreshment." During the whole of his life, he was occupied in procuring MSS. for the purpose of restoring the Troubadours to their original glory. Unable to procure more than four MSS. in the library of the King of France, he went, amid the applause of the world of letters, to Italy, where they were chiefly deposited. By a papal bull he was permitted to behold the splendid relics of the labours of the monk of the Isles of Gold, the liberty of examining which had formerly been denied to Montfaucon and Mabillon. Death, however, arrested the plans of St. Palaye. The duty of extracting and publishing parts of his extensive collection, which occupied 25 volumes folio, devolved upon Millot. He does not altogether deserve the character given him by Retson, "one Millot, who neither knew the Provençal, nor any thing else*." Yet he was quite unfit for the task imposed upon him; and he by no means satisfied the expectations which the well-known researches of St. Palaye had inspired, by the work he produced. "Tis pretty, though a plague." In the volumes of Millot, and the contemptible abridged translation of them by Mrs Dobson,

the Provençal poetry is by no means justly represented. Some notions, we may observe in passing, in the first volume of Warton's *History of English Poetry*, which appeared, indeed, before the production of St. Palaye or Millot, are equally unfounded, being adapted to the defence of the Historian's strange notions regarding the origin of romantic fiction in Europe. Ginguene and Sismondi, the former in the first volume of his "*Histoire Littéraire d'Italie*," the latter in the first volume of his "*Littérature du Midi*," have, each of them, a chapter eloquently written, and estimable in some things, upon the ancient Provençal Literature. They have, however, united in supporting the false idea of the original character of that literature which we have already alluded to. But by far the most useful work we are acquainted with is the "*Choix des Troubadours*" by M. Raynquard, in four volumes. It is spoken of, by the late editor of Warton, "as having done more towards forming a just understanding of the merits of Provençal poetry, and the extent and value of Provençal literature, than any publication which has hitherto appeared." We may further inform our readers, that, in the second volume of Adelung's *Mithridates*, they will find a large list of books, connected with Provence, which we have not named. We want either leisure, or opportunities, of ascertaining correctly their merits. There was published, about eighteen months ago, in this country, an account of the life of Joan of Naples, a celebrated protectress of the Troubadours. But its narrative regarding the Provençal poetry is not very important. We are happy to observe, that there are several literary men, of considerable eminence, at present engaged in France, in the investigation of the poetry of Provence; and that there is some prospect of the Germans directing their attention towards it, we hope with effect equal to that which has attended their studies of the early literature of Spain. At any rate, their investigations will now be easily followed by those in-



terested in them, for the excellent grammar of the Romance language by Raynouard, and the invaluable glossary of the same dialect by Requiefort, render the attainment of an acquaintance with it a matter of facility. We believe, besides, that Raynouard, at one time, intended to include a dictionary of the Provençal language in his labours.

But what are the erroneous notions we have described as prevalent, regarding the original merits of Provençal romantic literature? We say the *original* merits; because we are fully sensible of the ravages which the hand of time, and civil discord, have made on these productions of European genius, in the "fair morning of a blessed Spring." The large body of Provençal literature, with which we are acquainted, may be composed of poems of love; but this was by no means at all times the case. Yet we are almost always told, that the old literature of Provence was confined to subjects which could interest none but those to whom it was addressed. According to the ideas too currently accredited in the republic of letters, the poetical effusions of the Troubadours were regarded as having been very different from those of almost any other people we are acquainted with, or that species of romantic fiction which sprang up in France to the north of the Loire. How, indeed, it could be opposite in character to the rest of Europe we are at a loss to imagine. Provence was one of the best inhabited, frequented, and civilized provinces of Europe. It was that one, in fact, in which the nations of Christendom most commonly met each other, "swift as a flood of fire when storms arise." In consequence of their poetical talents, the Troubadours were esteemed in Spain, in Germany, and in the courts which, during their brilliant career, began to arise in the free cities of Italy. They gained admittance and popularity at the English court, where we find one of them competing with a minstrel of the monarch. Many of them attended Richard I. of England, a warrior and a Troubadour, in the Third Crusade; or were found about the person of St. Louis, "like to a bubbling fountain stirred with

wind," in his expedition to the Holy Land: and, in short, were engaged in all the important achievements which crowded the short day of their fame. Thus they had the most enviable opportunities of collecting the more remarkable traditions of Christendom, of acquiring no contemptible measure of acquaintance with

"The spirit of the fervent days of old,
When words were things that came to pass,"

and of recording all this in poetry, in which they delighted and excelled. It is impossible to conceive that, in spite of these favouring circumstances, their poetry never contained any references of importance to occurrences of their own time,—any allusion whatever to ancient story, to elucidate the chivalry of the noisy halls of baronial castles, or the proud ceremonies of the courts of kings. Is it to be believed, that, from the time the first lays extant were sung by the Count of Poitou, to the period in which the melody of the harp of Provence was lost, amid the cries of conquest and carnage, brought by bigotted intolerance upon the inhabitants of that once joyous region, the Provençal literature was confined to the songs of love, and chansons of a satirical nature, or having connection with the disputes of the barons of the land?

"Then deeply skill'd in love's engaging theme,
The soft Provincial pass'd to Arns' stream;
With graceful ease the wanton lyre he strung,
Sweet flow'd the lay—but love was all he sung."

To dispel such unfounded ideas, antiquarians ought diligently to scrutinize the MSS. on which any remains of Provençal poetry are registered. And when we consider the probabilities there are of many of the ancient Romances of Provence still being preserved in manuscript, or in translations that were made of them into the French, German, and Italian languages, and which acquired more reputation than the originals, whenever they were taken, we are disposed to think that such an investi-

gation would be very successful. It would, we are pretty confident, disclose several of the old Romances of Provence, besides those already known.

But to come to the consideration of some of these Romances themselves. In No. 1091 of the French King's library, is an octavo MS. of 280 leaves, at the commencement of which there is a fragment of a French Romance of Merlin. It would be worth while, we apprehend, to examine, more minutely than appears to have been done, whether this French Romance may not be a translation from a Provençal original. It is certain, that several French Romances were translated from the Provençal. Thus, in particular, that of Paris and the Fair Vienne was done, from the Provençal, into French prose, in 1485, by Pierre de Lassipparde*. It was in the year 1476 put into Italian verse by one Carlo de Paero del Nero, a Florentine. The MS., if it has not been transferred into one of the public libraries, is, we presume, among some of the private collections at Florence. In the time of Crescembini†, it was in the possession of the heirs of Andrea Cavalcanti, a gentleman of that city. We will not presume to determine whether this be the same work as that celebrating the loves of Pierre de Provence, and the beautiful Maguelone‡, composed by Bernard de Trevies, canon of Maguelone, before the end of the 12th century, and esteemed by Petrarch. It is undeniable that this Romance, too, was translated into French. It was published at Lyons in the year 1457. If the dates assigned for the first appearance of these Romances be correct, there can be little doubt that they are different from each other. It deserves to be remarked farther, with regard to the Romance of Paris, and the Fair Vienne, that, according to the information of the Editor of Warton§, the Swedish version, made in 1308, refers to a German version compiled certainly between 1197 and 1208.

This bears to have been taken from a foreign source. It *may* have been translated from a French original, now lost, and derived from an earlier Provençal copy. It may not be improper here to notice, that there are instances of Provençal Romances being, in their turn, borrowed from French versions of the same story which they celebrated. For example, (though this be a dubious one,) Crescembini|| mentions a Provençal Romance of the Rose. We are not aware that a translation of this Romance has been made into the Langue d'Oc. We were inclined, therefore, when we first met with this statement, at once to reject it, and to put it down with the opinion so long held, that Brunetto Latini, the master of Dante, wrote in Provençal, while, in fact, his work is actually composed in old French. But we shall not now be so positive, for we find Montfaucon mentioning a "Romande Rose, autre que le vulgaire **," as being MS. No. 754 of the Queen of Sweden's MSS. in the Vatican. He surely cannot mean a Latin copy.

Besides the situation of the French Romance of Merlin we have already mentioned, thus placed in a MS. of Provençal pieces, in some degree favours the idea that it is a translation. Merlin, too, was an important personage in the Romances of the Round Table: and Romances on that subject were numerous, and highly relished, in Provence, and must have been written in the dialect of the country. Pistoleta desired "el bon liber de Merlin," and Pierre de Cerman spoke,

"De Merlinlo salvage com dis oscurament

De tolz los reis Engles lo proficiaments."

Of savage Merlin, who obscurely sings
The varied destinies of English kings.

Giraud de Cabriera, and Bertrānd de Paris de Rouergue, are, however, still more to the purpose; for they expressly assert the existence of a Romance of Merlin; or the fact, at least, that he was well known in the

* Dibdin's Edit. of Herbert, Vol. I. p. 261.—Warton Edit. 1824, Vol. I. p. 201.

† Crescembini, Vol. I. Istoria della volg. Poes. Edit. 1731.

‡ See Henouard, Vol. II. article "Romans."

|| Warton, ut. sup.

§ Crescemb. ut. sup.

** Montfaucon. Bibluth. MSS. Vol. I. p. 38.

romantic poetry of Provence. The same circumstance is mentioned by several early Italian writers.

Not only were Romances on the Knights of the Round Table popular among the Troubadours. The existence of a Romance, entitled the Round Table, is placed beyond all doubt. The original, indeed, has not yet been, nor perhaps ever will be, discovered. But an Italian translation of it exists, and has been frequently referred to. Huet, in his work on the Origin of Romance, asserts the high reputation of the Provençal poetry, and speaks of the number of romances composed in Languedoc in the 10th and 11th centuries. Certainly no relics of the Provençal literature, before the year 1070, have been published, or are at present known. This statement, however, of the Bishop of Avanches, is supported by the critical decision of various well-informed writers, who conceive, and, we think, justly, the language of the Count of Poitou is too highly polished not to have been employed in poetry long before those days in which he sinned and sung. Whether or no, it was during those early times of Occitanic minstrelsy spoken of by Huet, that, as has been supposed, the Provençal Romance of the Round Table was written, it is impossible to determine. At any rate, we can by no means concur in the opinion of Crescimbini, to its full extent, as to the source whence it was derived.

He imagines the Provençals derived their knowledge of it ultimately from Taliesin, and the Welsh Bards. But in the passage in which this sentiment is delivered, there is much that is quite fanciful. The very curious relation given by Görres, in the preface to *Lochenquin*, of the origin and fables of the Provençal copy of the *Sangreal*, is important, not merely on its own account, but likewise as it discloses the fountain whence, in all probability, a considerable portion of Provençal fiction flowed. We learn from him, that Guyot, a Troubadour, compiled a Romance of the *Sangreal* from traditions current in Spain, amalgamated with others he had discovered in the surrounding regions. A Romance, which had the Holy Cup for

the object of its praise, is, to be sure, in a somewhat different predicament, as to the question of its origin, from one that illustrated the deeds of the Round Table, connected intimately, as it has always been, with Welsh and Armeric fiction. But notwithstanding this, we feel much inclined to the opinion, that many of the leading traditions in the Provençal Romance of the Round Table may have been borrowed from a Spanish or Arabic original, while the names may have been taken from another source. In confirmation of this idea, we may observe, that there is a very striking resemblance between many of the fictions with which, in Western fable, the enchanter Merlin, one of the chief actors on Round Table chivalry, is enshrouded, and those which the genius of Oriental allegory has thrown around the character of the magician Maugraby. And this is a coincidence of some importance in the history of fiction. One of the parents of each of these wizards belong to the race of apostate spirits that were "hurled headlong flaming through the etherial sky." The mother of the Arabian is connected with the inmates of the *Dem Daniel* of Tunis. The sire of Merlin is the fiend of hell. The mysteries of their lives are indeed different in even the most important particulars; at least if we follow that version of Maugraby's story with which we are best acquainted. He travels over the face of the earth for the purposes of mischief, with "thoughts inflamed of highest degree," and to shew his hatred to the human race. We detest and fear him, as a monster endowed with resistless power. We rejoice in his destruction, and that of the infernal assembly who plan their schemes at the roots of the ocean. Merlin, on the contrary, in all the chronicles of his life, is represented differently. His prophecies and marvels were not directed solely to his own advantage. They were all descriptive of the most exalted and glorious achievements of the Round Table, or calculated to produce the greatest benefit to his friends, and to his foes the most signal discomfiture. Still, if we had time, we could point out many analogous circumstances, narrated by their fabulous historians,

regarding the deeds of these two mighty magicians of Eastern and Western Romance. And the traditions regarding their deaths were not divided. The adventurous princes who overthrew Maugraby received instruction from a princess to whom he had been attached. She disclosed the secret upon which his existence depended. Merlin's life upon earth, and his magical incantations, are, by all or most traditions, described as being terminated by the infidelity of the deceitful fair one to whom he had surrendered his heart. In one Romance, Viviane overcomes him by the knowledge she had from himself. But she grieved for the deed when it could not be undone: and there was not a day, nor a night, that she did not visit him in his enchanted tower. Maugraby's remains were burnt to ashes, and, along with those of his father and mother, scattered to the four corners of the earth. The story of another Romance, in which Merlin makes a conspicuous figure, approaches, perhaps, more nearly, though it is still left at an immeasurable distance, by the horrors of the dissolution of Maugraby. The Lady of the Lake incloses the British seer, when least expecting it, in the splendid tomb which, with the aid of necromancy, he had prepared for himself, and there leaves him, destined never more to prophesy the fortunes, or employ his magic powers to exalt the happiness of the Champions of the Round Table.

We have said, that we could not concur in the opinion that the Provençal Romance of the Round Table, any more than that of the Sangreal, were copied servilely from a British original. Yet we would here notice, as it tends, in however small a degree, to shew the influence of Provençal fiction, that the Book of the Prophecies of Merlin, while it is filled with sneers against the dissolute clergy of the Romish Church, it, at the same time, attacks the Albigenses with all the fury of Catholic zeal. And the clerk Raymon, mentioned as one of its compilers, though stated

in the Romance to be of Wales, has a name that would rather betoken a Provençal origin.

The Provençal Romance which has suggested these remarks has been translated into Italian, and hence it is that we have been made acquainted with the fact of its composition. It exists in manuscript in Italy, but we cannot say whether it has ever been printed. If it has not, the publication of it would confer great benefit upon enquirers into the romantic literature of Europe. Salviasi mentions four MSS. of it, which he believes to have been written between 1320 and 1340*. Alessandro Tassoni had one in his possession. And there is mention made of another MS., translated from the original, in the library of the King of France†.

The Occitanic literature could boast of a Romance of Lancelot du Lac, the author of which was Arnaud Daniel, for the honour of being whose birth-place seven cities disputed. That Romance was, about the end of the 13th century, translated into German by Ulrich de Zatzschhoven. Extracts of his translation have been published. The original is praised by Dante‡. But Tasso, who likewise speaks of it, says, that if the author of the Divina Comedia had read Amadis de Gaule, he would not have failed to perceive the superiority of that Romance§. Various other subjects connected with the Round Table were celebrated by the Troubadours. We wish our limits would permit us to speak more fully concerning them. In the mean time, we shall refer, in a few words, to those Romances which have been recovered in the Provençal tongue. One of them, that of Jaufre, the son of Dovon, agrees entirely with a metrical Romance published by Ritson. There are two MSS. of it in the library of the King of France; one marked No. 7988, the other, No. 468||. The Romance of Gerard de Rousillon, which sings the feuds of Charles Martel, and Gerard, Count of Rousillon, is in the same grand

* See Avvertimenti, Vol. I.

† Dante de Vulg. Eloq.

‡ See Raynouard, Vol. II. art. "Romans."

† Crescemb. Vol. I. p. 327.

§ See Tasso Discar. de Epic.

|| See Raynouard, Vol. II. art. "Romans." He gives an abstract of this Romance.

repository of antiquity. The prose Romance of *Philomena* is connected with *Charlemagne* *.

There is a rhyming chronicle, written by William de Tudela at Montauban, describing the war against the Albigenses till the siege of Thoulouse. We are inclined to consider this, some high authorities notwithstanding, as a romantic composition. Undoubtedly there are many elements of romance in the life of St. Honerat, translated from Latin into Provençal verse by Raymond Feraut, in the thirteenth century. The mention of this Chronicle, or Romance, leads us to remark, that there is an Italian poem on "*San Giusto Paladino di Francia*." Crescembini has stated, that in the "*Gallia Christiana*" there are given only four saints of this name, a Bishop of Bayonne, another of Avignon, a third of Lyons, and a fourth of Vienne. We have examined this work; and, so far as we can discover, this statement is correct. May this Italian poem not be a translation from, or, in some measure, founded upon a Provençal original? if it were for no other reason, than that all these places, except Besançon, are within, or close upon, the regions in which the *Langue d'Oc* was spoken. This Italian Romance was printed at Milan in 1493. All the romances we have just mentioned, with the exception of the last, are mentioned by Raynouard †; and, if our memory do not deceive us, as being the only ones extant, or at least known. This renders us anxious to learn what has become of the MSS. Romances, or the translations of them; we hear so much of from Italian writers. We should rejoice to hear that they are yet in safety. We do not pay much regard to the fact of their having been undiscovered by Raynouard; for he did not himself inspect the treasures of the Vatican, or the other Italian libraries; having trusted to the "*zele bienveillant*" of the French Ambassador at Rome. *

Most of the Provençal Romances,

that have come before us are connected intimately with fictions of universal diffusion over Europe; but we have the authority of Nostrodamus for asserting that this was not the case with them all. "There was not," he says ‡, "a noble family in Provence in former times, which had not a register in the form of a Romance, in which was inscribed in the Provençal tongue the illustrious deeds and undertakings of their ancestors." This opens up a very curious object of research; but the entire discussion of it would of itself occupy a tolerably long article. We need only say for the present, that we have the names of many of these Romances given us in the work of Nostrodamus. Alongst with others, he mentions that commemorating the war between Trissino King of the Saracens, and the Kings of Arles; composed by Jeffrey Rudelh, the story of whose romantic voyage to the Countess of Tripoli has been so often told ||; and "*Las Gueras dela Baulgenes*," intended, by another Troubadour, to recount to posterity the feuds of the Counts of Provence and the house of Baux.

Such compositions, if any of them are ever fully discovered, would be of much use in illustrating the history of the Troubadours. They would be of more value than such monotonous lives, and unimportant observations, as Millon has eked out in three somewhat dreary volumes. They would throw great light upon the history of many of the old Provençal families, a subject which, at present, is very imperfectly understood. The accomplishment of this, even so far as it could be done by a comparison of documents known to exist,—and the works of Catel, De Marca, the *Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, and the Colbert MSS., to which French antiquaries might have easy access, would be of signal service—with every thing in the old French and Italian writers having reference to Provence, would be unspeakably advantageous to a discri-

* We would here state our utter disbelief of the doctrine of Sismondi, that many of the Romances have confounded Charlemagne with his grandfather Charles Martel.

† Raynouard *ut. sup.*

‡ See the *Proemium* of his work.

|| See Millon in the article on Jeffrey Rudelh.

mination of the fabulous from the authentic narratives regarding those characters in the era of Provençal literature whose lives have descended to us. It is impossible, without some inquiry, to conceive how much obscurity involves this department, important as it is, of the literary history of the age and country of the Troubadours.

We would, in conclusion, bring together a very few facts with regard to one of not the least celebrated families in the history of the Troubadours—that of *Claustrale*, and they will at once confirm the truth of this remark. The first notice that occurs to us of the family of *Claustrale*, (we speak here of its connexion with the Troubadours,) is in the marriage of the Lady *Garsenda*, daughter of William Count of *Folcachiero*, to *Ranur di Claustrale*, Lord of *Marseilles*, before the year 1150. In another place, again, we are informed, *Garsenda*, daughter of William Count of *Folcachiero*, was married to *Alphonzo* Count of *Provence*, son of *Alphonzo*, 1st King of *Arragon*; and that she brought with her in dower the *Conté de Folcachiero*. This marriage could not have happened till near forty years after the preceding one. But several circumstances render it difficult to understand how both statements can be, in all points, well founded.

Again, there is mentioned, in the list of ladies who presided at *Pierrefeu* and *le Signe*, *Giuseranda di Claustrale*. She is represented as presiding there at the time the celebrated ténson between *Gerard* and *Peronett* was held, occasioned in some measure by the tragic and admired story of *Jeffrey Rudel*, who died in 1162. Therefore, it is by no means improbable, that this *Guseranda di Claustrale* might be the daughter of the first *Garsenda*, whom we have a little before mentioned, supposing such a marriage as that there spoken of to have taken place. Then there is a *Nasalé di Claustrale*, sister of the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, and wife of *Beral de Mercurio*, a great baron of *Auvergne*. She was beloved by *Peyre de Ver-*

nigue, who flourished about the year 1178. She, too, it might be supposed, was a daughter of the above-mentioned *Garsenda*. But it is not easy, on this supposition, to imagine how she can be stated to be the sister of the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, the son of William 7th Count of *Auvergne*, by a daughter of *Guignes*, 3d Count of *Albon* and *Vienne*. We do not recollect any authority which bears the Count of *Auvergne* to have been twice married. Farther, there is another fact, rather obscure, however, regarding this lady, which may be collected from the narratives of the times. We are told that *Foulquet de Marseilles* loved *Adelais*, wife of *Beral del Baulx*, Lord of *Marseilles*, and his Lord and Patron. Now, this *Beral del Baulx*, and the other, *Beral del Mercurio*, if they were different persons, must have governed *Marseilles* at the same time. This cannot be admitted. There are, however, several circumstances favouring the notion that both these appellations were applicable to the same individual. Besides, in the Provençal, *N* preceding a proper name is a contraction for the word *Don*, or *Donna*. *Ausale di Claustrale* may thus be very easily changed into *Adelais*, or *Azelais di Claustrale*; and the mistress of *Peyre de Vernigue*, and of *Foulquet de Marseilles*, be one and the same. We have no inclination to palliate or explain away the mistakes into which the narrators of these circumstances may have fallen.

We are very far from being aristocratic in our dispositions; and yet we have considerable relish for speculations, such as that in which we have just been engaged.—But we must now have done. We have gone fully as far as our limits will permit. The interesting character of Provençal literature, in our eyes at least, may induce us, at some other time, to revert to it. And meanwhile let it be recollected, that

—“Spread o’er Greece the harmonious
whole unknown,
E’en Homer’s numbers charm’d by parts
alone.”

Ronald of Glen-Lyon.

A Highland Tradition.

Ambition is, at distance,
 A goodly prospect, tempting to the view :
 The height delights us, and the mountain-top
 Looks beautiful, because 'tis nigh to Heaven ;
 But we ne'er think how sandy's the foundation,
 What storms will batter, and what tempests shake us.

Otway.

SEEST thou the brown hill that shadows the lake,
 Where evening's mild sun has forsaken the plain ?
 Hast thou mark'd on its margin the green aspen shake,
 Or heard in her cavern lone Echo complain ?

The aspen will shake when the night-winds are still,
 When, hush'd into slumbers, the young zephyrs sleep ;
 When silence and darkness surround the brown hill,
 Alone by the grey rock sad Echo will weep :

She mourns for a hero, young, gallant, and brave,
 Whose blood by a cold-hearted coward was shed ;
 Yon aspen o'ershadows the murderer's grave,
 And shakes from its leaves baleful dews on his head.

Young Ronald was fleet as the wild mountain roe,
 His eye like the eagle's that soars to the sun :
 He ne'er turn'd his back on a friend or a foe ;
 The beggar and braggart he never would shun :

Robust in his form as the proud mountain oak,
 Resistless as torrents that rush from the steep ;
 When death and destruction he dealt in his stroke,
 His heart o'er the foe he had vanquish'd would weep.

For discord intestine, like fast sweeping flood,
 Call'd Ronald in youth to the fierce battle plain ;
 But peace, from the dark field of carnage and blood,
 Led him to the home of his fathers again.

His father was wealthy in worldly store,
 Had his herds in the glen and his flocks on the hill ;
 But the children of sorrow were spurn'd from his door,
 Like the snow on Ben-Lawers, his bosom was chill.

On tow'ring Schiabhion grim Winter sat acowling,
 In darkness he hover'd on distant Benmore ;
 Through misty Glen-Lyon he hoarsely was howling,
 And the waves of Loch Rannoch roll'd dark to the shore.

On the heath-cover'd mountains the eagle was soaring,
 His eyrie a cliff 'midst the cold drifted snow ;
 From hills all around torrents loudly were roaring,
 And fell dark and deep in the valley below :

Behind the brown hills of the west sunk the sun ;
 No purple-fringed curtains were seen round his bed ;
 No gold-glowing twilight, but dreary and dun,
 Thick Darkness her mantle o'er Nature had spread.

At the door of the chieftain appear'd a lone stranger,
Time-worn was his frame, though majestic his form ;
He said, " I'm surrounded by darkness and danger,—
Afford me a shelter—a shed from the storm !"

" Begone !" the proud chieftain insultingly cried ;
" I know you, Macalpine, the foe of our clan !"
In accents imploring, the stranger replied,
" Bethink thee—Macalpine's a Gael and a man."

Though darkness had veil'd the proud chief's flashing eye.
The wind was less loud than his fierce haughty tone ;
" In life, or in death, I Macalpine defy—"
How dare you approach me ? this moment begone !"

This answer the time-worn stranger return'd,
(On the ear of the chieftain like thunder it fell ;)
" I came not a foe—but my counsel you've spurn'd ;
Then, haughty Macdonald, now hear my farewell :

" I see the noble eagle rise,
Though hatch'd within a vulture's nest ;
I see him soaring to the skies,
With steady wing, and dauntless breast.

" I see a sweet and gentle dove,
Blithe perching on a blooming thorn ;
I hear the whisper'd notes of love,
Soft as the breath of summer morn.

" I see the fatal sisters wait,
Till they the mystic thread have spun ;
I see them weave the web of fate,
The task is o'er—their work is done !

" I hear the night-winds moaning low,
As if they told a mournful tale ;
I hear the hapless shriek of woe,
Sad echo pours a widow'd wail.

" I hear a wild unearthly glee,
'Tis chanted o'er a bloody bier :
What I have seen thou yet shalt see,
The sounds I've heard shall rend thy ear.

" The hour of fate approaches fast,
And swiftly speeds the fatal spell ;
We meet not till that hour be past—
Macdonald,—fare thee well !"

Macdonald's heart trembled, he shook with affright,
As faintly he falter'd, " Macalpine, oh stay !"
But the stranger was gone under covert of night,
No footfall was heard as he glided away.

Gloomy winter roll'd on, and the glad spring return'd,
The lark pour'd his lay, and the valleys were green,
Macalpine's forebodings were slighted and spurn'd,
Or haply forgot, as they never had been,

Young Norah was lovely, as flowers in the spring,
Glen-Lyon had none half so modest and fair ;
Her tresses were dark as the wild raven's wing,
Her heart still a stranger to envy and care.

As blushes the wild-rose beside the green fern,
 As breathes the blue violet unscen in the vale,
 Or the rich blossom'd heath on the grey mossy cairn,
 Diffusing its fragrance afar on the gale :

So smil'd the sweet Norah, in poverty's shade ;
 For fortune her father in youth had beguil'd ;
 Engaged in rebellion, by falsehood betray'd—
 Compell'd as an exile to fly from his child.

But the soul of her ancestors glow'd in her frame,
 Though she knew not the parent stem whence she had sprung ;
 And she thought not of quenching the dignified flame,
 While love beam'd in her eyes, and truth flow'd from her tongue.

'Twas love for young Roland, her heart who had won,
 The bliss of his bosom to cherish the prize :
 When blam'd by his parent, thus answer'd the son,
 " Dear father, oh hear me,—I stoop but to rise :

" Though Fortune to Norah has still prov'd unkind,
 What signifies wealth or a high-sounding name ?
 Her bosom is spotless, and lofty her mind—
 Independence, with virtue, dear father, is fame."

These dignified sentiments fell on his ear
 As the shower on the rock where no bud e'er was green ;
 As the dew on the leaf, that is wither'd and sore,
 They were lines writ in sand, when the tempest blows keen.

For Ronald is heir, and young Norah is poor—
 To the haughty Macdonald this match were disgrace :
 He ponder'd and paus'd on the means to make sure
 The scheme he had form'd for ennobling his race.

He talk'd of an heiress, both rich and high born,
 With whom an alliance were glory and pride ;
 When he saw that young Ronald had listen'd with scorn,
 He cried, " At your peril make Norah your bride."

His huntsman was manly, gay, amorous, and young,
 A favourite among the fair maids of the glen,
 The language of love fell so soft from his tongue,
 That wherever he went he was welcome again.

There was an exception, that wounded his pride,
 On Norah he doted, but she was unkind ;
 And now, not in love, but resentment he sigh'd,
 Revolving dark plans of revenge in his mind.

Of his passion the chieftain was fully aware,
 And hop'd in his huntsman to find a fit tool,
 As basely he spread for the virgin a snare,
 Beginning, " Why, Tom, you're in love, and a fool :

" That you love the sweet Norah is easily seen,
 And you must be blind not to own she is fair ;
 In face and in stature she's form'd for a queen,
 And her mind, like her beauty, 's beyond all compare.

" To tell you a secret, to her still unknown,
 She's my niece, and her wedding I wish to behold ;
 On that happy day my regard shall be shewn,
 But this secret to Norah must not yet be told ;

" Some one will have reason to boast of her bloom ;
 For two hundred guineas her dowry shall be !

- And, Tom, let me tell you, were you the bridegroom,
For her sake and your's I would e'en make them three.
- "What though you have found her cold-hearted and coy,
And met with a frown where you look'd for a smile;
Take courage, and think of the means to employ,
To win her and wear her, by love or by guile.
- "Should she still refuse—for capricious is woman,
With rivals around you—perhaps it were wise
To bear her far distant, some dark misty gloaming,
I've a horse at your call, to insure you the prize.
- "Perhaps she the arts of her sex may display,
In sighing and struggling, to heighten her charms;
And should she shed tears, you can kiss them away,
'Till the sweet blushing Norah shall smile in your arms.
- "But lest she should fall in some fond rustic's trap,
You must not lose time—in my promise confide;
The dowry is ready to fling in her lap
The moment you prove she has lain by your side."
- Like wind in the sails, or as oil on the fire,
To the ears of the huntsman this vile counsel came;
It awaken'd his hopes, it arousd his desire—
Strong passions combining, and fierce was their flame.
- For Avarice now had deep root in his heart,
While a far softer passion, love, still made him fain;
He sought the sweet maiden his tale to impart,
She left him abruptly, with haughty disdain.
- Rejected, despis'd—he stamp'd and he swore,
"Dire Vengeance assist me that pride to subdue;
My pity, proud fair, you shall vainly implore,
That keen glance of scorn you shall bitterly rue."
- He knew not that Norah to Ronald was dear;
Their loves had been secret, though tender and true;
The rivals that Tom had believ'd he must fear,
Were those like himself, of the low vulgar crew.
- For such to be scorn'd now madden'd his soul;
But fearless, he vow'd that to death he would dare;
Nor rivals, nor pity, his schemes should controul;
By love, fraud, or force, he would gain the proud fair.
- 'Tis summer,—the beams of the bright setting sun
Enliven the bloom on the brown mountain's breast,
With shadows far stretching the deep glen is dun,
As softly he sinks on blue hills of the west.
- Loch Rannoch smiles softly, reflecting his beams,
Its bosom unruffled, transparent, and deep;
The rippling wave glows with his last parting gleams,
And sinks on the shore in soft murmur asleep.
- The bright orb is vanish'd, and fled from the eye,
But the splendour, the glory of day, is not gone;
Still glowing, he gladdens the pure azure sky,
Gold, crimson, and purple, surrounding his throne.
- The winds are asleep—even mild zephyr is still;
From the dark shady dell swiftly springs the wild roe,
Lightly bounding along to the heath-blossom'd hill,
While grey the mist curls in the valley below.

No sound breaks the silence that reigns all around,
 Except where the streamlet soft murmuring sweeps,
 Or trickling in drops to dark caverns profound,
 From its damp oozing sides the rude mossy rock weeps.

What fine stately form in the deep glen is seen,
 And gliding so softly we hear not his tread !
 He pauses, upon the grey aspen to lean,
 While restless its green leaves shake over his head.

'Tis Ronald, lone musing on young Norah's charms ;
 She promis'd to meet him, and now is the hour ;
 She's come—he has clasp'd the fair maid in his arms,
 And leads her along to the birch-woven bower.

But why in disguise ? Of his father afraid,
 Whose mandate forbade him to meet the lov'd fair ;
 He comes as a shepherd, deep veil'd in his plaid,
 And evening smiles sweetly around the fond pair.

The gay purple fox-glove on brown rocks reclining,
 The heath-bell so rich with its dew-sprinkled bloom,
 Unite with the woodbine so closely entwining,
 Around the fond lovers, to shed their perfume.

How kindly they whisper ! how tender the tale !
 How softer than night-dews their sweet murmurs fell !
 All those who have breathed their first love in the vale,
 Will paint them more true than the muse e'er could tell.

" The day's dying glory " was fading away,
 The rich glowing twilight had slowly decay'd,
 Mild Evening, arrayed in her mantle of grey,
 Had curtain'd the lovers in darkness and shade.

As hovers the falcon to pounce on the dove,
 The huntsman was panting to seize on his prey ;
 At distance he heard the fond whisper of love,
 His dark passions rising in dreadful array.

But Ronald has led the sweet fair from the glen,
 Has seen her at home, from each danger secure ;
 By the love-hallow'd bower he is passing again,
 Still dogg'd by the huntsman in darkness obscure.

He paus'd, in the shepherd's plaid closely enshrouded,
 For the bower claim'd a sigh and a smile as he pass'd :
 The night-wind blows hollow, the dark sky is clouded—
 Alas ! fated Ronald ! that smile is thy last !

For the huntsman believes thee a shepherd, whose glance
 Is the cause why he suffers rejection and scorn ;
 Whose contempt was express'd at the last village dance ;
 That evening an oath of dire vengeance was sworn.

Like a bloodhound, the foe has kept close in the track,
 His foot treading lightly as soft falling snow ;
 The coward has drawn a sharp dirk,—at his back
 So well aim'd is the stroke, there is death in the blow.

Young Ronald, his eye like the red lightning gleaming,
 Turn'd hastily round, but soon stagger'd and fell,
 On the daisy-deck'd verdure his life-blood was streaming,
 And his last sigh was heav'd in " Dear Norah,—farewell ! "

Had the thunders of Heav'n pronounced Ronald's name,
 They could not have struck with a greater dismay;
 For chill'd was the blood in the murderer's frame,
 As bleeding and breathless his young master lay.

The gore-dripping dirk which his fingers still clasp'd,
 With twitchings of anguish convulsively press'd,
 He rais'd to his bosom, and frenziedly grasp'd,
 And plunging, deep buried the steel in his breast!

The night-wind is up, and red meteors are gleaming,
 And dimly the waning moon shines in the sky;
 'Tis midnight—the chieftain in slumbers is dreaming,
 When his dream is disturb'd by a wild wailing cry:

And this the call—"Macdonald, rise!
 Macalpine calls thee once again;
 Look out, and view the murky skies,
 Pale ghosts are gliding in the glen.

"The eagle, from his eyrie high
 Now lowly lies, his plumage torn;
 The gentle dove must wake, to sigh
 A song of widow'd love forlorn.

"Macdonald, rise!—'tis dark and late—
 The mystic thread is nearly spun;
 And woven now the web of fate—
 The labour's o'er—the work is done!

"Thy tender heart, and counsel sage,
 Have hasten'd on the fated spell;
 The record is a bloody page—
 Macdonald, now, for aye, farewell!"

A peal of loud laughter now burst on his ear,
 So wild and unearthly he shrunk at the sound,
 And cold grew his proud heart, and wither'd by fear,
 As from the deep glen rung the echoes around.

O'er the huntsman's green grave the broad aspen is waving,
 But one tears the turf from the unhallow'd bed,
 Half naked, he heeds not the winter blast raving,
 Nor chill blighting mildews that fall on his head.

When bleak winds are sweeping along the deep vale,
 In the darkness of midnight, lone, dreary, and dun,
 His wailings are heard floating wild on the gale,
 "O Ronald! dear Ronald! rise, Ronald, my son!"

And Norah no more sought the green birchen shade;
 By the grave of her Ronald she pass'd the long day;
 Till she by the side of her lover was laid,
 When the flower of Glen-Lyon had faded for aye.

THE STEAM-YACHT.

No. III.

*(Continued from page 93 of last Volume.)**Mrs Templeton's History continued.*

THE marriage once over, Mr Stapleton was too attentive to the opinion of the world to refuse his apparent forgiveness, but from that moment Constance ceased to be a child to him. But I do not intend to dwell on this part of the narrative. However faulty the motives of her parents' anger, Constance had broken the great law of filial obedience, and bitterly did she feel that unerring dispensation which entails sorrow on a disobedient child. For some time prosperity appeared to shine on her, and she became the mother of several lovely children, of whom Constance (Mrs Templeton) was the second. But her feelings, never properly restrained, though always inclining to virtue, were here again fatal to the happiness of Mrs Murray. So ardently did she dote on her children, that, for their comfort, that of her husband was neglected, or rendered subservient; and the consequence soon was, that he sought in society abroad that attention he no longer met with at home. Need I repeat a daily-experienced tale? Embarrassment in his affairs followed. His wife's sometimes fond expostulations, at others indignant remonstrances, were alike unheeded. He became coldly unfeeling in his conduct to her, and negligent of his children. All that economy and watchful care could do, Mrs Murray performed; but it was of no avail. Her thoughtless partner became involved to an immense amount, and failure ensued. Unable to face the poverty to which he had consigned his wife and his children, he fled, and twelve long years passed ere they met again. Mrs M. had at first applied to her father for assistance, but the lips of her mother, who had formerly been her advocate, were now cold in death, and the sister, who had been her rival, alone remained at home. All hopes here were crushed in the outset, and now

 id the young and beautiful wife

find that all her dependence must be on herself. She did not, however, continue long without friends, for her noble struggles to support her children attracted the attention and admiration of all who were made acquainted with them. Ere many years had fled, Mrs Murray, though living in an humble lodging, and her girls performing the work of servants to her, numbered amongst her visitors and friends the wealthiest and most respectable of the inhabitants of the town, where she had lived at one time their equal. She might, indeed, have been happier than in her prosperity, but in secret her heart still fondly turned to him it had first and only loved, and by him she was prevailed on to leave her quiet abode, and they again commenced business in the town of C—. At this time Constance Murray was about eighteen, and all the beauty of her mother was renewed in her, tempered by a soft gentleness of disposition, which her mother had never possessed. The playful gaiety of her manner led an indifferent spectator to believe her always lively; but those who knew the loving depths of Constance's heart could not have foretold that affection, once rooted there, would exist till life was no more. This passionate softness had been injudiciously fostered, by the approbation with which her mother encouraged in Constance a talent for poetry; and the habit of writing beautiful and pathetic verses on the subject of love, at last made her feel, that, to be the object of a virtuous attachment, was the first wish of her heart; nor was it long ere the wish was realized. At the house of Mrs Baker, a favourite and fascinating, but dangerous friend, Constance was introduced to Charles Edgar, and ere they met a dozen times, each felt the influence of that tender, but uncontrollable passion. But the effect was different. Charles Edgar was the son of indigent parents, for whose support he had cultivated a natural genius for drawing, and

was at this time prosecuting the profession of an artist ; but not of first-rate celebrity, of great modesty and humility, and without money or patronage to secure him attention, his emolument, though permanent, was small. In Constance Murray he saw the being who was destined to rob him of his peace of mind, nor could he prevent his mind dwelling on the beautiful simplicity of her character without admiration ; yet he knew that Mrs Murray, though she could no longer hope to see her child the heiress of any property but her beauty and accomplishments, yet that she dwelt (and not unjustly) on the society to which her own inestimable conduct had raised them, and hoped that her Constance would become the wife of a man of wealth, if not of rank ; for who could have looked on the face of the lovely girl as she pursued her work, or her pencil, without acknowledging, that the highest station must receive a lustre from her assuming it ? From the liberality of her mother's friends, Constance had received an excellent and solid education ; but it was from Nature alone that she acquired that peculiar elegance and grace of manner which, in after years, drew the attention of one of our most distinguished court beauties, who observed, after an introduction to Mrs Templeton, that it was her belief so graceful a woman had never entered the Royal drawing-room. Yet all these considerations, though they brought an alloy of bitter hopelessness with them to the breast of Charles Edgar, were not powerful enough to triumph over the engrossing power of a first passion when bearing the image of Constance Murray ; and they continued to meet, unknown to her parents, or to any one but Mrs Baker. Constance concealed her passion, and even the name of her lover, from her friends ; not so much from a dread of their displeasure, as from the consistency it bore to her cherished ideas of romance, to be secretly in love ; and these false notions of the privacy requisite to a true attachment, were added to a blushing modesty which could have rendered the pronouncing of his name the most difficult task that could have been imposed. The idea

of what consequences were to follow from this secret attachment to Charles never once presented itself. The intoxication of being in love, and beloved with the fervour which Charles could not disguise, alone occupied her imagination ; and while she worked, or drew, at Mrs Baker's, and he read, or assisted her, and while she could see him daily, and frequently walk with him for hours, it was all she wished ; nor did she ever ask herself, How long will the dream continue ? It was in one of these walks, which they were enjoying in all the luxury of quiet bliss, by the sea-side near the place, and Constance was listening with blushing pleasure to the animated tone in which her companion was describing a picture he had just completed, where her figure formed the principal subject, that they stopped to observe the anchoring of a 74, which, in all its swelling pride, had entered the roads. The navy had always been an object of admiration with Constance, and she gazed with delighted interest on the vessel, from which a boat was immediately lowered to convey the officers to the town.

The evening was calm and serene, and the sea was unruffled. There was music in the boat, and as it approached, the soft breathing of the flutes came like the voice of the spirit of the waters upon the ear ; but sweet as that sound was, it had, with both Constance and her lover, the effect of deepening the before pleasing pensiveness of their thoughts into a melancholy for which neither could account. Charles's lip quivered with emotion, and Constance stood pale as marble ; and unbidden, and almost unfelt tears, streamed from her eyes. From this they were roused by the cheerful voices and laughter of the officers as the boat neared the shore, quite close to them. They started, and continued their walk, and in a few minutes the party passed them. At the moment, the parasol of Constance dropped on the sand, and ere Charles could stoop, a young Lieutenant caught it up, and gallantly presented it to her, with a low bow, at the same time bending his intelligent blue eyes searchingly on her face. Constance coloured, and thanking him, drew her veil closer, and

after a protracted gaze, the officer passed on.

I am not, in describing Constance Murray, attempting to pourtray a faultless character, such as the Sophias, Matildas, and Isabellas, have invariably appeared, who, though acting at times (by the accounts of their historians) in a way which no sensible woman would act, are yet always perfect. I am often surprised, that ladies or gentlemen, professing only to write from imagination, should have imagined a woman perfect, and yet allow this angel to be wholly engrossed by the selfish passion of love, and that, too, for a mortal. But to return to my story of *real life*. Constance had failings, and though they were, perchance, more the result of youth and inexperience than wilful perversions of her own judgement, yet they *were* faults, and as such, deserved, and met with chastisement. Among the number, was a too easy credulity in the professions of others, and a too great pleasure in universal admiration. Though Charles Edgar was undoubtedly the elected of her heart, yet her vanity, or rather her fancy, was at times amused and gratified, by observing how unlimited was the power of her attractions; and the dashing officers of the numerous ships of the line on that station were not slow in perceiving and profiting by this perversion of her mind, nor of her intimacy with Mrs Baker, whose house was a favourite resort with them. Let it not, however, be imagined for a moment, that Constance Murray was ever the subject of those flatteries which border only on insult, and to which too many of her sex eagerly listen; but she was only eighteen, transcendantly beautiful, and could not but be aware of the homage paid to that beauty. Her mother was flattered by the court which her lovely girl received, and allowed her to accept the invitations which were showered on her from every quarter. The town had always been gay, but since the arrival of the *Avenger*, that gaiety had perceptibly increased. This ship had been for some time in the Mediterranean, and the officers had spent weeks in the attractive scenes of Italy; from thence they returned

with imaginations crowded with masquerades, balls, midnight serenades, and all the amusements peculiar to that clime of pleasure. These amusements they endeavoured to render familiar to their countrywomen, and one party was followed by another, till many a head was turned, and many a heart lost. Foremost in every scene of allurements and gaiety was the lively and fascinating Mrs Baker, and seldom was she unaccompanied by her lovely friend; and when the beauty and elegance of Constance were combined with the wit and talent of her chaperone, the attraction was resistless, and gentlemen vied with each other in their devotion. For some weeks Charles Edgar was nearly forgotten, or, if she saw him, his earnest, nay, pathetic entreaties, that she would guard against adopting too far the manners of her friend Charlotte, (Mrs Baker,) were coldly listened to, or indignantly repulsed. At last, one evening they parted; Constance in anger, Charles in agony; but her frowns were an hour afterwards changed into sunny smiles, as (the object of every gaze, the admiration of every tongue,) she opened the elegant ball given on board the "*Avenger*,"—that ship whose arrival they had both witnessed,—a fatal arrival to Constance. But I must not anticipate. It was not long after that her father, one morning, told her with exultation, that Lieutenant Templeton had made proposals for her;—"proposals," he added, looking sternly at her, "which you will do well to accept. Your fancy for another has, I see by your late conduct, passed away, and I rejoice at it, as I would sooner see you in your grave than the wife of Charles Edgar. He is the object of my aversion." A thunderbolt at the feet of his child would scarcely have astonished her less. She knew not that her father had ever seen Charles, and she now found, that not only was their attachment known, but rejected with contempt. At his insinuation of her estrangement, by the easiness with which she had followed the path of dissipation and levity, a bitter pang told her how deep had been her wrongs to her lover; and never was she more sensible of the rivetted power of that chain his virtues and

affection had entwined round her heart, than when he was presented in contrast with the fluttering, thoughtless being, whom her father had commanded her to accept. Lieutenant Templeton was indeed far worse than her pure soul could have painted him. Though handsome and accomplished, he was a villain; and the beauty of Constance alone attracted him, and raised that earnest desire of calling her his own which he dignified with the name of love. Alas! how different to that of Charles Edgar! It was in vain poor Constance pleaded only for time. She had always been of a remarkably timid disposition, and the conduct of her father* had long rendered him more the subject of her unfeigned terror than affection. The furious passion, therefore, with which her expostulations were refused, paralysed her faculties; and not only did she make the promise of becoming the wife of Templeton in two months from that period, but was forced also into consenting never to mention, either to Charles or to her mother, the reasons for her acceptance of the Lieutenant's addresses. The true motive of this wish for concealment, on the part of her father, was, that having (in his long separation from his family) become familiar with almost every vice, and particularly with the habit of gambling, he had lost large sums to Templeton at the billiard table, who had promised to cancel the debts on receiving the hand of his daughter having a presentiment that his passion would meet with no encouragement from herself. But of this all but themselves were ignorant. Mrs Murray heard the avowal of her daughter with some surprise; but although a match she would not have selected for her child, she could make no reasonable objection, and the visits of Templeton soon became daily. Daily also did the trembling Constance discover new cause to shudder at her approaching fate. Templeton was the contrast of Charles Edgar. His handsome exterior had gained him so much notice from the fair sex, that although really loving Miss Murray beyond any other earthly object for the present, he still considered her as the most fortunate of

women, in being his choice. He was an Irishman, and in him the generous ardour peculiar to the natives of that country had degenerated, through indulgence and vanity, into insolence and haughtiness. His courage and abilities were respected by his companions, but his proud assumption of superiority disgusted them, and his unrestrained passions had early led him into excesses from the consequences of which meanness and dishonour alone could rescue him. These he had unscrupulously practised; and although in general successfully concealed, yet conscience lowered in a thoughtful gloom over his polished brow, and his radiant blue eye was usually bent on the ground. Every day increased his love, and with it his jealousy of Constance; and not even to her relations, if gentlemen, could he tolerate her showing any thing like attention. And where was Charles Edgar all this time? Happy in the belief, that, although for a while dazzled by her numerous admirers, she would yet listen to the voice of her heart, which he well knew spoke only of him; and he had reason to think so, as on the day of her father's disclosure she had written to him, entreating his pardon for her apparent neglect, and assuring him he was the only possessor of her affections. This letter was to him as sacred writ; for the pure mind of Charles abhorred deceit or falsehood as a degradation of his nature, and how then could he suspect it in one who was of spotless truth in his eyes? Nor were they shadowing that mind he so fondly exalted. Constance dared not transgress the commands of her father, and tell him her hand was engaged; but after she had signed what she felt was her death-warrant, she found that she could not, even with composure, support her situation if not at peace with him, and therefore she wrote, and all in that letter was truth. But she forgot, or rather she had never known, that principle which would have told her, that thus to sacrifice the peace of another, and one who loved her with faithful ardour, while it could only increase her repugnance to what was inevitable, was selfishness and folly. When she wept in

anguish at the prospect which awaited her, and murmured, "Oh that I could die!" she knew not that she was sinking to an alarming extent, that she was arraigning a mercy and a justice, which not only dealt the blow unerringly, but in love; a mercy which, had she implored its aid, would (as in after years it did) turn the bitter ingredients of the cup presented to her into a medicine of healing and of comfort. In the indulgence of a feeling, more like sullen, reckless despair, than the submissive fortitude which she called it, she continued to meet him as before that fatal ship arrived; but she could not conceal, from his affectionate eye, that illness preyed on her frame, and showed its full progress, by increasing paleness on her cheek, and hurried languor in her glance. He earnestly entreated her to try change of air; but she would, in reply to his request, only smile, and thank him with a gushing tear. These symptoms, however, increased so rapidly, that he became agonized with apprehension, and, after a severe struggle, determined to acquaint Mr and Mrs Murray with his affection. In this resolution he went to meet his much-loved Constance, and the sight of her strengthened it; for this evening she resembled a beautiful statue, so pale, so fixed were her features. "In mercy, Constance," said Charles, "tell me what is the cause of this dreadful change in you. Do not your family see it? Are you ill, and can you so value my love as to trifle with your complaint?" "I am ill, Charles," she replied, after a long pause, "but my illness is here," laying her hand on her heart. "Charles," she continued, in a low hurried voice, as if fearing that each word should be retained by her inability to pronounce it, "I have deceived and misled you: ere this time to-morrow I shall be the wife of another—of Lieutenant Templeton;" and with the last faint sound she fell senseless at his feet. For a moment he looked on her in anger. All his confiding trust in her love rushed on his soul, and she had betrayed it; and whilst engaged in what she knew must be as the dagger to his bosom, had met and walked with him, had smiled on him, and, oh! with what a smile of love!

But Charles Edgar was a Christian in its truest sense. The bitter sense of injured affection had no sooner engraven the word *deceitful* on his heart, than the wave of pity swept over the trace, and obliterated it for ever. He raised, and supported her to a seat which was near, resting her head upon his shoulder, and watching with interest and anxiety her recalculation to existence. As she opened her eyes, and by degrees the tide of memory came rushing over her brain, she gazed mournfully on him, and bursting into tears, said, "Have pity, and forgive me, Charles,—I may not tell you why I marry; but, oh! my heart is broken; and when you feel disposed to resent my apparent inconsistency, remember it will cost me my life. Love cannot be controlled: mine ever was, and ever will be yours, for—" "Hush! hush! Constance," said Charles, in a sad, but firm voice, "and listen to me. That I have loved you fondly and truly, the sufferings with which I mourned your seeming estrangement, and the delight with which I welcomed your returning love, can testify; and all my dreams of future bliss have had you for their resting-place, next to the favour of him through whose interposition only I could hope to obtain you. By what inexplicable mystery that hope is now crushed I know not. Lieutenant Templeton is one with whom I am not even personally acquainted, and I am therefore ignorant how likely it is he should prove to you a fonder or a better husband. You appear less disposed to trust your happiness with him than I, that fondly looked to your doing it with me; but remember, a chance is not left you; and if you wish for peace of mind, you have but one path left in which to pursue it. When you reflect, you will at once perceive how far from that path is the indulgence of the feeling you have expressed. Mine is not love that could exist unaccompanied by moral rectitude or virtuous principle, nor is mine a heart that could accept such love even from Constance Murray. No! deprived of the hope of calling you mine, futurity to me must be blessed only by knowing that you perform the duties of a wife, and perhaps of a mother, such as one whom

I have so loved should perform them. You would perhaps tell me, you cannot, where you do not love ; but remember, that duties fulfilled, with all our inclinations according, deserve not that term. It is when their fulfilment is contrary to those inclinations, and when it requires and obtains their subjection to the dictates of principle, that it rises into the higher station of virtue. If indeed this fatality," he continued in a choked voice, " must be obeyed, oh ! Constance, disappoint not these hopes of your truest friend, which, while they forbid him to think of happiness with you here, tell him to look forward to that joyful meeting in heaven, where, all your trials past, we can join in praising Him who has given you strength to support them. From to-day, the very thought of love, in either of our bosoms, must be a crime : and have you thought of Charles Edgar that he could be happy in crime ? Oh, no ! my dearest friend : hard though it be to tear the long-cherished hopes from my heart, nay, though it break in the struggle, it must be done, and to-morrow your picture and your letters shall be returned to you." Much longer he might have continued speaking, for Constance sat pale and motionless, as if conscious that they were the last words she was destined to hear from that loved voice. Deeply attentive, she replied not a word ; but when he paused, she rose, and holding out her hand, said, " Farewell for ever ! " " Farewell ! " he replied firmly, though his cheek

was pale as death, " perhaps not for ever, but till Constance and Charles can meet without sin and without sorrow." They parted, and on her return home, the unhappy girl, refusing all the solicitations of her younger sisters to examine her bridal dress, ran to her own little room, and throwing herself on her bed, gave way to the bitterness of her feelings. Poor girl ! she had not then learnt to look on the lessons of adversity in their right view, for she had not bent in humility to the chastening rod as coming from the hand of one who loved and died for her. Constance Murray thought of her Redeemer with gratitude, with veneration, and with awe ; but with her religion was only awful, and duty to be fulfilled by regularly attending the service of the church, and never omitting to pronounce a cold form of prayer in the morning and at night. Of that confiding love which meekly places itself at the disposal of a well-known, all-powerful Being, she knew nothing. Devotion she considered as a garment appropriate only to the Sabbath and the church ; not as the spotless, but humble robe, which, to be useful, must be worn at all times as the pervading spirit which must shed its influence over all our thoughts, and regulate all our actions. No ! these were lessons that she learned only from years of deep sorrow ; lessons which, at that dying hour we have before described, were remembered by her with gratitude and joy. L. A.

(*To be concluded in our next.*)

Sonnet.

The Dying Gladiator.

Ut procumbat honeste.—CIC.

HA ! who is he upon whose bloody side
That fearful rending seems so deadly
 sure—
Whose soul in nerv'd resolve doth
 calm endure
Each rebel pang he glories thus to hide ?
But what avails it *now* his quenchless
 pride
That he can stifle all ? that groan or
 sigh
Reveal no pain, proclaim no fear to
 die !

Dreads he lest nature's weakness be
 descried ?
They say he was a slave—a dying man
At least he is, whose soul was never
 slave ;
Roman or Dacian, he hath shewn he can
Undaunted die, and pity scorns to
 crave !
He dreads the taunts the insults Rome
 may pour
Upon the struggles of his dying hour !

Θ.

EVIDENCE OF MR M'CULLOCH BEFORE THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON THE STATE OF IRELAND.

8th and 9th June 1825.

WE purpose, in the present and following Number of the *Edinburgh Magazine*, to lay before our readers the evidence given on the 8th and 9th of June last, by Mr M'Culloch, before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the state of Ireland. Few of our readers, we believe, have seen this evidence, except in the shape of garbled, and hence almost unintelligible extracts in newspapers. We wish to supply this defect in Scotland. In Ireland, many members of Parliament, and other gentlemen of influence, on both sides of politics, have adopted measures to diffuse, in their own country, as widely as possible, the highly valuable evidence which we are about to communicate to our readers. Mr M'Culloch's well-known acquaintance with the principles of economical science, his skill in illustrating and expounding them, his complete knowledge of all the errors which have prevailed in this science, and of the arguments by which they are to be met, give a weight to his testimony and opinions, which has been due to those of scarcely any other individual in this country, since the much-lamented death of Mr Ricardo. The drivelling puerilities which have lately been spoken and written by many persons on both sides of the Channel, on the condition and means of improving our sister kingdom, have utterly sickened every friend of that unhappy country; and we are sure that we shall gratify our readers much more completely, by making them acquainted with the facts and opinions developed in these two day's examinations, founded, as they are, on the most accurate and extensive knowledge of the situation of Ireland, than by any dissertation of our own, or by the adoption of the works of others. A strong additional reason for communicating the evidence of these two days to our readers is, that Government, if we are not misinformed, have given instructions for the preparation of a Bill to be

brought into Parliament next Session, which shall embody many of the principles, particularly those in reference to the law of landlord and tenant, so clearly exhibited in this examination.

Our readers, we have no doubt, will be much pleased with the complete refutation which this evidence affords of the prevalent opinions in reference to absenteeism. We need scarcely recommend to particular attention the beautiful *exposé* of principles in reference to population, pauperism, and emigration, and the not less admirable views regarding the necessity for the march of capital to precede that of population, in order to secure the comfort and happiness of the lower orders of society. With these few preliminary remarks, we give the evidence of the first day's examination, in the present Number.

8th June 1825.

John Ramsay M'Culloch, Esq. called in, and examined.

Have you devoted much of your time to the study of Political Economy, and to writing and lecturing on that science? —I have devoted a good deal of time to these objects.

Have you seen the returns that have been laid before Parliament respecting the population of Ireland? —I have.

Did you examine the table in which the amount of the population is stated at different periods? —I looked over it.

What do you find to be the number of the people in the year 1791, according to Dr Beaufort's calculation? —Dr Beaufort estimated the population of Ireland in 1791 at 4,088,000; but he made that estimate on the hypothesis that there were six persons to a house.

Is that stated in the returns? —It is.

What is the common rule for taking the number of persons from the number each house contains? —It must of course vary in different countries; but I should consider five and a half persons to a house was a very large average, and that would make the population of Ireland, in 1791, 3,747,000.

Is that average of five and a half the average that is commonly adopted by persons of authority upon the subject of

population?—Yes; I believe it is generally about the highest that is taken.

Is not an average of five more common than of five and a half?—I should think that five was rather more common; but it is taken as high as five and a half, in some instances; and perhaps in Ireland that average may be more nearly correct.

What do you find the population to be in the year 1821?—It is stated in the census to be 6,801,000.

Then taking the population of 1791 at 3,717,000, and the population of 1821 at 6,800,000, it appears that the population doubled in something more than thirty years?—It has doubled in about thirty-three years.

If the average of five persons to a house were taken in the enumeration of 1791, what would be the result?—It would have more than doubled in thirty years.

Has this rate of doubling occurred in other countries to your knowledge?—It has occurred in several of the states of North America; after making every reasonable deduction for emigrants, it has been proved that the population of several of those States has doubled in so short a period as twenty-five years, or less.

At what rate is it supposed that the population of England doubles?—According to the remarks prefixed to the late census, the population of England was 6,064,000 in 1740, and 12,218,000 in 1820, which would give a period of doubling of about eighty years.

Does that include England and Wales?—It includes England and Wales, but excludes Scotland; at the same time, however, it is proper to observe, that the ratio of increase was greater in the latter years of this period than between 1740 and 1760.

What is the state of the case with respect to Scotland?—I have not by me a return of the population of Scotland, from any remote period; but my impression is, that it amounted to only about 1,100,000 in 1700, and it amounted to 2,135,000 in 1821; so that, if I am right, which I think I am, in my former position, it must have taken about 120 years to double.

What is the common rule for calculating the period in which the population of a country doubles?—By comparing the excess of births over deaths. I believe that, according to the common principle of annuities, if the births exceed the deaths, by a thirty-sixth part for twenty-five years, the population will be doubled.

What is the general principle upon which a people continues to increase?—There is a power in man to produce fresh

men, which may be considered at all times as about equal; and population would go on increasing as fast in England or France as in the United States, provided the inhabitants of those countries had equal facilities of obtaining food and other things necessary for the support of existence.

From the information you have collected respecting the state of Ireland, are you of opinion that causes exist there, to a great degree, that contribute to a considerable increase of the population?—I should think to a very great degree.

Will you specify those causes in detail?—They are so very various, that it would be difficult to specify them all in detail; but the low standard of the people with respect to food, is, I think, the main cause of it. They consent to live on and are satisfied with a very small quantity of food, and that food, too, of the cheapest kind; and the extreme facility of obtaining small portions of land enables them to raise it with little difficulty.

The acknowledged habit of early marriages will of course contribute to it?—Undoubtedly.

And the healthiness of the climate?—Undoubtedly. All those causes contribute to increase the number of the people; but without the low standard of comfort that obtains among them, and the extreme facility of obtaining supplies of food, the habit of early marriage would rather occasion a great mortality in the country, than add to its population.

It appearing, from the facts of the case, that the population has increased so much from the year 1791 to the year 1821, are you of opinion that it is still going on increasing?—I cannot say, in point of fact, whether it is increasing or not; but I know of no cause that has been in operation since 1821 to check it.

Then, if no such cause exists, according to all experience on the subject of population, the natural tendency of the population of Ireland, as it existed in 1821, is to go on increasing in the same ratio as it has heretofore increased?—Undoubtedly.

In point of fact, is it not proved by experience, that the progressive increase of a people is not easily checked; and that although pestilence, famine, and other circumstances, for a time, destroy great numbers, they each may occur without ultimately diminishing the population of a country?—I should question whether pestilence ever permanently diminished the population of any country. A pestilence improves the condition of those that survive: it destroys a portion of the inhabitants, without destroying

any portion of the capital that employs them; consequently, those that survive obtain higher wages, and there is a stimulus given to population, that generally fills up, in a few years, the blank which is occasioned by the pestilence.

Then nothing, even of this sort, having of late happened in Ireland, there is every reason to suppose that the population is still going on increasing, at the rapid rate at which it has increased up to 1821?—I am not aware of any cause to prevent it. I should think it is increasing at the same rate at which it has of late years increased, that is, from 1810 to 1821.

Supposing a system was introduced of clearing farms in Ireland, on the termination of leases, from the superabundant people that are found to exist on them, in consequence of the system of underletting; do you conceive that that could by this time, by any possibility, have had any considerable effect in checking the progress of population, that is to say, between 1821 and the present time?—I should think it is not conceivable that it could have had any considerable effect in so short a period.

What is your opinion, supposing that the system of clearing farms in this way were to continue, and to be extended?—I should think, if it were to continue, that ultimately it would change the habits of the people. It would prevent their obtaining land with so much facility as they now obtain it; and therefore I think, if it were extended, it would ultimately tend to check the habit of early marriage.

Do you suppose there exists a probability of the population of Ireland advancing in numbers, so as to increase still more considerably?—If no check be interposed to the practice which is so universal in Ireland, of splitting farms into small portions, I do not know where population is to stop, till all the land is parcelled out into mere potatoe gardens.

Might it in your opinion go on doubling every thirty years?—Yes; it might go on increasing till such time as the land could support no more, under the potatoe system of cultivation.

From the information you have been able to collect respecting Ireland, have you formed any opinion with regard to the condition of the people of that country?—From carefully reading the evidence given before Committees of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and from reading books, and conversing with gentlemen belonging to Ireland, I have been led to believe that the condition of the Irish peasantry is worse than the condition of any other peasantry

in Europe; and that it is so very bad, that it is hardly possible for human beings to live and be in a worse state than they are.

Have you turned your attention to the consideration of what may be the cause of this state of things?—Yes, I have, generally.

What might be said, in your opinion, to be, as far as it is possible to give an opinion upon it, the principal and single cause of this state of things?—I should think that the immediate cause of it was the excessive number of people in the country, compared with the quantity of capital to employ them; or, in other words, that there are more people in the country than the capital can afford to employ, at a sufficiently high rate of wages.

Have you observed in the evidence, that some of the witnesses have stated, that if all that is paid for labour were to be divided amongst all the labourers in Ireland in the course of a year, it would not average more than fourpence a-head per day?—No; I have not read that portion of the evidence.

In order that the wages for labour in Ireland may be increased to any thing like what is sufficient to place the people in a good condition, to what degree must there be an alteration between the proportion of the supply of labour and capital?—I do not know that I can answer that question. If I were to be asked how much additional capital it would require to raise wages from any given amount to any other given amount, I should be able to give an answer.

Suppose, instead of four-pence a-day, it were considered necessary, in order to secure the object of placing them in a respectable and decent condition, that they should receive as high as twelve-pence a-day?—I should think, that, taking the population of Ireland at the present time at seven and a half millions, there may be about two millions of individuals fit for labour, above sixteen years of age, including 500,000 females, which, in a country like Ireland, might be supposed to be able to work at various sorts of labour; then you would require a capital of about twenty millions, in order to give them eight-pence a day of wages.

In addition to fourpence a-day?—Yes.

Why do you assume the population of Ireland to be seven millions and a half?—Because it was very nearly seven millions in 1821, and I assume that it has been increasing at the same ratio since 1821, that it increased from 1810 to 1821.

Since 1821?—Yes.

You are of opinion, that if the census

of 1821 was accurate, giving near seven millions, the population is now at seven millions and a half?—At the very least.

You have no reason to think that there have been causes at work in Ireland, to prevent the increase of population going on in the same ratio that it has done?—No, I am not aware that there have been any in operation.

You are not aware that the practice of breaking up small farms, and consolidating large tracts, has had the effect of expelling the tenantry from many districts, and of course destroying one of the causes of multiplication which have been adverted to?—I know that has been acted upon to some extent; but I should not think it could have been acted upon to any such extent as to have already produced any material change in the habits of the people; they would go to villages, or to some other parts of the country.

Do not you think that, for the three years immediately past, that would have had the effect of retarding the population?—I do not think it would be felt so soon; it is not easy to change the habits of people with respect to population; such a change can only be the late result of a long series of continuous impressions.

Your view of the question would induce you to think that half a million and upwards has been added to the population of Ireland in the last four years?—I should think so.

Is it not a matter of familiar and easy calculation, after having established the fact of a population doubling in a given number of years, to be able to ascertain the actual increase upon any given number of people for a given time?—Unless some change takes place in the condition of the people to alter the ratio of increase, it would be so.

Can you state to the Committee, supposing the population doubled in 30 years, what is the annual increase upon each 10,000 persons in a year?—No, I cannot state that; I do not now recollect the increase; but I know that Euler has calculated a table of that sort.

When you mention a capital of twenty millions as necessary to be paid for wages of labour, in order to pay eightpence a-day to each labourer, in addition to what he now receives, you mean that amount of capital to be in addition to the present capital that is now applicable in Ireland to the employment of the people?—Undoubtedly.

The calculation is made upon the assumption that you are to increase the amount of daily wages received by each, from fourpence to twelpence a-day?—Precisely so.

In order that a deficient capital may be made into a sufficient one to employ a people, must it not increase faster than the rate at which the people are increasing?—Undoubtedly; if the people and the capital continue to march a-breast, or to increase in the same ratio, there can be no rise of wages.

From what may be ascertained by experience in matters of this kind, what is the general rule upon this head that is laid down by persons acquainted with this branch of science, as to the tendency of capital to increase faster or slower in proportion to the tendency of the people to increase?—The commonly-received opinion is, that the tendency of population is always to outrun the means of subsistence, or to increase faster than capital.

So that in regard to the improvement of the people of Ireland, the first difficulty to be overcome is, the general tendency of the people to increase faster than the tendency of capital to increase?—Undoubtedly. To increase the proportion of capital to population; is the grand difficulty to be overcome in Ireland.

Until this difficulty is overcome, do you see any reasonable prospect of the condition of the people being likely to be improved?—Not the least; it is quite impossible it can be improved, until the ratio of capital to population be increased.

Are you of opinion that it is possible for the efforts of individual landlords to do any thing considerable towards overcoming this difficulty?—No; unless the landlords were all to co-operate, or a very considerable proportion of them to co-operate, I should think that the isolated efforts of individuals would have very little power to increase the ratio of capital to population.

From your experience, what would you say would be the effect in securing the great object of improving the condition of the people, by carrying on public works to a great extent?—It would very much depend upon where the capital to carry those public works on was brought from.

You mean, that if it was collected through the country in the shape of taxation, it would be only transferring capital from one employment to another?—If it were collected in Ireland, I should think it would be any thing but advantageous for the people that it should be so employed.

Suppose it to be transmitted from England, do you conceive that any probable amount that could be expended in that way would produce any considerable impression upon the state of the people?—I should think, that during the time the public works were being made, it might

improve the condition of the people in the places where they were carried on, if a large quantity of capital was remitted from England; but after they had been made, I should think they would be about in the same condition as before.

Do you think that those measures which may contribute to bring English capital together, in order to be transferred to Ireland, namely, companies for the purpose of opening mines and other works, can possibly be carried to such an extent as to produce any considerable effect in improving the condition of the labouring classes in Ireland?—No; I do not believe they ever will produce any perceptible improvement. If it were advantageous to take capital to Ireland, it would go there without any companies being formed for that purpose.

You think the common principle of profit would induce it to go there?—Certainly; it would be taken there upon the same principle that capital would move from Yorkshire to Devonshire, if it were more advantageous to employ it in the latter than in the former.

Is it your impression, that, taking into consideration the great number of people to be employed, and the great sum that is necessary to give them that employment, these efforts of joint-stock companies are likely to be of any avail?—It would require a very large capital to be employed as wages in the first instance, to occasion any considerable increase of comfort to the labourers; and unless those who undertake these works employ that capital so advantageously as to render it able to reproduce itself, with a sufficient profit, after the transference of capital from England had ceased, you would have no means of continuing the employment of the people; and if so, its transference, by stimulating population in the first instance, and then leaving this population unemployed, would be rather injurious than beneficial to Ireland.

Assuming the judicious application of capital in manufactures, are you of opinion that this system of joint-stock companies is likely to produce an effect, so as to alter the condition of the people of Ireland for the better?—If the companies were to lay out that capital so that it would reproduce itself, with as large a profit as might be obtained from it in any other part of the empire, I should think that its transference to Ireland would be advantageous to the people of that country.

Would the extent to which that advantage could be carried, depend upon the amount?—Undoubtedly.

Is the prospect is there, that by the in-

tervention of companies, such a large amount would be transferred, as would be necessary to allow of twenty millions being altogether employed in the payment of wages?—I do not think there is the least prospect that any sum like that could be taken over to Ireland, and laid out advantageously by any companies.

If it falls much short of that sum, in point of fact, it can produce no considerable impression in changing the condition of the people?—No; and if the companies do not lay it out so as to reproduce itself, and thus to enable the employment of the people to be continued, its being taken there, to whatever extent it goes, will ultimately be injurious to Ireland, because it will stimulate the population in the first instance, and there will be no means afterwards of employing the people that will thus be brought into existence.

From past experience of companies of that sort, what is the prospect of their capital being employed with profit?—I should think the prospect of their laying it out with the advantage proposed is infinitely faint.

You are aware that the people in the north of Ireland are in a much more flourishing condition than the people in the south of Ireland?—I am aware that the people in some parts of the north of Ireland are in a much more flourishing condition; but I understand there are other parts in the north of Ireland, where they are in as bad a condition as it is possible for them to be.

What are those parts that you conceive to be in the most flourishing condition?—As far as my information goes, I should think the county Down and the environs of Belfast.

To what do you attribute the greater degree of comfort?—I am inclined to attribute it to the great number of Presbyterians that are there, and to the better education the people have got, which naturally produces greater forethought and better habits.

Do you ascribe none of it to the result of manufactures and abundant employment?—No, I do not think I should be warranted in attributing any portion of it to that; for if you have the people well educated, the introduction of manufactures among them may extend the means of employment without improving their condition. You may have a larger population with manufactures than without them, but I do not know that the condition of the people will be better.

Are you aware whether the population is dense in that part of Ireland you speak of?—I believe it is dense.

Are you apprised that the linen manufacture prevails in other parts of the north of Ireland, besides that you have stated?

I understand it prevails in Armagh and other districts.

Are you aware as to the state of those northern parts of the province of Connaught where the linen manufacture has made progress among the people?—No; I am not particularly informed with respect to the state of that province, except from what I have read about it.

In the county of Sligo, for instance, have you ever heard that in that part of Ireland the improvement in the condition of the population has been commensurate with the increase of manufactures, although the population of that country is neither by religion nor descent that which you consider the most improved? I have seen that stated; but not having ever been in Ireland, I can say nothing to it from personal observation.

Is it not possible, that in a country so populous as some of those northern counties of Ireland are stated and proved to be by the returns, notwithstanding a manufacture may exist, the condition of the lowest description of the people may be extremely wretched?—It is perfectly possible that you may have manufactures, and a very miserable population.

The questions related to a manufacture which is consistent with agricultural habits, you are aware of the manner in which the linen manufacture of Ireland is carried on?—Yes.

Would not your last answer refer rather to the accumulation of people in manufacturing districts, upon a different principle or practice?—No; I consider the combination of manufacturing and agricultural pursuits to be a proof of the barbarism of every country in which it exists; and so far from its being advantageous to the country, I think it is decidedly the reverse.

Do you mean advantageous to the state of the population, or advantageous to the interest of manufactures?—I mean advantageous to the general mass of the community, chiefly to the labourers themselves.

Will you be so good as state what is your view of that, as affecting the state of the population itself, as separated from the manufacturing interest?—I consider that the more labour is subdivided, the greater will be the quantity of produce obtained by each individual labourer. When you combine in the same family the trades of manufacturer and farmer, neither the one nor the other can be well carried on; and consequently the whole people of the country will have a less

quantity of commodities to divide among them, than if the one set had been manufacturers, and the other set agriculturists, and had separately carried on their operations.

Do you mean by a greater proportion of produce, greater wages?—I mean there will be greater quantity of commodities to all individuals.

Do you not mean, when you use the expression that the labourer would receive a greater proportion of the produce of labour, that he thereby would have better wages?—Undoubtedly, he will have better wages in every country in which labour is most productive.

Do not you think, that an illustration of the principle you have just laid down is to be found in that part of Scotland where, a few years ago, the occupations of farmer and manufacturer, or weaver, were carried on by the same people?—

Yes. I think that the condition of the people of Scotland, in those districts where they formerly combined a rude species of manufacturing with farming occupations, and which are now altogether separated, has, in consequence, been signally improved.

Is it not the case, that where the weaver is also a farmer, he frequently pays some proportion of what he earns for weaving, in the shape of rent, and thereby gives more for his land than the land actually is worth, according to its power of yielding agricultural produce?—I believe that is the case in Ireland, and some other countries.

Have you ever read a pamphlet of Dr Rogan's upon the condition of the people in the province of Ulster?—Yes; I have an extract of a tract of Dr Rogan's, who was employed by the Irish Government to enquire into the state of fever in 1817, published in 1819, as follows: "Throughout," he says, "the extensive counties of Tyrone, Donegal, and Derry," and in other parts of it he mentions the province of Ulster, "the population is only limited by the difficulty of procuring food. Owing to the universal adoption of the cottier system, and the custom of dividing farms among the sons, on the death of the father, the labouring classes are infinitely more numerous than are required for the purposes of industry; and, under these circumstances, they are engaged in a constant struggle for the bare necessities of life, and never enjoy its comforts." (p. 8.)

Supposing the absentee landlords of Ireland were to return and reside upon their estates, is it your opinion that would be productive of any decided advantage to the lower orders of the people?—No,

I am not aware that it would be productive of any advantage to them, in the way of increasing the general and average rate of wages all over the country.

Would not the expenditure of their incomes amongst them be productive of a great deal of good? The income of a landlord, when he is an absentee, is really as much expended in Ireland as if he were living in it.

Will you have the goodness to explain that a little further? When a landlord becomes an absentee, his rent must be remitted to him one way or another; it must be remitted to him either in money or in commodities. I suppose it will be conceded, that it cannot continue to be remitted to him from Ireland in money, there being no money to make the remittance, for if the rents of two or three estates were remitted in money, it would make a scarcity of money, and raise its value, so that its remittance would inevitably cease; it is clear, then, that the rents of absentees can only be remitted in commodities. And this, I think, would be the nature of the operation: when a landlord has an estate in Ireland, and goes to live in London or Paris, his agent gets his rent, and goes and buys a bill of exchange with it; now this bill of exchange is a draft drawn against equivalent commodities that are to be exported from Ireland; it is nothing more than an order to receive an equivalent amount in commodities which must be sent from Ireland. The merchants, who get £10,000, or any other sum, from the agent of an absentee landlord, go into the Irish market, and buy exactly the same amount of commodities as the landlord would have bought had he been at home; the only difference being, that the landlord would eat them and wear them in London or Paris, and not in Dublin, or in his house in Ireland.

Therefore, in proportion to the amount of rent remitted, will be the correspondent export of Irish commodities?—Precisely; if the remittances to absentee landlords amount to three millions a-year, were the absentee landlords to return home to Ireland, the foreign trade of Ireland would be diminished to that amount.

Would not there be a local effect created by the residence of Irish gentry now absent, that would be very beneficial?—If the question be confined to particular spots, the expenditure of considerable sums of money in them may perhaps be productive of some advantage to their inhabitants; but when a landlord goes abroad, the expenditure of his income,

though not probably productive of a benefit to that particular parish, or this particular part of the country where his estate lies, will certainly be proportionally advantageous to some other part of the country, inasmuch as the income must all be laid out, in the first instance, on Irish commodities.

The employment of the people is a great object; would not the residence of the gentry contribute to the employment of the people? If you lay out your revenue in labour, you cannot lay it out in commodities; if you get £10,000, and lay out £5,000 in labour, you can of course only lay out £5,000 in commodities.

Would it not be much better for the peasantry of Ireland, that a large proportion of revenue should be laid out in employing them, than in the purchase of commodities in the city of Dublin, many of which, perhaps, may have been or foreign produce? If it is laid out on commodities, it will give employment to the persons engaged in the production of them.

If, however, a large proportion of the commodities which you consider as the means of producing rent, or of producing that which is to enable a remittance to be made for the payment of rent, are not of a nature that employ the poor in their production to that extent, are not the people prejudiced by the want of employment? Yes, if that description of commodities that are alluded to can exist. This, however, I do not believe can ever be the case to any extent worth mentioning; because the value of almost all commodities, whatever they may be, is determined by the quantity of labour employed in their production, so that whatever may be the species of commodities, whether they be velvet cloaks or potatoes, there will be the same quantity of labour employed to produce equivalent values of them.

Supposing that the largest export of Ireland was neither in velvet cloaks nor potatoes, but in live cattle, and that a considerable proportion of rent, to use your own phrase, has been remitted in that manner, does not such a mode of producing the means of paying rent contribute less to the improvement of the poor than any extensive employment of them in labour would produce?—To answer this question, I must know in what, had the absentee landlords remained in Ireland, would their rents have been paid to them, or what would their farmers have raised to obtain the means of paying them; unless the means of paying rent are changed when the landlord

goes home, his residence can have no effect whatever.

Would not the population of the country be benefited by the expenditure among them of a certain portion of the rent which has been remitted?—No; I do not see how it could be benefited in the least. If you have a certain value laid out against Irish commodities in the one case, you will have a certain value laid out against them in the other. The cattle are either exported to England, or they stay at home; if they are exported, the landlord will obtain an equivalent for them in English commodities; if they are not, he will receive an equivalent for them in Irish commodities; so that in both cases the landlord lives on the cattle, or on the value of the cattle; and whether he lives in Ireland or England, there is obviously just the very same amount of commodities for the people of Ireland to subsist upon; for by the supposition which is made, the raising of cattle is the most advantageous mode in which the farmers can pay their rents.

Do you conceive the fact, of a certain means being used for the payment of rent to be in itself an evidence of its being the most advantageous means?—Undoubtedly; it is a point to be determined only by those who are interested.

Do you conceive there can be nothing vicious or deficient in the mode of occupation of property, or in the means taken for paying rent, seeing that the principle of self interest is always sure to correct any thing that is vicious?—I do not say that there may be no defect. When you come to consider the mode of occupying property, you have two sets of interests to conciliate, the interest of the landlord and the interest of the tenant; if you merely consider what are the best means by which the tenant can pay his rent, I think he is a better judge of these than any other individual; but when you come to consider the best mode of occupying the land of a country, you have to do with two different classes of individuals, whose interests may be different, and are not to be confounded.

Would it result from the principles laid down by you, that confining the question to those considerations which have been adverted to, it would be the same thing, in point of fact, to Ireland, whether the whole gentry of the country were absentees or not, as far as those considerations go?—I think very nearly the same thing. If I may be allowed to explain, I will state one point in which I think there would be a small difference. I think, so far as regards the purchase of all sorts of labour, except that of mere

menial servants, absentee expenditure is never injurious to a country. The only injury, as it appears to me, that a country can ever sustain with reference to wealth from absentee expenditure, is, that there may be a few menial servants thrown out of employment when landlords leave the country, unless they take their servants along with them; but to whatever extent menials may be thrown out of employment, if they have the effect to reduce the rate of wages, they will increase the rate of profit. In a country, however, where absenteeism has been so long prevalent as in Ireland, I should say that this circumstance cannot have any perceptible effect.

When an agent wishes to remit, suppose £1,000 of Irish rent to a landlord not resident in the country, and buys a bill of exchange in Dublin, has not that bill of exchange been actually sold, and does it not actually represent at the time a previous exportation of Irish produce?—It may not represent a previous exportation of Irish produce; but it will either represent a previous or a subsequent exportation.

Then in every instance, in which a demand arises for a bill of exchange to remit rents, it is, in point of fact, a demand for exportation of Irish produce, that would not otherwise have existed?—Undoubtedly.

Then in raising that quantity of produce that is so become necessary, must there not be the same quantity of labour employed in the whole, as if the landlord resided upon his own estate, and expended his income upon it?—There is no reason why the quantity of labour should vary.

A value being remitted equivalent to the rent, will not that value find its way through the various operations of occasioning production by the employment of the poor, to the extent that the landlord himself could employ them if he remained at home?—I think so.

You have stated your view of the effect of absenteeism, with respect to the employment of the poor and the expenditure of such funds as may be derived from the resources of the country, have you considered at all the effects of absenteeism in other points of view, both moral and political, other than those connected with the expenditure of the capital produced?—I have bestowed some attention to it in these points of view.

Will you have the kindness to state what your view of it is, as a great moral and political question, as applicable to Ireland? From all the information that I have been able to obtain from reading

books on the state of Ireland, and conversing with such Irish gentlemen as I have met with, I should think, that, in a moral point of view, Ireland did not lose very much by the want of the absentee landlords.

Will you state what has led you to form that opinion?—The statements that I have seen in Mr Wakefield's work, and in other works on Ireland, and the various conversations I have had.

The Committee are now speaking, not of the state of Ireland as it is, but what it would be if the persons of property had in that country been resident for generations, as in more fortunate countries has been the case; have not those circumstances which lead you to form this opinion, arisen a good deal from the state of society which has resulted in a great measure from the absence of the higher class of proprietors?—I should certainly think that the chances were, that if the large proprietors had lived at home, and not let their estates on interminable leases for small quit rents, that the country would have been improved by their residence; but I found this opinion on political grounds, and not on those about wealth.

Have not the circumstances to which you have alluded, as marking the character of society, which induce you to think that the residence of an Irish gentleman amongst his tenantry is not likely to be attended by any good moral effect, in a great degree resulted from the state of society which has been formed in consequence of the absence of the real proprietors of the soil?—It may have in some small degree resulted from that, but the actual state of society in Ireland has, I think, resulted much more from other causes.

What are those other causes?—I should think it had resulted more from political causes than any thing else. The great proprietors of the soil of Ireland have been Protestants, and have been imbued with all the prejudices of the Protestant sect against the great majority of the people who live upon their estates, and, in fact, against the great majority of the people of the country; and having those prejudices, I think Ireland has not, upon the whole, lost a great deal by their non-residence.

What class of proprietors do you believe has in general usurped or occupied the places of those who would have been the natural chiefs of society?—I think Lord Clare states, in his speech on the 1st (I forget the precise words), that a large proportion of Ireland, about sixths of the country, had been confiscated in the course of the century end-

ing with the reign of William the Third; and, of course, if that confiscation had not taken place, the great bulk of the property would have been in the hands of the descendants of those whose estates were confiscated. Had the majority of the landlords been Catholics, I should think they would have treated their tenants and the lower people better than Protestant landlords could be supposed to do. ●

In looking to the causes of the prosperity of countries, in what degree has, what is generally called the landed interest, contributed to it?—It would be very difficult to answer that question with precision; I think, however, that almost all great improvements in every country have originated among merchants and manufacturers.

In respect to capital, and the influence of capital in extending industry, and employing the people, and making that profit which leads to the general wealth of a country, what would you say has been the usual process by which countries have changed from a state of poverty to a state of wealth and civilization?—I should say that the history of Europe proves that the progress of countries in wealth and civilization has been more promoted by the accumulation of capital made by manufacturers and merchants, and by their skill and enterprise, than by the same qualities on the part of the landlords.

Adverting to what you stated some time ago, supposing that capital was to be drawn from England, and advantageously employed in Ireland, in manufactures, would it not result from the answer you have just given, that it would contribute greatly to the improvement of Ireland?—If it can be advantageously employed in Ireland, it will go there without any legislative measures being necessary to force it; and if not, it had better remain out of it.

Supposing it should go there without any forcing measures, but from natural causes, and to be advantageously employed, would it not greatly increase the comfort and happiness of the people?—Unquestionably; if it goes there from natural causes, without being forced, and goes in any considerable quantity.

Without attempting to force it, would it not be wise in the Legislature to give every facility and encouragement in their power to the tendency of capital to go there?—It would be wise in them to give every facility, (not every encouragement), by removing all obstacles standing in the way of its natural transfer.

In your opinion, may not the want of security contribute to obstruct that accumulation of capital in Ireland?—I think

that is one of the most powerful causes that prevent the transfer of capital from England to Ireland.

Does any instance occur in other countries of capital having accumulated to a great extent, where the principle of security of property was not fully established?—There is no instance, I believe, in the history of the world, in which capital has been accumulated to any extent in any country in which there was not a very considerable degree of security of property, and every additional degree of insecurity that has occurred, has had a uniform tendency to diminish the amount of capital.

Then any legislative measures that would contribute directly to render more perfect the security of property in Ireland, must naturally be essential, not only to the great object of obtaining capital, but consequently to increase the employment of the people?—Yes; every thing that can be done to increase the security of property, either in Ireland or any other country, must be in the last degree advantageous, and especially in a country in the condition of Ireland.

Judging from what you have had an opportunity of hearing and seeing with respect to Ireland, is it your opinion that the state of the laws that affect the different religious classes in that country, contributes to prevent the security of property being as perfect as it might be?—Yes; I should think these laws might be varied so as very much to increase the security of property.

It must be an obvious proposition, that the unsettled state of a great political question must detract from that security which would be an inducement to capitalists to invest property in that country?—Most undoubtedly.

Under the circumstances of Ireland, taking into consideration the probable increase of the people, and the probable increase of capital, is it your opinion that capital is likely to reach that amount that will be sufficient to give due employment to the people?—No; unless some change takes place in the political condition of Ireland, or in the management of landed property in it; I see no reason whatever to suppose that the condition of the people will ever be in the least degree improved.

Then it is necessary, in your opinion, in order to produce a proper ratio of capital to population, that besides doing every thing that can be done to increase capital, such measures ought to be adopted as would contribute to retard the present progress of population in that country?—I think if any measures could be

adopted to slacken the ratio of the progress of population, they would be advantageous to the community.

Looking to what may be considered to be the causes of the great increase of population in Ireland, can you suggest any measures that would in any degree contribute to retard that progress?—I should think that the abolition, if it can be abolished, of the practice of sub-letting, without the consent of the landlord, would, by lessening the facilities for obtaining small patches of land, have a tendency to diminish the ratio of the progress of population; I should also think that the taking away every artificial or political inducement from the landlords to multiply their tenants, and to subdivide their farms, would, so far as it went, be extremely advantageous; and it appears to me, that the establishment of schools wherein you had a proper system of education, and wherein you taught the children of the poor what are the circumstances on which their condition in life must ever depend, and impressed upon them the necessity of trusting to themselves, and not to others, for their comforts and enjoyments, would effect a material change in the habits of the people; and if you were to make a system of emigration carried on by government come in aid of those measures, it would also operate beneficially.

You have alluded to the system of sub-letting; are you aware of the law of landlord and tenant in Ireland?—I understand, speaking generally, that it is the same as the English law.

Are you aware of the practice of the sub-letting, to the extent to which it prevails in Ireland?—I am only aware of it so far as I have read books, and read the evidence given by some gentlemen here upon that subject.

You are aware, of course, that the very circumstance of the sub-letting, and the multiplication of the number of tenants, as well as the impoverished circumstances of those who hold lands, makes the enforcing of covenants, such as prevail in this country with respect to sub-letting, very difficult in Ireland?—Yes, I am aware that is the case.

Do you not believe that a great part of the mischief, which you state in your opinion to exist in Ireland with respect to the management of property, particularly in this sub-letting, and the consequent multiplication of tenures, has resulted from the proprietor of the soil being in most instances, or in many instances, an absentee, and the management of the property having been devolved upon those who have not so great an interest in its permanent administration?—I think it

results more from the bad system of law, and its administration, than from the circumstance of the landlords being absentees. The landlords who have been absentees have generally resided in England, where they must have seen a much better system of things practised than ever was practised in Ireland; and if they were not altogether insensible to experience, they would be struck with the advantage of this state of things, and would be more inclined to introduce it into Ireland, than they could have been if they had lived at home. The existing Irish system seems to have continued from the time of Sir John Davies downwards.

The absentee proprietor having leased his land for a long term of years, has no longer the management or administration of it; then if the mal-administration of the property arise from its being in the hands of those who have not a permanent interest in its being properly administered, do you not conceive that many of those mischiefs are in fact the result of the absentee system?—I do not know that the letting farms on interminable leases was occasioned by the absentee system; and, besides, the person who gets an interminable lease is to all intents and purposes the proprietor of the soil; he is the landlord; and if he is not non-resident, you cannot say the landlord is non-resident. A person who gets £2,000 a-year of quit rents from an estate that is worth £10,000 a-year, I do not consider as its proprietor, but I consider the holder of the lease as the proprietor.

Is that a large class of absentees from Ireland?—I believe it is.

Do not you believe a much larger class is that of those whose estates are not leased interminably, though leased for a longer period than is the practice of leasing estates in this country?—I should say, that the circumstance of these persons living in England must make them more aware of a better mode of managing land than they could have been if they had lived in Ireland. If they have the power of managing their estates, I should therefore think they would manage them better, from having lived in England than having lived in Ireland: I believe the best managed estates in Ireland are those that belong to absentee English landlords.

If the absentee proprietor has leased his estate, as has been the general practice in Ireland, on leases for lives on a term, for instance, of three lives or more, but not interminably, and the administration of his property has, by that means, passed out of his own hands, must not many of the mischiefs of sub-letting, and

others which have been referred to by you, be ascribed to his having become an absentee, and having leased his property in that manner?—That would entirely depend upon the nature of the covenants in the lease that this landlord had granted to the persons who were to be his tenants; if he had let his estate without any covenants, binding his tenants to any particular mode of cultivating it, they would equally be able to follow their own judgment in the management of that estate, whether he had lived in Ireland or England; if he does put covenants in his lease, then if the system of law in Ireland be worth any thing, he can enforce those covenants wherever he lives.

Are you aware that it has been the practice, in fact, till within late years, for estates to be let to persons called middlemen, who have become the lessees of very large tracts of extensive estates, and have had committed to them the whole administration of the property, by becoming lessees under the property?—I am aware of that.

Do you believe it has ever been the usage for any landlord, letting a whole estate in that manner, to provide, by covenants, for the mode of cultivation?—I am not aware whether the fact has or has not been so; but if the landlords do not insert covenants in their leases, or if the law of the country be inadequate to enforce them, you cannot ascribe that to the circumstance of their being absentees. If a man were to let me a farm without any covenant in the lease, I should manage it just as I pleased, whether he lived in the next house, or a thousand miles off.

If the inducement to let land in that way is to have one responsible tenant, instead of dealing directly with the whole of the population, is not every mismanagement that results from such a mode of letting to be ascribed to the landlord being an absentee?—No; if the landlord staid at home, and chose himself to take the trouble of over-seeing all his inferior tenants and looking after them, then of course that would avoid the necessity of having middlemen; but if he does not do that, and lets his estate to a middleman without putting any covenants in his lease, then he cannot turn round and exclaim against the middleman for putting his estate into a bad state, when he had the means of preventing that in his own hand.

Is not absenteeism the cause of the middlemen system?—I do not think it is absenteeism that is the cause of it; I think it originated in the difficulty of finding tenants possessed of capital suffi-

cient for the working of large tracts of land, and the disinclination which every gentleman must have, to go and supervise the proceedings of a parcel of small occupiers. I have no idea you would diminish the number of middlemen materially, though you had no absentees.

Would it be possible for an absentee to deal, directly or individually, with his tenantry, if he had not the means afforded him of letting large tracts to one person, that was responsible to him?—He might deal with them through the intervention of an agent. If he does not chuse to employ a middleman, he can employ an agent; and it is only because he finds that middlemen are more advantageous than agents, that he resorts to them in preference.

May not what he may deem most advantageous to himself, in its operation, entail very great misery upon the population?—Whatever may be its effect on the population, I do not see that the circumstance of his living at home would change it.

If he lived at home, would he not rather employ an agent than a middleman, which agent would take the trouble of superintending, being responsible to him, and residing upon the spot?—I can see no cause why, if he is an absentee, he should not employ an agent just as well as being resident.

Is not there a degree of trust and confidence required in the employment of an agent, which an absent landlord would not so readily repose as a resident one?—There is a great degree of trust reposed in the employment of a middleman; I should think, fully as much as in the employment of an agent. If you let your estate to a middleman, and he gets the rents levied from the small tenants, and then happens to become bankrupt, you will be exposed to as much loss as you would be had your agent chosen not to remit your rents.

In the case of a middleman, the middleman has a decided and positive interest, and the interest of the middleman and the interest of the landlord may be the same, whereas the agent has no interest?—I think every agent has a very great interest in properly managing the estate entrusted to his care.

He has not the same interest as the landlord?—I think the agent would have as much interest to behave well as the middleman.

The interest the middleman would have to behave in a trust-worthy manner will depend upon the bargain he made for the rent of his land?—It would be like the interest of any other occupier of

land, to hold that land so as to make the greatest possible quantity of profit out of it.

And therefore he may have an interest materially conflicting with the interest of the person who has a more permanent possession in it?—Yes; but then the landlord may employ an agent.

But if the sub-letting, and the consequent multiplication of tenants, were beneficial to him who had only a transitory possession, would not the encouragement of such a system be prejudicial to the landlord who had the permanent right and the reversionary interest?—I think it would; but then if the landlord lets the farm to a middleman, knowing that system may be acted upon, and does not take the trouble to put a clause into the lease to prevent it, he has no right to complain of the middleman; and if the landlord is so very stupid as that, you cannot suppose the condition of the estate would be improved by his living upon it.

Besides this practice of sub-letting, are you aware that there is a practice of dividing land by will amongst the children of tenants?—Yes.

Under such circumstances, the effect being to increase the number of people so much, are you of opinion that it would be desirable to interfere, by altering the law so as to put an effectual stop to this common practice of sub-letting and dividing by will amongst the children of tenants?—Yes, I am decidedly of opinion it would be most advantageous to make leases real property; and to make them descend only to the heirs at law of the person who took the lease, to the exclusion of all other individuals whatever.

Taking it for granted that the powers of landlords are now deficient in preventing the sub-letting of farms, would you propose that sufficient power should be given to them to put a stop to the practice?—Undoubtedly; I should think the granting of such power would be highly advantageous to Ireland.

Do you think that measures of this description would have any considerable effect in checking the progress of population?—Yes; I have no doubt they would have a very powerful effect; I believe the extraordinary increase in the population of Ireland has been chiefly promoted by the facility with which they have obtained small patches of land, and by the circumstance of an occupier being allowed to divide his farm equally amongst his children in the event of his death.

Do you attribute much of it to the habit of early marriage?—Yes, some; but that habit of early marriage has grown out of the circumstance of the means of subsistence being easily obtained; if the

means of subsistence had been as difficult to obtain in Ireland as in England, you would have had the same habit of late marriage.

Do you attribute it all to the practice of voting out of so low a qualification as a 40s. freehold in Ireland?—From all I have been able to learn upon the subject, I think that the way in which 40s. freeholds have been created in Ireland since 1792, has had a very great effect in increasing the population, and in causing the misery of the country.

You have stated, among other matters that would tend to improve the condition of the lower classes in Ireland, the establishment of schools upon a good principle, and emigration; will you have the goodness to state to the Committee to what extent you think emigration could be employed, and how it could be most beneficially encouraged?—It would be impossible to state the extent to which it might be carried, without knowing what sum Government would be willing to lay out in defraying the expenses of carrying it on, but I should conceive it might be carried on to a very great extent; and if it were combined with those plans previously stated, for preventing the splitting of farms, and giving the landlords more power over their estates, and with a plan for disfranchising the 40s. freeholders, and taking away all temptation to multiply the people in that way, the vacuum you might create by emigration would not be filled up, and you would undoubtedly improve the condition of the people; but the expenditure of money on emigration by itself would be entailing an useless expense upon the country. It is a measure which would be useful only when combined with such other measures as might have an effect to prevent the vacuum that it might cause in the population from being filled up.

Besides those direct measures that may contribute to check the progress of population, might not the principle of moral restraint be introduced in Ireland, by adopting proper measures to cultivate it?—Yes; by introducing a good system of education, and explaining to the children of the poor the principles which determine the extent to which they shall be able to command the necessities and conveniences of life, you would improve their habits.

Have you looked to its elevating their minds, and making them have a higher feeling of self-respect?—It would partly operate in that way; and it would, by making them clearly aware of the causes of their poverty, enable them to guard against them.

Do you look to its removing habits of improvidence, with respect to early marriage?—Undoubtedly it would tend to check those habits.

Are you of opinion that a reform of this description might be carried to any considerable extent, so as to produce consequences of valuable operation over the whole people?—I am quite convinced, that by establishing a universal system of instruction, or by establishing parish schools in such a way as that there should be no great class of people prevented from attending them by any religious scruples, you might introduce into those schools books teaching the plain and elementary principles about population and wages, in such a way as that they would be readily enough understood by the children there.

You would teach them that their condition depended upon the wages they could earn, and that those wages depended upon the proportion which their numbers bore to the numbers that were in demand, to be employed?—To be sure, I would shew them that clearly.

In other words, do you mean that you would introduce into those parocinal schools, books containing the elementary principles of political economy?—Not the elementary principles of political economy, but merely the elementary principles which shew how wages are determined, or on what the condition of the poor must depend.

Do you think the poor would comprehend them?—I do not think they would be nearly so difficult to understand, as many books that are very commonly taught in the Scotch parish schools.

What books do you allude to, as being used in the Scotch schools?—I allude to those books teaching what are called Practical Mathematics; as land-surveying and mensuration, trigonometry, and so forth; I conceive those to be more difficult to understand, than the principles that govern the rate of wages.

Do you conceive that those books are studied generally by the children of the poor in Scotland, that attend those schools, or only by those who intend to make a practical use of them?—They are not very generally studied; but those that study them, find very little difficulty in comprehending them; and I should think they are more difficult to understand than books containing the elementary principles of wages might be made.

Your opinion is, that, as you find in Scotland the children able to comprehend those books of practical mathematics, they would be equally well able to comprehend the books you have suggested, relating to the doctrine of wages?—I

have not the least doubt they could comprehend them.

Have the political circumstances under which the lower orders of a people live any considerable influence, in your opinion, in forming that habit of mind that keeps them in a depressed state?—Yes, I think they have; I think that the political circumstances under which the mass of the Irish population are placed, have a very strong tendency to keep them in a degraded situation.

Do you conceive that it operates so as to discourage that natural effort that every man is disposed to make, to better his condition?—I conceive that the political situation of the great body of the Irish poor has a tendency to degrade them in their own estimation, and to render them inclined to put up with a less standard of comfort than they would be disposed to put up with, were they in a higher political condition.

If their political condition was so altered as to take away that sort of debasement of mind which may be supposed to exist at present, do you calculate upon any very general advantage being derived from it?—Yes, I think it would have a very considerable tendency to elevate the opinions of the lower classes as to what was necessary to their comfortable existence; and that, if combined with the other measures I have been alluding to, it would have a very powerful influence indeed.

Has not the political condition of the people, as to the enjoyment of civil rights, a considerable influence in leading the labouring class to make a bad use, or a good use, of the opportunities that they may have of acquiring higher wages?—Every thing that tends to degrade a man in his own estimation has a tendency to prevent him from rising in the world; and every thing that tends to make him believe that he is prevented from rising in the world, has a tendency to make him less industrious than he otherwise would be, and less provident.

Supposing the demand for labour was to increase in Ireland, so that a higher rate of wages was given for it, is it not probable that those wages would be expended, under the existing political circumstances of Ireland, rather in gratifying passions than in increasing the comforts of the people that receive them?—If the rise of wages was gradual and permanent, and the security of property sufficient, which can hardly be the case under the existing political circumstances of the country, I should think it would, at no distant period, rather go to increase their comforts and improve the condition of their fami-

lies, than be spent in any sort of dissipation.

Would not that application of the higher wages be much forwarded by raising the temper of their feelings, by elevating them in their political condition?—Undoubtedly it would.

Then any measures that would take away the feeling of inferiority among the great mass of the people, would contribute, in your opinion, to produce that reformed habit amongst them, that would lead them to take advantage of any opportunities they might have to turn their time to a proper account?—Yes, I think that any thing that would tend to lessen any feeling of debasement or degradation would have a tendency to elevate them, and to improve their habits generally, and to make them aspire to a higher situation in life.

And to render that common principle amongst mankind more active in Ireland, of each individual attempting to better his condition?—More active among them than if they continue under the circumstances that have been described.

Have you ever considered whether the introduction of poor laws in Ireland would be beneficial?—I have attended to the subject generally.

Under the circumstances of the people of that country, do you think it could be productive of any advantage to them?—It would be productive of immediate advantage to them, that I think is quite plain; but that it would be productive of ultimate ruin, I think is also quite certain.

Supposing the principle of compulsory relief, introduced as it exists in England, what would you contemplate as the probable operation of it, with regard to the number of persons that would apply to be relieved, and as the general consequences of it?—I should contemplate, as the ultimate result of the introduction of a compulsory provision for the poor in a country like Ireland, that if you were to allow all the present causes of degradation, and of excessive increase of numbers to continue to exist, and to introduce that system, that in a very few years it would eat up and destroy the whole capital of the country; that it would increase the population very much in the interim; and that it would, after destroying the whole capital of the country, fill it with an infinitely greater number of beggars than are now in it.

Is it your opinion, that it would operate directly to encourage still more the increase of the population? Most certainly.

• If, instead of putting it upon the Eng-
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lish system, the compulsory provision were confined only to the relief of the aged and infirm, would it necessarily tend to increase the population, and might it not be a great relief to the poor?—It would tend much less to increase the population when thus limited, than if it were introduced generally as a means of providing for all that could not find employment; but even in the case that is supposed, I should think it would tend to increase the population, because, as matters now stand, a man, if he has any forethought at all, sees, that unless he provides some small sum against sickness and old age, he must be left quite destitute; and if the State provides for him, you take away that motive from him to be industrious.

What is the effect of the labouring class in Ireland being principally fed on potatoes, on their wages?—The wages of labour in every country are principally regulated by the sort of food that the people live on; if they live on wheat-en bread, their wages will be chiefly regulated by the price of wheat; if they live upon potatoes, they will be chiefly regulated by the price of potatoes; and, therefore, in Ireland, where they feed on potatoes, wages must be very low, as compared with those countries where they feed on wheat.

Can a workman, whose wages are chiefly regulated by the price of potatoes, resort to any other article in the event of their becoming deficient?—He cannot resort to any sort of food that is dearer than potatoes; and as every other species of food that is cultivated in Europe is dearer than potatoes, I do not see how he can resort to any other.

Is it the lowest possible class of food?—It is the lowest that has hitherto been raised in Europe.

Then, in case of any great deficiency in the potatoe crop occurring in consequence of a bad season, what is the probable effect that it would produce under the present circumstances of the very great population of Ireland?—Inasmuch as the population could resort to no other species of food, the probability, or rather one should say, the certainty is, that if the deficiency were very considerable, the population would be reduced to a state of absolute famine.

Of course that danger is now greater than it has been at any former period, in consequence of the great increase of the people?—Undoubtedly, the danger of famine is greatly increased.

Can you explain what are the circumstances that lead a people to adopt the particular kind of food they form the

habit of living upon?—It would be very difficult to determine that upon any general principle; it depends so much on different circumstances, as applied to different countries. I should think that where the mass of the inhabitants are involved in a state of political degradation, or where very heavy taxes press on the principal comforts and conveniences of life, that are usually in demand by labourers, there would be a strong tendency, unless there was a very extraordinary demand for labour, to reduce the labourers to the lowest species of food.

Are there facts to be got at to explain the progress by which the people of England have come to the habit of eating white wheaten bread?—I do not know that the history of the poor of England could be very well made out in all respects; but I believe that in England there have been many clogs interposed to the progress of population; the law of settlement, by throwing difficulties in the way of obtaining a residence, has tended greatly to counteract the increase of population: a law was also enacted in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that prevented any cottage being erected, except with a certain number of acres of land being attached to it; and in addition, the people of England have had great political privileges, they have been of the same religious faith as their rulers, and have been tolerably well educated, so that their tone of feeling has been raised infinitely higher than that of the people of Ireland: putting all these things, and many more that might be mentioned together, one is not at all surprised that they are vastly more prosperous than the people of Ireland.

Then the effect of all those circumstances is to increase the real wages they receive, and thereby to enable them to live in a very superior condition to the people of other countries?—Their effect is to increase the quantity of necessaries and conveniences that they obtain.

Have you taken into consideration what might be the probable effect of the extension of agricultural capital in Ireland, in retarding the progress of population?—I think that the increase of agricultural capital in Ireland would give the opportunity and the means of consolidating farms, where landlords were disposed to avail themselves of them.

Would it not be a matter of more advantage to the farmer, supposing, that he had the power of underletting, to farm the land in preference to underletting it?—I should think, that if the farmer, had abundance of capital, so as to be able to work his farm in the most

advantageous way, it would be better for him not to underlet it; because, if he lessen the extent of his farm, he would not be able to work it in the most advantageous way.

Has any thing occurred in Scotland, that illustrates the operation of the increase of agricultural capital in a country?—The size of farms in Scotland has increased precisely in proportion to the increase of the wealth of the country: but then there has been no principle in Scotland that went to counteract that natural tendency to increase farms. When two or three small Scotch farms are consolidated into one, they never can be again divided, except by the consent of the landlord; whereas, in a country where leases are made personal property, and assignable, a farm may be, and in fact very frequently is, divided into as many portions as the farmer has children; so that you have no security, whether it shall continue consolidated or not.

At a former period, were not the vallies in the Highlands much more populous than they are at present?—I believe they were.

Has the system of letting farms had any great effect in producing a change, with respect to that population?—According as capital has been increased in Scotland, or according to the increase of the capital that has been devoted to agricultural purposes, small farms have been consolidated, and the people have been driven to villages and towns: and there can be no doubt, that the condition of the country has been prodigiously improved in consequence.

By comparing the former population returns of the Highland counties of Scotland, with what they were last time the census was taken, does any great diminution appear?—No; the population is generally increased, upon an average of the country.

But the population of the vallies you think is diminished?—I think the population of most of the vallies is diminished.

In point of fact, were not a great number of the small tenants turned out from their old occupations, throughout the whole of the Highlands?—Yes, throughout the greater portion of the Highlands; but then the villages have increased, and there has been a great increase of wealth throughout the whole country.

Are those villages new villages, or old ones?—Some are new; and others, that are old, have been augmented.

Has it not been the wish of most of

the Highland proprietors, who have changed the state of their occupations, to establish towns and villages upon fishing stations, and to encourage their tenants to remove to them?—I believe it has.

Have you any apprehensions of any bad effects arising from a great number of Irish labourers coming over to England and Scotland, to look for employment, and settle themselves?—Yes, I have very serious apprehensions, in so far as respects the injurious operation of their competition upon the state of British labourers.

Are you able to communicate to the Committee any facts respecting the emigration of Irish labourers into Scotland?

—Yes. According to the last census, there were about 25,000 natives of Ireland in Glasgow; and they operate injuriously upon the British labourers in two ways: *first*, they operate to reduce their wages by the increased number of the labourers brought into market, and the greater competition there is for employment; and, *second*, they operate in another way, by the example they set to the English and Scotch labourers; they consent to live on an infinitely lower standard of wages than they have been accustomed to; so that they teach them that it is possible for people to exist, and be tolerably comfortable, so far at least as animal spirits go, upon a much lower scale of wages.

Has this taken place considerably in the west of Scotland?—It has taken place to a great extent in the west of Scotland. I do not know that any such serious mischief ever was inflicted on the west of Scotland, as has been done to it by the Irish labourers that have come over within the last ten or fifteen years.

Are you apprehensive that the Irish labourers have been induced to come to England, on account of the provision made for persons by the poor laws?—I should think that would be an additional inducement to them to come.

Supposing the population to go on increasing, in the way it seems likely to do, do you think it probable that the habit of emigration from Ireland into Britain will increase considerably?—I think the habit of emigration from Ireland into Great Britain has no tendency whatever to lower the amount of population in Ireland; it merely stimulates the principle of population there, by making an additional outlet for the inhabitants.

If the population goes on increasing, at the rate at which it seems to go on, will not Great Britain be the natural outlet for the surplus of it to come to?—Most certainly. If you establish a perfectly easy

communication between the two countries, you must lay your account with having the inhabitants of the one brought down, and those of the other raised to a common standard.

Then in proportion as the present impediments which exist, arising from prejudice or other causes, are removed, it is probable that much greater numbers will come over to Great Britain than as yet have come over?—I should consider, that according as the knowledge spreads in Ireland, of the state of the people of England and Scotland, compared to their own state, the emigrations will proportionably augment.

What may be taken as the average of daily wages of labour in England at present?—Without being very particularly informed on the subject, I should say from twentypence to two shillings a-day.

How can you account for the Irish being satisfied to live at home and earn only fourpence a-day, and not come over to England, where wages are so much higher?—There is a natural aversion, inherent in mankind, from leaving the place of their birth; and there is a considerable difficulty for a man that has only fourpence a-day to get as much money, little as it is, as will bring him over to England.

Has there been any tendency discovered amongst the Irish labourers, who have come over to this country, to assimilate their habits to those of the population among whom they come to reside?—Yes; I think there has certainly been an improvement in the condition of the Irish that have come over, as compared with their situation in their own country; those that have been established for two or three years in Britain, are certainly better; but there has been a proportionable deterioration in the condition of the Scotch and English labourers, in the districts that are principally inundated with Irish.

Supposing the natural aversion to quit their homes, and the difficulty of transportation to be removed, is there any reason to doubt that the Irish will come over to the amount of even millions to this country?—If you take away the natural aversion from emigration, and the difficulty of getting over to Britain, I do not conceive there is any Irishman such a fool as to remain another day in Ireland.

May not the circumstances of Ireland shortly come to be such, with regard to the superabundance of people, as to lead every person that has the means, to contribute to assist in bringing about a considerable emigration from Ireland to

England?—It might be advantageous for rich people in Ireland to adopt means for sending people out of the country, and for preventing the blank that was made by those going to Britain from being filled up.

Then in proportion as the facilities of communication are increased between the two countries by steam-boats and otherwise, and as national prejudices are removed, this work of bringing together the labouring classes of the two countries will go forward so as to introduce, to a certain degree, an equality of the wages of labour?—That is its obvious tendency: every increased facility of communication between the two countries has a tendency to bring about such an equalization; and I think, that in the circumstances of the case, it will be more likely to be brought about by the degradation of English labourers, than by the elevation of those of Ireland.

Is it consistent with your knowledge, that in Scotland the influx of Irish has been so considerable as to create disturbances, and a desire to resist their settlement on the part of the people among whom they came to settle?—I believe it has in some instances; but on the whole, I do not think that feeling has been so strongly manifested as one might be inclined to expect *a priori*.

Has it manifested itself at all in Edinburgh?—I am not aware that it has.

Have the Irish acquired, to any great degree, upon the west coast of Scotland, possession of the lower occupations of the people?—Yes, they have; they are employed almost exclusively in making ditches and cutting drains, and in carrying loads for masons; and generally in all servile occupations they are employed, to the nearly total exclusion of the Scotch labourers.

If from any circumstances they become impotent, do they meet with any relief in Scotland?—That question is in dependence in the Court of Session at this moment.

Is the practice of the Irish coming over to Scotland going on at present?—Not having been in Scotland very lately, I do not know what it is since the steam-boats began to ply this season; but it was never carried to such an extent as last year.

Do the Irish remain and settle in Scotland, or do they go back to Ireland?—Some of them go back, but a vast number of them settle.

How do the Irish labourers conduct themselves in Scotland?—I think upon the whole I should say well. Occasionally they have fights and brawls in coun-

try towns upon fair-days; and they have once or twice attempted Orange processions in Glasgow, but upon the average I should certainly say they behaved themselves well.

Do you think the emigration is chiefly of Protestants?—No; an immense Catholic chapel has been built at Glasgow, which is chiefly filled by Catholic emigrants; I think that the proportion of Catholics coming to Britain is quite as great, compared to the Protestants, as the proportion of the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland is to the Protestant inhabitants.

Is it not much greater, from the circumstance of the lower orders of Catholics being in so much worse a condition than the lower orders of Protestants in Ireland?—I should think it is greater; but it is impossible to speak on such a point with precision.

Have you seen the Report of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland?—Yes, I have.

Have you read at the end of it, the returns that have been made of the number of children educated in Ireland; one made by the Protestant clergy, and another by the Catholic clergy?—Yes; I have copied those returns.

Have you examined them so as to see what the average numbers are according to those two returns?—I have.

Having in this way obtained a knowledge of the fact of the number of children of each persuasion that are educated, does not this fact afford an opportunity of making such calculations as will lead to a tolerably exact knowledge of the relative proportion that the Protestant population bears to the Catholic population?—Yes; if the returns are accurate, a very near approximation may be made to it.

Supposing due allowances to be made for the circumstances of the Protestants and the Catholics, according to their respective condition in society, may not such a calculation be now made, according to

known rules, and tables of population, as will produce nearly accurate results?—If due allowance is made for the different degrees to which the children of Protestants and Catholics are educated, and if the returns given in that Report be accurate, one may draw a pretty near conclusion.

Is it not taken as a rule, that the educated children of a country consist of those between the age of seven and thirteen years?—Those that are fit for school are generally ranked between the age of seven and thirteen years.

Particularly for that elementary education which is the common education of a country?—I mean that.

What proportion of a whole population, according to the tables that are current, and acknowledged to be accurate, will the population between seven and thirteen years of age bear to the whole population?—According to the Breslau Tables, which are of very considerable authority, there is about a *ninth* of the population between the age of seven and thirteen.

Do you know what proportion of the population of Scotland are educated?—According to the last census, the proportion of people in Scotland, between seven and thirteen, would be between a ninth and a tenth of the whole population, and according to returns of the educated part, it is one tenth.

Supposing the Protestants of Ireland, who are a body of superior condition, possessing so much of the landed property, filling all the professions nearly, and a great part of the trades, were educated to the same extent as the people of Scotland, one tenth may be assumed to be the proportion that are educated?—Yes.

Can you give the Committee a calculation, showing what, in your opinion, might be considered the relative proportions of Catholics and Protestants in Ireland?—I have made the following calculation, upon the returns in the Education Report.

Number of Children educated in Ireland according to the Statement in the Report of the Commissioners on Education, p. 101.

	By the Protestant Returns.	By the Catholic Returns.	Mean.
Children of the Established Church	91,096	83,180	87,103
— of Presbyterians.....	43,236	33,709	38,472
— of Protestants of other denominations.....	3,308	3,794	3,551
— of Roman Catholics.....	357,249	397,212	377,230
— of Parents whose reli- gion is not stated.....	3,822	4,121	3,971
	498,641	522,516	510,328

Now, as the Protestants of the Established Church fill almost every situation of power and emolument, and are for the most part much above the condition of labourers, they may be considered as being all, or very nearly all, educated; and in such circumstances the proportion of the children at school, to the whole Protestant population of the Established Church, should be taken at about 1-10th *, multiplying, therefore, 87,103 by 10, it will give the amount of that population,.....	871,030
And taking the proportion of Presbyterian children at school at 1-12th of the entire population, and multiplying 38,472 by 12, it will make the number of Presbyterians.....	461,664
The proportion of educated Protestants of other denominations, taken also at 1-12th, will make their number.....	42,612
And taking half the children at school, whose religion is not stated, as Protestants, the same proportion of 1-12th to the whole number, will make it.....	23,820
So that on the bases here assumed, the entire Protestant population of Ireland will amount to.....	1,399,126
The census of 1821 made the total population of Ireland 6,801,827. The increase from 1821 to 1824, the year when the above returns were made, may, I think, be taken at about 200,000 a-year, on the hypothesis that the population has continued to increase since 1821 as rapidly as it did from 1810 to 1821, and according to the calculation of the tables of Population; and this increase being added to the population in 1821, would make the population in 1824.....	7,401,827
From which, deducting the Protestants, there remains the Catholic population of Ireland.....	6,002,701

N. B. This shows that the number of Catholic children at school amounts to 1-16th of the Catholic population; a proportion which, on other grounds, I should be inclined to think very near the truth, or perhaps a little too high.

This proportion of Catholics to Protestants, of 6,002,701 to 1,399,126, is nearly as 14 to 1.

SKETCHES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 2125.

[The following communication has been sent to us by a correspondent, who is very evidently "unhacknied in the ways of writing." He has laid before us a copy, as faithful as his memory could present to him, of the existing state of the British Empire three hundred years hence, as it was delineated to him in the visions of the night by the pen of a wise newspaper editor of 2125. The lucubrations were said to have been written on the day when a great triennial assembly was held in London, of deputies and others from all those nations who then acknowledged (will acknowledge) England as their great parent. This editorial sketch displays considerable vigour of fancy, and, above all, warmly philanthropic feelings. Anticipations of the power which man is destined to acquire, by means of machinery, over the inert and apparently unconquerable resistance opposed to his will by the force of matter, form not the least remarkable feature in these dreams of a future and a better state of things in this world. These anticipations, we have no doubt, are destined to be realised even sooner than the twenty-second century.—*Enter Editor.*]

London, 29th June 2125.

It is a useful principle of our nature which, on such anniversaries as this, suggests to us a retrospect of the past, and an anticipation of the future. The most unphilosophical love sometimes to recal the experience, of former ages, and the least imaginative sometimes suffer themselves to picture the future prospects

of the world. To man, even when the present moment is the sole object of his cares, its enjoyments seldom afford substantial happiness, and the sensualist will sometimes flee from the seductions of immorality, to trace a happier existence, when Reason shall have assumed her dominion, or the blandishments of Pleasure shall have become stale.

* The British Tables make the children between 7 and 15 years of age, 1-9th of the entire population, but this is believed to be rather too great a proportion. In Scotland, the children at school, and in the course of being educated, amount to between 1-9th and 1-10th of the population.

But spontaneously as such reflections arise in the liberal mind, there seems to be no time so well adapted for suggesting them, as the solemnization of this great festival of goodwill, in which we commemorate the improvements wrought by our forefathers, and bend the united energies of the English mind still further, to advance the happiness of our brethren and the merits of our lineage. We therefore crave our readers' indulgence, while upon this festal day we detain them for a short time, to ascertain the degree in which our own age is virtuous and enlightened, by comparing it with former times, and to take a few glimpses of what further improvements our descendants may achieve.

And on entering on the investigation of the moral condition of the people, let not our readers be startled with the prospect of a long and tedious enquiry into the vices and virtues of the age. Instead of making our investigations a running commentary on the decalogue, we shall follow the shorter and more philosophical course, of searching into the springs of human action, and displaying the code of law which regulates the social intercourse of man.

Had some seer, in the nineteenth century, announced to his contemporaries, that in the twenty-second, Acts of Parliament would almost have ceased to be promulgated, and that courts of justice would be rarely resorted to, his predictions would either have emulated the fate of Cassandra's, or would have raised in the hearts of our ancestors emotions of pity for their miserable progeny. And justly called for indeed would that pity have been, had the prophet not foreseen that the great change which he predicted was not to be the effect of despot sway, or intestine commotion, or foreign war, but the natural result of polished manners and Christian principles.

In the infant stages of society, the laws are few and simple. Social intercourse, indeed, has not then received the numberless ramifications which grow from improvement in the arts, and the extension of commerce. The morals, too, of the people are more pure. Those conspicuous vices which it is the province, perhaps

the pride of history, to record, flourish as much in the age of hunters and heroes as in the age of legislators; or if they differ, it is less in the vices themselves than in the varied dimensions of the arena where they are exhibited. Unprovoked war and national aggression prevailed, with equal vigour, in the times of Hercules and of Justinian. Yet the private intercourse of men with their neighbours was in these simple days much more kind than when political communities had increased in size and in refinement. The infrequent occurrence of litigation, and the common affection of the litigants for their chief—we doubt whether the experience of refinement will allow us to say their *consanguinity*—made his duty, for the most part, easy, and the exercise of his functions little else than an extension of the cares of his family. Yet even then it is not difficult to believe that legal chicanery would sometimes be attempted, and might sometimes be successful; and the moment when the notion came to prevail, that a regard for general principles of jurisprudence was to supersede that for the particular circumstances of private litigation, was the last in which a litigant chose to depend on the unsophisticated decision of his judge's heart. He immediately appealed to his head. The legislator was forced to multiply his edicts, and pick his expressions. To remember the laws became a difficult task for the memory,—to understand them required learning, and leisure, and ingenuity. A class of men arose, whose juridical attainments inspired the litigants with the hope of a vicarious conquest; and after a long but natural course of events, Ulpian and Justinian arose to enact, and Voet and Vinnius, by the courtesy of the Bar, to explain.

A state of society, regulated chiefly by positive enactment, must, to the most superficial observer, appear imperfect. The man who chooses to have his actions judged rather by the deductions of a skilful jurist, than by that law which nature and charity inscribe on his heart, embraces a principle which tends to stifle the voice of conscience; a principle which, if uncontrolled, would render civilized, different from savage life, only

as fraud is from physical force. Of such a state the unhappiness consists, not so much in errors of jurisprudential speculation, (for we must confess, that even in the voluminous tomes of Dutch commentators, little has been detected which cannot be reduced to natural law,) as in the sway which positive enactment has usurped over the mind. In this frame of society, it demands much conscientiousness, and much self-denial, to avoid the contagion of legal chicanery; and, instead of grasping at the advantage which unguarded expressions reach out to us, to look inward on our feelings of reciprocal justice—to do to our neighbour what we should expect him to do to us—and to remember that the *Prætor*, on his tribunal, may decree morally wrong, when he decrees civilly right.

As distempers in the body politic have a natural tendency to increase, the world would daily deteriorate, were there no counteracting principles at work. But such there are. Suavity of manners and pure religion weaken, and at length eradicate the disease. By their influence, (and of them the second acts powerfully on the first,) law-suits become less virulent, and then less frequent. The parties whose advocates are disputing keenly before the Judge, meet at the social board, and mix with kindness in the occupations or amusements of life. Feeling no rancour, they judge impartially of each other's situation, and at length discover, that a trivial or imaginary right is dearly bought, when its assertion is attended by mutual antipathy and harsh judgment.

The code of statutory law, then, has been succeeded by a much more agreeable and effectual rule of action. It unites with our nature, and therefore ensures its observance; for that man will surely do his duty, who *knows* that the neglect of it would be sinful, and *feels* that it would be unpleasant. To use, indeed, language which we should in vain attempt to imitate, "*Est hæc non scripta sed nata lex; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus; verum ex natura ipsa arripimus, hausimus, expressimus; ad quam non docti, sed facti; non instituti, sed imbuti sumus.*" How pleasing, and yet

how painful, to compare the happiness of these our days with the scenes which our fathers exhibited! There are now not as many statutes in force as one single session of a Parliament in the nineteenth century found it necessary to promulgate. And those which we have are short, simple, and intelligible; while, formerly, act followed on act, till the clearest principles of natural justice became dark and confused. Of the gloomy picture which the statute-book gives, the judicial reports present too faithful a reflection in conflicting precedents, in doubt and hesitation, in protracted litigation, and endless expense.

There is a period in the history of man, in which the remark of the solitary philosopher of Scythia is correct, who likened laws to cobwebs, —able to restrain the weak, but not to resist the force of the strong. At a subsequent epoch they may be compared to *puzzles*, whence an ingenious jurist may extricate himself, through loopholes unseen by the novice. Now a man who is powerful enough to break a statute, or ingenious enough to elude it, will never be degraded from his *caste*, for exerting his force or his talent. But neither of these failings are these laws subject, which derive their authority from the feelings, and their sanction from the practice of mankind. A firm Government will, even in rude times, prevent the laws from being despised with impunity by any of its subjects, merely because he is powerful; but no free state, nothing less than absolute and despotic monarchy, can prevent ingenuity from twisting them to its own purposes. The most upright Judge must pronounce that case good, in the acceptance of the written law, which the *lex non scripta sed nata* declares to be infamous: for the sake of general principle, it is his duty, as sitting in the seat of God, sometimes to inflict particular hardship. But the rules of action, which now regulate our intercourse, depend not on the nicety of the wording of a statute, or the correctness of the report of a precedent.

That state of society must be happy in which this latter code has force sufficient to bind the wills of men. It cannot, like the jurisprudence of

Justinian, take its rise in a corrupt age, or, like the decemviral enactments, be handed down from the days of simplicity to those of dissipation. Its sanction is, and can be nothing but the general feeling of mankind; and such a sanction cannot be applied where the state of public morals is vitiated. It follows, therefore, as an irresistible consequence, that we are a virtuous people; and national virtue, and national happiness, are as inseparable as the sun and his beams.

Thus it is, that in its state of highest improvement, legislation reflects the description which poets drew of the world in those days when they feigned that government had not commenced:

"Aurea prima sata est ætas, quæ vindice nullo,
Sponte sua sine lege, fidem rectumque colebat:
Pæna, metusque aberant; nec verba minacia, fixo
Ære legebantur; nec supplex turba timebat
Judicis ora sui; sed erant sine vindice tuti."

We cannot, indeed, boast of what he proceeds to extol, the *ver æternum*, and the *per se claus omnia tellus*; but we bask in the sunshining of Peace, and feast on the luxuries of Benevolence.

Such, then, is the progress which society has made in moral improvement; what degree of forwardness marks its progress in mental culture?

Every person who is familiar with literary history must have remarked, that while the advances of the mind towards perfection are irregular and fortuitous, they are also difficult to be ascertained. To some of the most soaring flights of genius, study and endeavour seem hostile: in these, Nature asserts her paramount dominion, and laughs at the labours of the schools. Is the *Iliad* the product of well-weighed theory and discriminating revision? Did Shakespeare study Aristotle? There are comets in the intellectual, as well as in the solar system; and the orbits of the former are still more eccentric than those of the latter. Their capricious movements, and nearer approaches to their centre, approve

their claim to a more favoured regard, and more intimate connection with their luminary, than those other satellites have, to whom he dispenses his beams with rigid regularity. To these erratic visitants of our solar system, the astronomer devotes a chapter, rather of admiration than of comment, and hastens to the familiar luminaries whose courses are ascertained by his skill. So is it with the observer of the intellectual sky. He admires the brilliant spirits, of whose appearances he can narrate only the time and the circumstances, and speeds to those wherewith custom and science have made him familiar.

It is, therefore, not in the solitary appearance of brilliant genius that we search for the materials of critical history, but in the more useful light of general knowledge and mental cultivation. And herein, too, we may hope that the world has been making a steady progress.

The revival of learning is justly attributed, in a high degree, to the noble invention of printing. But while we give our ancestors all praise for promoting, by means of this sublime art, the diffusion of knowledge, we lament that the manner of their doing so was not the best, though perhaps the most obvious. To make their pupils read, satisfied, for a long time, is the notions which the great majority of pedagogues had formed of their duty. Penmanship and arithmetic, from their use in the daily business of life, became gradually articles of academical commerce; but of these arts, as used by the mass of mankind, the effect on mental culture can never be very great. In vain, however, we explore the schools to which our forefathers sent their children, for that course of training which forms the paramount object of the modern tutor. When the boy could read his Bible, and say his catechism, he was held to lack no further tuition; and if, in the politer seminaries, the circle was more extensive, still it was little more than the same circle extended. The Universities themselves were not free from the defect; and those classes to which the young man was sent to perfect his habits of mental discipline, were too often the places where

these habits were to be acquired. The Professors of philosophy had to do what the schoolmasters ought to have done—to rear the tender thought, to teach the young idea how to shoot; but unfortunately they often found an unpropitious soil. The rising crop was tender, not from the early season, but from the long-neglected field, which, where it was not barren, was fruitful only in reeds and rushes. Thus education was, for the most part, unproductive of its legitimate fruit. Originally defective in design, it seldom attained completeness in execution.

The moderns have followed a different course, and with different success. To understand what is read—to trace the line of reasoning—to discover the coherence of thought and design—in one word, *logic* is the chief study of our ingenuous youth. The mind is trained to early habits of thinking. As soon as the celestial bud of reason sprouts forth, it is tended and watered with careful solicitude. The studies which invigorate the powers of the mind, and those in which these powers find most useful and pleasant exercise, are judiciously intermixed; and the delight which arises from the one, and the benefit which accrues from the other, afford mutual support and incitement.

The modern teacher conceives it his duty to make his pupil a good man and a useful member of society, as well as a good scholar. That their old charge could read his own language with rhetorical precision, and understood some others almost as well as his own, would now afford little gratification to the instructors, who could not discover prudence in his actions, and intelligence in his views.

Reading—the mere art of reading—is held to be one of the most efficient means towards the attainment of the great end of education, and not as the only means, far less as the end itself. Understandest thou what thou readest? is the frequent question of the teacher, and that his pupil may answer *yes*, his unceasing aim.

It is a necessary consequence of the advanced state of the arts, that general, has given way to professional

education. Much of the time which the lad spent on studies not closely connected with his destined profession, is now more properly devoted to such as facilitate his pursuit of “that whereby he attains his living.” Mechanics, chemistry, and, in a word, the arts, to which we are indebted for the comforts and conveniences of life, lead their possessors to affluence and distinction; and they are in a state of too great cultivation to prevent him to study them, by the bye, who purposes to make them his profession. Classical learning has thus suffered in its diffusion, but by no means in its genuine utility or proper cultivation. The boy who has spent the greater part of his early years in being whipped into a faculty of translating Virgil or Livy, and who shuts their pages for ever, when he gets *ultra vires* of the birchin sceptre, has in truth received from such an education no benefit commensurate with his lost time, or even with his corporal or pecuniary sufferings in the matter of chastisement. The habits acquired at school, of attention, subordination, and civility, are not confined to schools for Latin and Greek. They may be taught in seminaries where the instruction is such as will be useful, at least as well as in those where, in effect, it wants even the commendation of being ornamental. Classical learning has suffered nothing by the change. Every village schoolmaster, it is true, does not offer up his *rare nidor* from a rude unhewn altar of the Muses; but the Hunters, the Bloomfields, and the Porsons, still minister in their temples of Pentelican marble; and we esteem too highly the taste of these excellent ladies, to imagine that they regret the scanty oblations of unwilling and unsincere adorers.

The objection against the general study of the ancient, does not apply to that of the living languages. These are spoken by men whose pursuits, arts, and opinions, are congenious with our own; and the mechanician (to use a word which, however necessary, the authority even of Gibbon has not yet made familiar, the mechanician) who may acquire, without serious labour, a speech stored with useful treatises in

his own "art and mystery," will never hesitate to make the acquisition. The knowledge of the continental languages can scarcely be called an ornamental—it is a necessary part of every man's education. Our intercourse with foreigners, in consequence of those improvements which have contracted the surface of the globe, and made Rome adjacent to London, is so frequent and so close, that no man can, with the slightest comfort, continue ignorant of their idioms. The pardonable vanity of France, and the insular situation of England, retarded their progress in this respect, much more than that of their neighbours. In the nineteenth century, the Swiss farmer and the Dutch artificer were taught, by necessity, to use more languages than one, and the same necessity, by degrees, extended its influence to ourselves.

On such topics it were easy to enlarge; but when we recollect that we detain our indulgent readers from the festivities of a joyous anniversary, we bridle in our inclination. A few moments further we crave their indulgence, while we recal to their minds the improvements which have been made on "the conveniences of life."

And here, to descend to all the minute accommodations which, viewed singly, appear unworthy of notice, but, taken in the aggregate mass, are so conducive to our comfort, would be an endless task. We shall therefore mention only the application of mechanical ingenuity to the increase of the ease and expedition of travelling.

To some of our Zetland friends, who will peruse these lines in a few hours after they are carried from our desk, it may not have occurred, that in the days of their grandfathers, a voyage thence to London was a matter of serious deliberation. Half a century before their time, the mournings for your friend in Calcutta might have become shabby, before you knew that he was defunct. If we look on these times with a mixture of pity and contempt, what shall we think of the condition of our ancestors at an era still more remote? It is said that, to some of the Scottish Islands, the news of our Re-

volution in 1688 travelled so slowly, that their loyal natives were praying for the health and wealth of their most gracious sovereign, Lord King James, for many months after the piety of his daughter and his nephew had relieved him from the cares of a crown. Yet our worthy progenitors were happy in a condition which we would deem absolute barbarism. It is not the *negation*, but the *privation* of conveniences which distresses men.

Although the involuntary reflection of every day is, that we have attained the summit of improvement, yet the experience of every day exhibits to us some new invention, some new discovery. In the rapidity, rather than in the individual stride of its improvements, does each succeeding generation excel its precursors. Homer, we presume, would not have been sorry to have his existence retracted to the times which he has immortalized; but who among us could suffer the want of the conveniences which the last ten years have produced?

When we compare the refined feelings and advanced civilization of this age, with the condition of the world three centuries ago, we are confirmed in the hope of greater amelioration. The spring of the human mind is as elastic as ever, and its instruments and opportunities multiply every hour. We shall perhaps be placed among the dreamers, yet we cannot help saying, that our grandchildren may look back on us with pity, and marvel how, with so few accommodations, we could support the tedium of existence.

Improvement in the arts of life springs from a double source,—study, and that for which the poverty of language provides no other word than chance. Now, as the grasp of the intellect is not weakened nor contracted, we are undoubtedly as able as our ancestors were to turn to advantage the former of these, and to reap from it all the benefits of investigation and research. This spring, then, can never fail; to its course there are no limits. To the second, however, chance, we admit that, *in rerum naturâ*, there must be bounds somewhere; but who shall tell us where these boundaries lie? Has any traveller penetrated into

that unknown country sufficiently far to be able to discover its recesses, or to examine that order of things by which its seemingly unconnected achievements are directed? Long before its boundless storehouses are exhausted, the world may have deserted her track in the heavens, and the sun himself may have gone out. To this chance (including under it, lucky thought, as well as lucky accident) we owe the discovery of many of our most useful arts, and the improvement of others. Thus gunpowder, applied now no more to the destruction of man, but to his happiness and comfort, was the creature of accident. And thus in their signets, ninety generations had actually used the art of printing, before chance suggested to the doubtful Monk of Mentz, or citizen of Haerlem, to make those improvements on it, through which it stands forth the handmaid of religion, the propagator of knowledge, and the safeguard of freedom.

Thus, in the advancement of civilization, chance and study go hand in hand. We see them in their rise and in their progress, but we dare not, even in imagination, fix the end of their career. Speculatively, this will be granted: it is too obvious to be denied. But when one ventures to predict a time, of which the improvements shall so far excel those of the present, that our descendants may look back on us with somewhat of those feelings wherewith we regard what we call the rude ages, our pride is alarmed, and we consign the impertinent disturber of our repose to the ranks of those whose fancy outstrips their judgment. But why? Would his prediction contradict the analogy of history? If these *laudatores temporis instantis* know all the inventions and discoveries which are yet to be made, wherefore do they not communicate their benefits to the world? and if they do not know them, on what ground do they presume to stint their efficacy? Have they got a patent for ascertaining the value of discoveries which exist only in the womb of futurity? Let them look upon history, and see whether it ever was so. Did the stroller, Thespian, anticipate the age of Euripides? Did Romulus foresee the em-

pire of the Cæsar? Did he, the first of our rude progenitors, who, from the example of the little nautilus, ventured on the placid sea,—did he, or his admiring friends, picture to themselves an age when his rude discovery should have swollen out into the might and the magnificence of the British navy? Or would they then have dreamed, that, in after days, upon the deceitful element on which they trembled to embark their shapeless canoe, the ascendancy of empires, and the fate of mankind, would be determined? We wot not.

Yet we acknowledge that the anticipation of futurity is rather for the poet than the philosopher. The experience of the past assures us that the condition of the world will be daily ameliorated; but concerning the nature of these ameliorations history and analogy afford us few materials for conjecture. A master of wisdom has pronounced, that the coolness with which the sage becomes acquainted with change, proceeds not from foresight, but from experimental conviction, that although the affairs of the world are subject to settled laws, yet the counsels of Him who enacts and dispenses them are too vast for the apprehension of man. Let us therefore not spurn the cup which is held to our own lips in fruitless inquiries after the enjoyments of our descendants. The Horatian advice to present gratification, we may this day take without exchanging the character of Christians for that of Epicureans; for where, in the wide circle of terrestrial felicity, shall we discover that which teems with so much gratification to the patriot, so much joy to the philanthropist, as that fraternal concord which the sun has this day awoke the British world to celebrate? Peace at home, and reverence from abroad,—the strong awed by our strength, and the weak confiding in our beneficence; these are blessings which we cannot fully appreciate. The formal dominion of our countrymen is extended over almost half the world; its virtual influence is commensurate with the world itself. The potent states of North America approve and rejoice in their noble descent. In Australia, seven mighty empires have arisen to govern domains which,

three centuries ago, were the undisputed property of the beast of prey and the cannibal. Our universities and metropolises, our cathedrals and palaces, now brighten the face of climes, whose maps long presented a dreary blank, where even the most sweeping conjecture could not delineate a river or a hill. Asia has forgot the introduction of the British power, and now blesses that sober rule which has silenced the voice of war and of oppression. English kingdoms wonder at the reports—*once* not fabulous—which pronounce their native seats the domains of the serpent and the crocodile, and look in vain, amid the more than Assyrian fertility of their fields, for the deserts which were traversed by a Park and a Ledyard. But for Africa, our fathers did more than plant colonies and establish kingdoms. By their voice, and in their native language—the language of liberty—Christianity pronounced that the name of a

slave was to cease for ever; and the behest was obeyed. The natives of Africa arise daily in the scale of humanity; and we piously anticipate an era when the curse of Canaan, like one of the great rivers of his children, shall have lost itself in the sands,—when our descendants shall inhale delight from the songs of a Negro Virgil, and instruction from the pages of a Morisco Aristotle. Meanwhile, Britannia herself, that island so minute on the map, and so conspicuous in the story of the world, enjoys in the contemplation of her own, and her offsprings' felicity, a satisfaction which Babylon and Persia, and Macédon and Rome, never felt. Like the tree of Goa, while her stem continues healthy, her branches have struck themselves new roots in the earth, and added utility to her power, majesty to her presence, and perhaps perpetuity to her duration.

SKETCHES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

No. X.

SOON after the rising of the Ninth General Assembly, the attachment of Mary to Darnley became the subject of general observation. As Darnley was devoted to the Catholic faith, the prospect of his marriage with the Queen was regarded by the Reformers with apprehension and dislike. Letters were circulated by them about this time, deploring the continuance of popery, and exhorting to the use of rigorous means for its suppression. On the approach of Easter, the Superintendent of Lothian presented a supplication to the Queen, in which she was requested to prohibit the use of the popish rites which are commonly observed on that occasion. The Secretary replied, that the wishes of the Reformers would be complied with, and wrote to some of the leading papists, recommending them to refrain from the use of any obnoxious ceremonies. It is alleged, however, that the Queen, who had gone to Stirling, not only practised the rites which are usual at Easter, but advised others to do the same. She soon after requested a meeting

with the Protestant nobility, to be held at Perth; but by advice of the Bishop of Ross, and the Dean of Restalrig, it was delayed. A convention, for the purpose of considering "such things as concerned religion," was called a day or two before the meeting of the General Assembly, but none of the Protestant nobility attended.

The Assembly met at Edinburgh, in the Nether Tolbooth, on the 25th of June 1565. "The invocation of the name of God" was made by John Willock, Superintendent of the West, who was chosen Moderator.

A part of the First Session was occupied in hearing the reports, and in renewing the commissions of visitors of churches. "Mr. Johnne Frude, Minister of Dummenie, and Patrick Craigh, Minister of Ratho, were complained upon for not repairing to Linlithgow to the exercise of prophesying." The prophesying, or interpreting of the Scriptures, was an exercise appointed by the First Book of Discipline, to be held once a week "in every towne where schooles and

repaire of learned men are." The day of meeting was left to be fixed by the Minister and Elders, and seems, in most places, to have been Thursday. Those who conducted the exercise were called "the Company of Interpreters." A passage of Scripture was read, upon which one gave his judgment, to the instruction and consolation of the audience. Another followed, who confirmed what had been said, or added what had been omitted, or corrected what had been advanced; and all who were present had liberty to declare their mind, "to the comfort and consolation of the kirk." All digressions and invectives were to be avoided; and no one was to move a question which he would not answer. When the exercise was finished, the Ministers, and those who constituted the "Company of Interpreters," withdrew, and delivered their judgment on the manner in which it had been conducted. Those persons whose doctrine or manner deserved censure, were called in and admonished. The object of this exercise was "that the kirk might have tryall of men's knowledge and graces," and also, "that such as had somewhat profited in God's word might, from time to time, grow in more full perfection to serve the kirk." Ministers and Readers, within six miles, were enjoined to attend; and all "in whom was supposed to be any gift" were to be charged to join themselves with the "Company of Interpreters." The persons upon whom complaint was made, in the present instance, "excused themselves with want of charges, be reason their stipends were not duelie payed unto them."

In the same session, the Superintendent of Life "complained upon William Heriot, Reader at Monywa-ird, for removing to Strathardail without licence obtained be him or the parochiners: The Assemblie ordained the Act made June 1564 to be putt in execution." This Act prohibits a minister from leaving his congregation without the knowledge of the Superintendent of the kirk. By this sentence, it appears to have extended to Readers as well as Ministers. The rest of this Session was occupied in making arrangements for the ministration of the word and sacraments,

in some parishes which had been altogether destitute, or very irregularly supplied.

In the Second Session, the Assembly required the nobility who were present to make supplication to the Queen for the faithful execution of the Acts which had been lately made for the punishment of profaneness and vice, and for protecting the jurisdiction of the Church, and securing the stipends of ministers. A Committee, consisting of Erskine of Dun, John Willock, who was Moderator, Christopher Goodnan, Minister at St. Andrew's, and Mr John Row, Minister at Perth, was appointed "for ordouring the Articles to be sent to the Queen's Majestic." The Assembly met in the afternoon to receive their report; and the tenor of the Articles is set down in the Register. "Because the said Artikles ar of grit weight," says Knox, in the Fifth Book of his History, p. 374, "and worthy of memory, I thoct gude to insert the same; word by word." Dr Cook regards these Articles as an interesting document, and has inserted them in his History of the Reformation, Vol. III. p. 184. They are much bolder in their demands than any which had hitherto been presented from the Assembly. They require, That popery should be universally suppressed throughout the realm, not only in the subjects, but also in the Queen,—That sure provision be made for the stipends and residence of Ministers,—That all teachers, whether public or private, be examined and admitted by the church,—That the emoluments pertaining to friars and priests be applied to the support of the poor, and upholding of schools,—That Judges be appointed in every district for the punishment of vice,—And that some order should be established for relieving the labourers of the ground from the payment of teinds. Lundy of that ilk, Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, Durham of Grange, Hume of Spot, and James Baron, Burgess of Edinburgh, were appointed to present these Articles to the Queen. Should they not succeed in obtaining her answer before the breaking up of the Assembly, they were to communicate it, when obtained, to the Session of Edinburgh;

and the Session were to transmit it to the Superintendants, that it might be known as soon as possible to the whole church. And in the mean time, as many were complaining that their stipend was not paid, and desiring to remove to other places where they might be better provided for, an Act was passed to prevent the removal of any Minister, Exhorter, or Reader, till the Queen's answer to these Articles was received. Along with the Articles from the Assembly there seems to have been presented to the Queen a supplication from the Protestant nobility, or rather from the "whole body professing Christ Jesus within the realm." It embraces the principal points contained in the Articles, and is inserted by Keith, p. 545, from a copy preserved in the Cottonian Library. The answer given by the Queen will be noticed in a subsequent sketch.

In the same Session, a Committee were appointed to sit from six till eight in the morning, for the decision of questions which might be proposed, and were instructed to report their decisions to the Assembly, that they might be inserted in the Register. These questions were very often connected with marriage, or points of discipline, and several cases of this kind were preserved in the record of this Assembly. The following is of a different kind, and deserves to be noticed. When the Protestant religion was established, many of the Popish Clergy retained their benefices. Some of these, it would appear, embraced the Protestant faith; and in order to better their income, became Ministers of another parish, without resigning the benefice of which they had been originally possessed. With regard to the question arising from such practices, the Committee, consisting of Adam, Bishop of Orkney, Craig, Goodman, Row, George Buchanan, and Robert Pont, concluded as follows:

"It is thought aggrievable to the word of God, that no faithful Preacher of God's word may enjoy ane Benefice or Living pertaining to the Kirk, except he remaine at the said Kirk to discharge his office for the quhilk he receavit the said Benefice; and that if he be transportit

be the Kirk or Superintendent, to any uther Place, whereby he may not discharge his Dewtie in baith, that he be depriyvit of the ane, and it to be bestowit upon ane uther, providing always the fairsaid person be sufficiently answerit of his stipend."

Petrie has misunderstood, or misinterpreted this decision, when he says (Part III., p. 342.), "It was concluded generally, that none should have two benefices or livings." The answer to the question goes no farther than to say that one man should not hold two benefices, unless he could discharge the duties of both. And, in the event of his resigning one of the livings, it is provided that he shall be sufficiently "answerit of his stipend." The terms of this proviso are not very explicit; but the meaning seems to be, that if one of the livings were inadequate, the incumbent, before resigning the other, should be secured in so much of the stipend as to make up a sufficient maintenance. Or perhaps the meaning is merely, that, in resigning the living, he who possessed it should reserve his right to any stipend which was due for the time during which he held it.

In the Third Session, a request was presented from the Commissaries of Edinburgh, that the Minister or Reader of every parish should keep a register of deaths, in which the names of the deceased, the place of their residence, and the day and year of their decease, should be inserted; and that a copy of this register should be delivered to the Procurator-fiscal, to prevent frauds being practised against pupils or creditors. The great utility of the measure was obvious, but the Assembly were compelled to reply, that while few of the Ministers had glebes or manse, it was impossible to comply with this request.

In the Fourth Session, complaint having been made against "Mr Johne Robertsone, Thesaurer of Ross, and Minister of Urquhart, and John Watsone, Minister of Alves," that they had left their vocation, they were charged by the Assembly to return to their Ministry, under pain of disobedience and loss of their stipend.

By the First Book of Discipline, the ministration of the Sacraments

was not only to be performed by Ministers, but Readers, although not admitted to the charge of a parish, might be permitted, by consent of the church, to administer the Sacraments. And in this Session, the Commissioner of Murray was appointed to try whether certain Exhorters, who were named, were worthy to be admitted to baptize and solemnize marriage. Some Commissions were then given for visiting

churches: and as the present was a crisis of danger and alarm, Knox was instructed to warn the brethren, should any thing important occur before the meeting of the next Assembly. "Thanks being given to God, be John Willock, Superintendent of the West, and the 25th of December next to cum appointit for the next Assembly to conven in Edinburgh, this Assembly was dissolved."

AN EXCURSION IN MUNSTER.

Dublin, Sept. 1825.

MR EDITOR,

IRELAND is such an unfashionable country, that to travel out of it seems the pursuit of every one who is not forced by poverty to stay at home. Thus, every one who is tired of his time, and fondly fancies that change of mind can be procured by change of place, flies from his own despised country as fast as steam can paddle or wheel whirl him, to join the herd of idlers that infest the sunny roads of France or Italy, visiting the Continent as woodcocks do southern shores, to be shot at by sharpers, and become the fair and full-fed game of inn-keepers, and artists, and Ciceroni. Therefore there is not a dusty watering place in England, nor an old arch or ruin in Italy, nor a lake or mountain in Switzerland, that is not familiar on the lips of tourists. Thus, driving along amidst dust and disagreeability—eating, drinking, and sleeping in discomfort—at length they come home, not better, not wiser, not happier than when they set out; or, as an old writer well says, they who cross the seas to fill their hearts and their brain, do but travel northward for heat, and seek that candle which they carry in their hand. Now, with all deference, I would suggest, that there are monuments of antiquity in Ireland worthy of inspection,—there is scenery on which the eye may repose with delight,—we have woods, and waters, and glens, and mountains, abundantly picturesque, and sufficient to call forth the exertion of the pen and pencil in their description. I shall therefore, Mr Editor, offer you as a very unworthy specimen of an Irish

tour, the result of a ten days' excursion through the North-western part of the province of Munster; and as my travels engrossed but a small portion of my time, and a small share of my money, your readers, instead of a costly and hot-pressed volume descriptive of a foreign journey, are here presented with what is short and cheap, in your very reasonable Miscellany; and I would here beg of you and your readers to bear in mind, that the conversations and legendary narratives interspersed in this little tour are given as nearly as possible in the words of the people with whom I communicated.

Gentle reader, then pray bring ears to bear with the uncouth and provincial names of mountain, and lake, and river; and instead of the Euphonick terms of Alp and Appennine, Como and Constance, Forli and Frescati, if you can put up with the Slicubloom, the Devil's-bit, the Keeper, Lough Dearg, and Innisceltra, the Shrine of the Holy Cross, and the Rock of Cashel, perhaps what you read may beguile half an hour, and may induce you, some time or other—health, and time, and pocket permitting—to visit scenes not less worthy of your notice, because within your reach. I shall not describe my journey on the outside of the stage-coach along the high road from Dublin to Limerick. In my view, a stage-coach is a horrible vehicle for travelling; it is only fit for an Attorney, in his hurry up to Term, whirling along amidst clouds of dust, beset with bad noises and bad smells. The sultry annoyance and perfect discomfort of the whole apparatus disables a traveller from observation

or thought, and unfits him for collecting or digesting information. I diverged from the high road near the town of Roscrea, and hastened to the house of a friend, where I recruited and refreshed myself much better, I dare say, than if I were in the best hotel in France; and on the following day, invited by a cool and bracing breeze from the north, I ventured to ascend the Slieubloom mountain, which rises immediately behind my friend's demesne. This mountain forms a long and not very lofty chain, dividing the King's and Queen's Counties, lies nearly in the centre of Ireland, and the waters, taking their rise from its eastern side, flow by means of the Suir, Nore, and Barrow, into the sea at Waterford, while those descending from its western ridge flow into the Shannon, the central drain of Ireland. This range of mountains is of the silicious sand-stone and pudding-stone formation, and contains, I apprehend, no mineral or metallic treasures. But there is a glorious view from it to the north, the mountains of Wicklow to the east, the mountains of Iduah, in which is the rich coal-field of Castlecomer, to the south: in the far distance, the sharp and peaked points of Galtee mountains—nearer still the magnificent and lofty Keeper (so called from its arresting the clouds passing from the Atlantic Ocean, and keeping, in unsettled weather, a wreath of mist as a helmet on its angry head); to the west, the mountains of Clare and Galway, and the magnificent broad-valley in which the Shannon expands itself into a lake, and forms what is called Lough Dearg. Immediately under the mountain range, on which I was standing, lay that part of the County of Tipperary surrounding the town of Roscrea, and that part of the King's County called the Barony of Clonlisk. The features of this district are naturally very beautiful, and they are highly improved by cultivation and planting; I know no part of Ireland more diversified in natural feature, and no part of England more ornamentally wooded—the country so hilly, so abrupt, and so variegated, that it looks as if it had been once liquid, and in the midst of some mighty

storm its waves had been solidified, and all its gulphs and surges perpetuated in the billowy agitation. Directly under my eye lay the beautiful green hill of Golden-grove, with a red-oak-wood climbing up its side, and clothing half its surface; and still further west, about six miles off, that hill consecrated, in the supposition of the people, as the haunt and favourite resort of fairies—the beautiful Knocksheegowna, a hill now celebrated, by being made the scene of a lively Irish tale from the pen of Mr Croker. Directly near me, on a secondary range of the mountain, and divided from the upper ridge by a valley, in which ran a mountain stream; in the midst of a solitary and wild moor, rose two immense cairns, with a number of smaller mounds encircling them. These elevations, evidently the work of men, and which are to be found on all the mountains of Ireland and Scotland, and wherever the Celtic race was established, excited my curiosity; and on approaching them, I perceived that one was cut through and divided. On inquiry from an intelligent companion, I found that a few years ago some person dwelling in an adjacent mountain valley, dreamt that if he dug to the bottom of the cairn he would find an immense treasure; and as it was too gigantic an undertaking for any individual, he communicated his dream to his neighbours, and as the Irish can be always led to believe in dreams, prophecies, and visionary promises, the story spread like heath on fire along the sides of the mountain, and for many successive nights hundreds and thousands collected with spades, mattocks, and shovels, and in successive and alternate parties they fell to work to perforate and cut through the cairn. Not the least curious circumstance attending this concourse of goldfinders was that of an old Protestant residing on the mountain-side, the only person in the whole district in possession of a Bible, who was forced by them to attend the nocturnal scene. They provided him with a chair and a lantern, and made him read passages out of the Holy Scriptures while they proceeded in their anxious work. For three nights they laboured without inter-

mission, and towards the grey of the third morning they came to a course of flags laid carefully in the centre of the mound; the centre flag, on being struck with a pick-axe, returned a cavernous sound. The man cried, "Boys, I have come to a cave, and it's full of money—help, help, to lift up this flag." At once hundreds rushed down; many were near being crushed to death; all, mail with excited hopes, scrambled and tumbled to come in for a share of the gold: even the old Bible-reader started up from his stool, and flinging his book and spectacles away, rushed down the side of the excavation. The pressure of the crowd was so great, that there was not room to raise the large flag, but at length, by a thousand blows, it was dashed to pieces, and lo! to the horror and astonishment of all, nothing was to be seen but a skeleton of dry bones;—and thus it was practically proved, to the shame, grief, and discomfiture of the whole population, that this cairn was but the tomb of some Celtic chieftain, and that the great mound was put together by the piety and veneration of their ancestors. My informant assures me, that the bones found must have belonged to a giant, for the thigh bone was twice as long as those of men in our degenerate day: but on enquiry from others, I could not find that his statement could be verified; they might be somewhat larger, but not so much so as to justify the conclusion that when alive the owner of them was a giant or an antediluvian. In looking to the composition of this mound of earth, I found it was composed of alternate layers of large stones and clay, and that the stones were of different formations, some so large that no man could carry them, and yet evidently not the produce of the mountain, some lime-stone, some granite, some grawaké and schist, and evidently brought with infinite trouble from distant places.

On the following day, I left the hospitable home of my friend under the Slicubloom mountain, and proceeded to that part of the County of Tipperary called Ormond, once the broad and fair domain of the Butler family, and from whence it now takes its ancient and well-sounding

title. In the centre of this populous and highly-cultivated district stands the town of Nenagh, containing a population of about 10,000, but in no way remarkable or worthy of note, except for one of the finest and largest ruined castles in Ireland, built about the year 1200, and which was one of the five fortresses, or "*nids de tyrannie*," built by King John to curb the Irish. The other four were Ardfinnan, Lismore, Tybrack, and Limerick. I have not had opportunity to ascertain whether the other four are in existence; but certainly the Castle of Nenagh is a fine specimen of the old Norman military architecture, and the keep, or tower, is unequalled in Ireland, and must, from its height and massive proportions, have cost an immense sum in building, as it appears that all the English fortresses in Ireland were built by masons brought from England, as the Irish of that day had no carpenters or masons; for Sir John Davies assures us, that the Irish never did so good a thing as to build a city; and the houses of their Princes, and even their places of defence, were constructed of turf or wattles plastered over. The castle of Nenagh is entered by a stone causeway, which is flanked by two large round towers, between which was the portcullis and the gate, which brings you into a large square building, once the residence of the governor and officers of the garrison;—passing through this building, you come into the ballium, or court of the fortress, containing an area of about 180 feet, surrounded by a curtain wall once 20 feet high and 8 feet thick, of an oval shape; at each end of the longest diameter of the oval is a round, flanking tower, and at the farthest extremity of the ballium, towards the north-west, the keep, or great tower, about 120 feet high, and about 54 feet in diameter. The whole of the fortification is now in ruins, and the plan is not easily discernible, it having been battered down by Cromwell; and, what was worse than old Nof's cannon, it has been undermined by the inhabitants of the town, in order to procure materials for their adjoining houses; but still the great tower stands, and

is conspicuous over the whole country. In vain dreamers have attempted to undermine it, in order to procure treasure supposed to be buried under its foundation; in vain did a barbarous owner of an adjoining field, in order to be revenged on the sparrows and daws that infested his corn, place a barrel of gunpowder under it to blow it up—the gunpowder only tore a piece out of it; but still the tower stands, and will stand, apparently indestructible, from the great thickness of its walls, and the durability of its materials. It is remarkable that no writer on the antiquities of Ireland has given any description of this castle, so well worthy of observation, nor have I seen any print or drawing of it published; and I would suggest that it would be well worthy of some accurate draughtsman's trouble to take a plan and elevation of this fine Norman structure. But enough of old castles;—I shall therefore proceed to give you an account of my excursion to the Holy Island, or the Seven Churches in the Shannon.

It has been remarked of the Culdees, and their founder Columba, who were the earliest preachers of the Christian religion in Ireland, that they loved to fix their abode and worship in places difficult of access, amidst mountain fastnesses or in islands. They thus established their Island abbey at Iona, in the Hebrides—and in Ireland they selected the islands in the Shannon as favourite retreats, where they lived secure in their solitary and ascetic habits. Seven, with these old monastics, was a mystical and sacred number: to use the words of Ledwich: "The number seven was early consecrated to religion; the Jewish rites were accommodated to it—it is found among the Brahmins and Egyptians; the Greek fathers extol its power and efficacy, and the Latin, as usual, apply it to superstitious observances."—The Church formed various septenaries. The following is extracted from Archbishop Peckham's Constitution, made at Lambeth, A. D. 1281:—"The Most High hath created a medicine for the body of man, repositied in seven vessels, that is the seven sa-

craments of the Church; there are seven articles of faith belonging to the mystery of the Trinity, seven articles belonging to Christ's humanity; there are seven commandments respecting man, seven capital sins, seven principal virtues." Much more to the purpose in Amelarius Durandus and the Ritualists. That the Irish entertained a high veneration for this number, witness the Seven Churches at Glendalough—Clonmacnois, Inniscathy, Inch Derin, Inniscaltra, and the Seven Altars at Clonfert, and the Holy Cross. It was to visit one of these sacred stations, namely, Inniscaltra, situated in that part of the broad Shannon which lies between Portumna and Killaloe, that I proceeded, accompanied by a few friends, in a little boat, or, as it is here-called, a cot, on as fine a day as could be desired. A poor fisherman hired his boat, and his own and his son's exertions to row us during the whole day, for the small sum of three shillings. Never was money better earned or more cheerfully paid. The poor fellow was an actual treasure—a perfect specimen of an intelligent Irishman, full of traditionary knowledge, full of good-humour, full of superstition—and so perfectly communicative, so civil and so deferential in his manner, that I could venture to put him in comparison with any French *valet de place*, or any Italian *Cicerone*.—As we rowed along, there was not an old castle hanging over a promontory, nor an old ruined church sequestered in some sunny vale, of which he had not an anecdote or story of days gone by to tell. "What castle is that, Pat, that rises as if out of the water? It is a beautiful ruin." "Oh, the army from Limerick handled that well with their big guns, not long ago. It was one of MacBrien's castles, and when Cromwell took his estate, and drove him into Connaught, some of his people kept that castle for him and his a long time; but lately it was a great place for making *poteen*, and they kept the place in spite of the gaugers; and many a good drop I brought away in this cot, and carried it to the *quality*. But the gaugers brought an army from Limerick, with a cannon in a big boat,

and poor Tady O'Carrol and the rest of the *boys* were obliged to run away in their cots as fast as you please." "Whose house is that, Paddy, there, at the end of the bay, at the Galway side?" "Oh, some new-comer from Dublin. It did belong to the B——s: as fine and as likely a set of young men were reared in that house as ever fired a shot at a grouse on yonder mountain, or held a cross-line on this water. There were nine of them, and all six feet high;—it would do your heart good to see them standing together at the chapel door." "Well, Pat, and what is now become of them?" "All dead and gone! Bad luck came over them; they died off one after the other—and little better could happen them." "What, Pat! what did they do?" "Oh, Sir, neither luck nor grace happens to any that meddle with holy things; they committed sacrilege on the Holy Island. They were building, Sir, a chapel yonder at the back of their house there, Sir; you can see the top of it beside the old ash tree. Well, Sir, they must needs ornament their chapel—and what should they do (and sure it was the devil that tempted them!) but away they went to the Holy Island, and carried off the old altar, and the fine window out of the Virgin's Church there. Well, Sir, they brought a great faction with them to carry the stones away—oh, it would ravish your heart to see what beautiful stones they were; and so they succeeded in putting the whole window into the cots; but when they brought the altar-stone to the shore, not the length of my thumb nail would it go farther; all the men in Galway, or Clare, or Ormond, would not stir it. So there it is to this hour, and will." "And, Pat, what became of the B——s?" "Oh, they died off one after another, and their substance wasted like snow on the sunny side of a ditch; and a stranger is now lighting his fire on their father's hearth; ay, and more than that, not a Priest can say mass in that chapel more than a year—he either dies or some bad luck happens to him."

As we were conversing on the subject, at the sudden turning of a shrubby island, Inniscealtra, with its lofty

round tower and its ruined churches, on which the sun was shining brilliantly, broke upon our view. It really was a very striking object. The island, extremely fertile, covered with fine cattle, and containing about fifty acres, rose like an emerald gem chased in silver, out of the glassy surface of the water, and stood in relief and beautiful contrast with the adjoining shore of the County Galway, that stretched in the background a wild and mountain tract; to the south lay the County Clare, wooded to the water's edge, and rising behind in a lofty and precipitous mountain; to the east lay the shores of Ormond, green with corn-fields and cultivation, with the interspersed seats and wooded demesnes of its numerous gentry, and a ruined castle on every bold promontory and every commanding hill. Neither Rhine nor Rhone, nor Constance nor Geneva, would on this fine summer's day present a more glowing, vivid, and happy picture. The boatmen laughed with joy at witnessing our entire admiration. "Oh, Sir," cried the poor fellow, "is it not a *murther* that more of the quality don't come from Dublin to see this pretty and blessed place?" "Yes; but, Pat, who built all those fine churches and things?" "Why, then, Sir, it would be hard for the likes of me to tell you, seeing I am no scholar: but they say (that is my mother and the old women used to say) they were all built in one night by the fairies." "All in one night, Pat!" "Yes, Sir; and it was by the best of good luck that they chose Inniscealtra, for, as I heard tell, the fairies had chosen Island More, yonder big island we passed about an hour ago; and they set about one dark night to run up the tower and the churches, and, my dear, as bad luck would happen to poor Island More, just as the tower was raised about six feet, who should pass by but the Priest, going to give the blessed sacrament to a sick body, and the Priest saw them hammer and stone at work; but, my dear, when the good people smelt the coming of a mortal man among them, they all scampered off, and came here to Inniscealtra, and did the work here; and the stump of

the lower remains on Island More to this day." By this time we approached near the Holy Island; and as we were disembarking from our cot, I asked Pat to shew me the altar-stone that was on the shore, and could not be removed by all the men in Galway. "Why, then, Sir, to tell your honour the truth, myself's not sure which stone it is; but if I cannot shew you it, I will shew you a stone that is fixed in another stone in the church-yard, and which, though loosely fastened in, and one would think you could take it out with your finger and thumb, yet all the men in Ireland could not raise it out." So we proceeded from the shore to the largest church, and beside which is the round tower. These churches never could have been of any beauty or size; they are mostly extremely small, and seemed more the confessional cells of friars, than places of public worship; they are all unroofed and in ruins, and are going to destruction; for as the island is a great burying-place, and there are burying-grounds surrounding each church, the country people, without hesitation or opposition, tear down the coins and ornamental architecture, to place the stones at the head of the graves; thus within a year a richly-ornamented arch, with a Latin inscription around it, has been torn down. There is one very handsome and perfect Saxon arch still remaining, rich in beautiful tracery, leading into the crypt of the Virgin's church, where the altar stands; but the roof of the crypt is now fallen down, and nothing could be more beautiful and picturesque than to see the evening sun, as we left the island, setting through this arch—the tower at a little distance, throwing its slender and almost endless shadow over the silent and smooth water of the lake. This round tower is in perfect preservation, but differs in no degree from those in other parts of Ireland. It is not for me to venture my daring steps on antiquarian ground, and attempt to account for the origin of these round towers; but I may presume to say, they evidently were erected for religious purposes; they are always attached to churches, and (if I might interpose an opinion)

they were erected as places of penance.

We have reason to conclude that the Christianity of the ancient Culdees was derived, not through Rome, but from the Asiatic Church, with whom they agreed in the period of the celebration of Easter, and other matters of discipline and observance. Bishop Godwyn, and other learned men, agree in deducing their Christianity from the East. Now we know that doing penance on pillars was an early and common superstition in the Asiatic Church, as may be instanced from the story of Simon Stylites and others; and it is reasonable to conceive that the Culdees, in imitation of this superstition—inasmuch as the inclemency of our northern climate would not permit of human beings remaining exposed night and day on pillars in the open air—constructed these towers in imitation of pillars, and that on the different stages of these towers penitents placed themselves, and performed their vows, the merit of their penance bearing proportion to the height of the stage in the penitential tower. If any one can assign a better use or origin for these peculiar buildings, let him do so—my own will answer all my desires.

Inniscealtra is a great station for pilgrims: at Whitsuntide, devotees from all quarters flock to it; and our friend, the boatman, in spite of his superstition and early prejudices, allowed that these pilgrimages were absurd and disgraceful; and he very graphically described the revolting spectacle of men and women going round the island on the rough and rocky stones of the shore on their naked knees, bleeding, and groaning with the wounds and agony inflicted by the sharp and flinty rocks; and he also described with disgust and contempt the conduct of the pilgrims after the station was over; he confessed it was one wild and riotous scene of drunkenness and abomination, for on that occasion tents were erected on the island, and abundance of whisky was to be had, and plenty of pipers and fiddlers to enliven the wild scene. Thus the Holy Island, as well as almost every other place denominated holy in Ireland, is desecrated and prostituted by the mind

rites of gross superstition and filthy crime. Thus Satan, once he can keep poor beguiled man from the living fountain of the Scriptures of truth, misleads him into will-worship—tells him that God can be so appeased by human suffering as to shut his eyes to human crime; and thus is drawn from the doctrine of Romish penance (doubtless abused) the monstrous belief that the old score of sin may be wiped out by penitential pilgrimages; and having gone the rounds of Holy Well or Holy Island, a new reckoning of sin may safely be entered on.

On examining the numerous tombs in and surrounding the churches here, I did not observe any worthy of note, except, perhaps, that of the Mac Brien family, who were the ancient lords of an adjoining barony in Tipperary, and an entablature in the wall of the largest church, on which there was a Latin inscription, recording that it was "Sacred to the memory of Malachias O'Grady, who (A.D. 1722) with pious care repaired and restored the decayed monuments in these churches." The well-told devotedness of *Old Mortality* was brought to my recollection by the similar and sacred industry of this old Milesian.

Before we left the island, we requested to be shewn the miraculous stone, and our guide accordingly brought us to a huge mass of stone cut out into the shape of a trapezium; on one end there were carved characters, apparently Irish. I asked our boatman to pull me some grass, in order that I might rub over the stone, to render the letters legible. This he refused with all due civility; he said that nothing could induce him to pull a flower or a blade of grass on that holy place; that no one could have luck or grace who would do so. He then shewed us the stone inserted in the larger mass, he said no force or ingenuity could remove. This larger mass was evidently the base of a stone cross, and the stone inserted into it was part of the broken pillar. What was the astonishment of the poor boatman, when one of the company, with the greatest ease, lifted the miraculous stone out of its place! the poor man looked really as if he could not believe his senses;

but he soon recovered himself again. It was, however, observable, that during the course of the day he did not wish, and avoided, as much as possible, conversation with our friend of the broken cross. After dining on the green sod of the Holy Island, we rowed home, a pretty long pull of about eight miles, quite satisfied, that neither the Lake of Geneva nor Lago Maggiore could have afforded us a pleasanter or happier day.

Two days following our water excursion on the Shannon, we set out on a tour into another district of Tipperary, and left Ormond, which is divided from the other and more southern portion of that large County by a range of mountains, very beautiful for their picturesque and varied forms, the principal of which is the curiously-formed mountain, called the Devil's Bit. As, in our jaunting-car (which, by the way, is an excellent summer travelling carriage for those who really wish to see a country,) we skirted along the Devil's Bit, my friend, who was younger and more curious than I, expressed a desire to ascend to the top of it, and knowing, as I did, that the road winded about the mountain, I told him he might easily do so. And here I must digress, to inform my readers why this mountain is so named. It rises above the rest of the chain, and forms a sharp and straight ridge, in which there is a deep indenture, exactly resembling a mouthful taken from a slice of bread and butter, the very rocks in the cavity resembling the marks of the teeth in the bite out of the bread. The legend is as follows:

On a certain day, it is not exactly recorded when, as Satan was driving a herd of condemned souls to hell, and the regular road brought him too near the relic of the blessed rood at Holy Cross, the very sight or smell of which put him to pain—the enemy of souls determined to take a short cut northwards, and go straight over the mountain; and so it happened, that as they got to the top of the mountain, Satan being out of breath, sat down upon a rock to rest himself, and overcome by the steepness of the ascent, he fell fast asleep. This was not an opportunity to be lost by the poor souls, so they all broke

away and scampered off through the mountain; some fled for refuge to Holy Cross, some to Kiarin's Shrine in Ely O'Carrol, and some fled to the Blessed Isle of Monaincha, in the County of Kilkenny; in the mean time, the Devil awoke, and found the whole herd gone. What was to be done? In vain did he look around, in vain did he curse and swear, till at length he worked himself into a passion, took a bite out of the mountain, and full of wrath and fury, he spit it out, and lo! the mighty mass, flying through the air eighteen good Irish miles, came to the ground at length, and became the Rock of Cashel. My author does not proceed to relate what ceremonies and purifications were used by the holy men of that time before they consented to build, on this mouthful of the Devil, Cormack's Chapel, with the Cathedral and Round Tower, &c. &c.; but this is well ascertained, that the bit remains out of the mountain to this day, as may be seen by any one travelling that way.

But it is now time to tell what happened to my young friend who ascended the mountain. The day was exceedingly warm, not a breath of air was abroad, even sitting on my jaunting car the heat was insufferable. I regretted exceedingly that I had permitted a youth who had never been ten miles from Dublin before, and who had never ascended a mountain, to undertake such a walk; and when arrived at the other side of the hill, I found the distance from its top was much greater than I imagined, and still I waited for two hours, and no friend came down. What to do I knew not; my mind conjured up Captain Rock in all his horrors; I fancied I even heard the musket-shot; I pictured the dear youth expiring under the bullet wound of a murderous assassin: I seldom through life felt such deep and fearful anxiety. At length, when I almost despaired of him, he appeared, —his face scarlet with exertion, —his clothes dripping with perspiration: what was to be done; we were three miles from a town; it was essentially necessary for him to change his clothes; luckily, contiguous to where I was waiting was a thatched cabin of rather a better sort; it seemed to

belong to a small farmer. I asked permission for my young friend to retire into an apartment of the house to change his dress, which was with the greatest willingness, nay, I would say urbanity, acceded to; and when he had dressed himself, without asking on our part, and with the most considerate attention, a young woman, the daughter of the farmer, came with a large tumbler of punch in her hand, and insisted on my friend's drinking it; nor when leaving the house would they accept of the slightest remuneration. I mention this trivial circumstance to evince what a warm kindness of heart dwells in the breasts of our countrymen, and oh! is it not to be deplored that political feuds and religious animosities should distract a people so highly gifted with every quality of head and heart!

On passing to the eastward of the range of mountains just mentioned, we found a material change in the face and character of the country; it becomes more flat, champaign, and fertile, but not so well inhabited, not so much ornamented with the demesnes and interspersed with houses of country gentlemen. It was observable, also, that the country, though with greater natural advantages, was worse cultivated, the tillage not so clean, so productive or well managed, —and thus we proceeded through a rather uninteresting country until we came to Holy Cross. This place, celebrated in the monastic history of Ireland as being the great Abbey which enjoyed the possession of a piece of the true cross, stands in a low and rich situation on the borders of the Suir. Monks always took care to settle themselves amidst the fat of the land. It makes no figure at a distance, but when you approach nearer, you see indeed a great and striking pile of ruins, interesting from their extent, but on closer inspection, from their great beauty. I am not aware that any thing I ever saw astonished me so much as the dilapidated grandeur and extent of this monument of pious magnificence, nor did I ever see a place where wanton destruction and barbaric overthrow seemed to have exerted more unhalloved sway.

I had often read, and still oftener

heard, of the curse of Cromwell ; I had often heard, in my earlier days, a Roman Catholic, in the bitterness of his anger and chafe of his spirit, say to his adversary, " The curse of Cromwell on you ;" but never did I feel the force, or witness the effects of that curse in the full extent of its amplification, until I saw the ruins of Holy Cross—until I saw these beautiful monuments trampled under foot of the Puritans. It was late in the evening when I went through the aisles, and arches, and cloisters of this fine building. The sun, rich in golden glory, was darting his parallel rays on all its tombs and tracery ; it was throwing floods of softening mellow light on the interlacing of its groined arches, and one bright beam was kissing the black marble monument of O'Brien, King of Limerick* : it seemed to say, as it slowly died off, " The light of O'Brien has departed, but not, like me, to return." Nothing that I ever saw, either in Westminster Abbey or elsewhere, surpassed, in Gothic tracery and minute sculpture, the chiselled work on the pillars, and the black marble ornaments of this tomb. I exceedingly regretted that the falling night forced me away from this ancient and noble Abbey, and I was still more annoyed that my time would not permit me to return to it next day. So I proceeded on seven miles to Cashel, where, in a dear friend's hospitable reception, I enjoyed a full measure of recruited refreshment, after the travel of a long and sultry day. Cashel is an ecclesiastical city, if I may so denominate it, and, like every place in the hands and under the sway of ecclesiastics, it speaks badly of their government. As you approach Cashel, to be sure the country is not so dreary and desert as the Campagna di Roma, but an almost total absence of improvement meets your eyes on all sides,—no country villas, no expenditure of capital in any way worthy of the approaches to a city ; but then the rock, the magnificent rock, covered all over with high and pinnacled ruins, round towers and square towers, stone roofs a thousand years old, crypts and shrines,—arches, Saxon, and Roman,

and Norman, every variety of ecclesiastical architecture, and all in one common ruin, unapplied now to any religious use or duty, no dweller but skulls and thigh-bones. A Roman Catholic might say that the sons of little men, and the children of the new and upstart religion, dare not presume to desecrate with their novel rites the altars and aisles of the ancient faith, which, as the *Genius Loci*, still seems here to preside and dwell alone, sitting like the widow of a dethroned king, great and respected amidst her desolation. To speak soberly, I do think that that Archbishop of Cashel, who permitted this magnificent Cathedral to fall to ruin, and, forsooth, because it was too much trouble for his fat coach-horses to draw his Grace up the hill to Divine Service, must have been descended on the father's side from a Goth, and on the mother's from a Vandal, and his Dean must have been of the race of the Huns, and the whole Chapter sprung from Alans, Heruli, and Longobards. As to the good and comfortable common church that now is called a Cathedral, it looks the mushroom son of a Nabob upstart that has got into possession and ownership of the title and estate of a fallen and attainted Noble.—To return to the Rock : it is highly creditable to the son-in-law of the present Archbishop, Archdeacon Cotton, the pains he has taken in restoring the beauty and protecting the buildings of the Rock. He has daily a number of men excavating and removing rubbish ; he has found a great number of pieces of ancient sculpture, and deciphered some very interesting inscriptions ; and the lovers of antiquity may yet expect, that under his auspices some man like Britton will give plans, elevations, and sections, of all these interesting ruins. Ledwich, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, has given a wretched print and meagre description of them. Cormac's Chapel, which was built, as Ledwich says, in the tenth century, is undoubtedly the most ancient and most interesting building in Ireland ; it seems infinitely older, and quite of a different order of architecture from any of the adjoining buildings. This

* Onagh Carbrah O'Brien, King of Limerick, who founded the Abbey, A. D. 1169.

chapel has suffered much injury and misimprovement in the course of time, from the ignorance and bad taste of its possessors. I could plainly perceive that some of the most beautiful tracing, and lozenge, and chevron sculpture of the great arch opening into the crypt, where the high altar stood, has been plaistered over with a sort of covering, one would think purposely to hide these ornaments. But I have not time, in this hurried sketch, to dilate upon the manifold interesting subjects that present themselves to our notice here. I shall only observe, that over the door in the north side of the chapel there is a curious sculpture, which has given rise to the following legend:—When King Cormac built this chapel as a receptacle for his bones, and in honour of St. Patrick, a terrible wild beast, like a lion or a tiger, every night came and tumbled down the work of the preceding day ;

thus the building could not get forward, and the good king lost all patience. At length he bethought him to send for the poet and hero Ossian, and he came ; and having first, with the beautiful and melodious strains of his harp, lulled the monster asleep, he then drew his bow, and transfixed him through the heart : and in the sculpture just mentioned is the uncouth monster portrayed, with an arrow driven through him, and a man on horseback, who is represented as having just sent the arrow from his bow, which he holds in his hand.

I have now, Mr Editor, occupied too much of your space,—I shall therefore for the present conclude my travels through Munster, and shall be happy to give you, at some future period, some more sketches of my wanderings through my native land, if you think them worthy of your readers' perusal.—Curry's *Dublin Magazine*.

WALKS IN EDINBURGH *.

MR CHAMBERS has taken the trouble, and enjoyed the pleasure, of poking his head into the two hundred and sixty sweet-scented closes or alleys of Edinburgh, for the benefit of his townsmen and of strangers. The results of his repeated divings into these regions of taste (*query* of smell?) has been, as he himself says, in his own delectable *Edinborrey* style, to enable him to pour a "flood of illustration," which, to some delicate observers, may perhaps appear too copious, upon the most conspicuous objects in this, now, alas ! provincial town, which this author, and others who strive to render themselves and it ridiculous, dub with the appellation of "the Northern Metropolis," "the Modern Athens," "the Northern Athens," "the eye of the British Empire," &c. &c. Altogether Mr Chambers has "put out," as he would say, no fewer than two books, of which the one under notice is the second in point of age. In your last Number, Mr Editor, you gave rather too many extracts from the first of the works,

"Traditions of Edinburgh;" and I do not think you are such a fool as to allow me, even if I were so inclined, to clog your pages with so much stuff stolen from the lumber garrets of "Edinborrey," as you then forced on the attention of your readers. I intend, therefore, to be curt in my critique.

To so unpresuming a person as the author of these "Walks," it is quite impossible for any man, much less for so kindly-hearted a critic as you know me to be, to say one word that would savour of gall within. Mr Chambers praises every body; and all existing parties in Church and State are with him objects of equal eulogy: nay, what is more, he praises all inanimate things, provided they have any connection with his darling "Edinborrey." The very buildings that have been erected by the most dunderhead architects of the most dunderhead bailies that ever doted in the civic chairs, are with him models of all that is graceful in architecture and refined in taste. If this author had any turn

* *Walks in Edinburgh*. By Robert Chambers, Author of "*Traditions of Edinburgh*." Hunter, Edinburgh. 1825.

for poetry, I would strenuously exhort Mr Trotter, or Mr Allan, or whoever is to reign over Edinburgh, I care not a rush who it be, for the ensuing two years, to immortalize himself by instituting a Poet-laureateship for the city, and nominating Mr Chambers as the first to deserve the sacred chaplet, with a handsome allowance of coin and claret.

In perusing this small volume, which I assure you I have done not without some amusement occasionally, I have been pestered beyond measure with the perpetual introduction, in season and out of season, of some monster, "very like a whale," I presume, from its occupying so much space, but of which we have no farther description than the name by which it is called on earth,—"THE GREAT UNKNOWN." I would advise Mr Chambers to speak less about this "*monstrum horrendum*" in his next edition, unless he can say something more specific about it. Another insufferable bore in his book is his incessant talk about Sir Walter Scott, who is no monster, to be sure, but a regular flesh-and-blood man, whom we are all delighted to see moving about among us, which he never fails to do in the law term-time. Mr Chambers cannot mention, for instance, any dirty oil-gas company, or other joint-stock concern, *vergens* or *not vergens ad iniquum*, to which Sir Walter, good-naturedly,—perhaps foolishly,—set down his name as a subscriber, without mentioning the fact of this subscription with all the pomp of a bulletin. Now really, although I grant, with all the world, that Sir Walter Scott stands at the head of the second rank of genius, yet this high honour cannot prevent him from becoming an indictable nuisance, if his name and title are to be stuck up, in some shape or other, on every wall and house in the city, as has been done, we are sure, without the permission of this admired baronet, by his idolater, Mr Chambers. When this gentleman next begins the tour of the city, let him remember this hint, which is kindly intended, as I perceive he knows little of the law, of which, however, I do not pretend to know much more than himself.

Before I take notice of the

"Walks" individually, I have one little additional remark to make, and I wish to do it very seriously. Mr Chambers, and many men a thousand degrees superior to him in point of education and intellect, seem to think, that since the publication of *Old Mortality*, a *carte blanche* has been given to them, and all the world, to sneer at, to abuse by every possible method, those truly great men, who resisted to blood the ferocious tyranny of the minions of Charles II. and the barbarous and desolating fury of James VII. What! do these pitiful scribblers know that it is owing mainly to the magnanimous conduct of these brave and virtuous men, that their unworthy descendants are allowed to abuse the liberty of the press, in attempts to ridicule all the great and good in those unhappy times of trouble and persecution? The open or lurking enemies of that constitution, which was raised on the spot where the rotten throne of the prefligate Stuarts had stood, can do nothing more injurious to this glorious constitution than to make a laughing-stock of those men by whom that constitution was reared, and palliate, or altogether excuse, the blood-thirsty crimes committed, and tortures inflicted by the possessors of power in those evil days. The tide of public opinion is beginning to turn on this subject. Let those who flatter what they conceive to be existing prejudices and opinions, beware, then, how they bewhine the Mackenzies and Queensberrys of James VII. I am sure that no right-thinking Episcopalian will consider his church greatly exalted, by being informed that the degrees of persecution of Presbyterians in those days were just a little less than they had formerly been represented. Every true Presbyterian, in remembering that period of blood, will cling more closely to his faith, and to the political constitution which the struggles of his forefathers secured; and every right-hearted Episcopalian will deplore those times as the foulest period in the annals of the hierarchy of England. Let Mr Chambers, and others of his cast, beware, therefore, of speaking with levity of these fathers of Scottish, I had almost said of British liberty, and let them equally beware

of apologising for the crimes of deepest dye which were perpetrated by the declared enemies of all civil and religious freedom.

Mr Chambers has made his "flood of illustration" to flow in five different streams through the streets and ways of Edinburgh. There is first a walk from the Register-House, the centre point of all the walks, to the Castle; next there is a walk to the Court end of the town, now no more a Court end; then there is a walk through the New Town; afterwards one to the south side of the city; and lastly, and longest, a walk to Leith. By way of rider to his work, Mr Chambers has obtained from the pen of that distinguished artist, Mr H. W. Williams, a comparative sketch of Edinburgh and the real Athens. In externals, I really begin to fancy there is a kind of similarity between the two cities. In reference to social organization, no two cities can be supposed more unlike. To be satisfied of this, only think of Pericles and Provost Manderston: the latter, to be sure, must be a much greater personage than the former, or any other downright heathen, in the eyes of Mr Chambers, who, perhaps, never heard that Pericles was once on a time a very notable Provost of the Ancient Athens. It is just possible, however, that some obstinate fools, on whose minds the greatest "flood of information" has no effect, may dissent from this highly rational and well-grounded opinion, in reference to this same Pericles, and to his brother Provosts, in the mis-called "Modern Athens."

In the first of the Walks—that to the Castle from the Register-House—we have a variety of most original information and solid reflections on the book-shops of Messrs Constable & Co. and of Mr Blackwood, both of whose establishments, and particularly that of Messrs Constable & Co. have been absolutely bespattered (deservedly enough, I doubt not) with the praises of Mr Chambers. I was much better pleased in reading a short account which he gives of the superb hotels which existed in this precious Modern Athens some fifty years ago. There is nothing in these which could excite to much enthusiasm the

panegyric powers of Mr Chambers, accordingly he merely quotes from the sober book of a traveller of that time, a story which any given old woman in the Cowgate, or Goose-dubs, could have told equally well, perhaps better.

That the stranger visiting Edinburgh, in this age of luxury and improvement, may be able to appreciate as they deserve the accommodations which he now enjoys, we shall present him with a sketch of the best inn of the year 1775, in which he must have lodged, had he been so unfortunate as to live and travel fifty years ago. "On my first arrival," says Topham, "my companion and self, after the fatigue of a long day's journey, were landed at one of those stable-keepers, (for they have, modesty enough to give themselves no higher denomination,) in a part of the town called the Pleasance; and on entering the house, we were conducted by a poor devil of a girl, without shoes or stockings, and with only a single linsey-woolsey petticoat, which just reached half-way to her ankles, into a room where about twenty Scotch drovers (i. e. cattle-drivers) were regaling themselves with whisky and potatoes." You may guess our amazement, when we were informed that this was the best inn in the metropolis,—that we could have no beds, unless we had an inclination to sleep together, and in the same room with the company which a stage-coach had that moment discharged. Well, said I to my friend, (for you must know that I have more patience on these occasions than wit on any other,) there is nothing like seeing men and manners, and perhaps we may be able to repose ourselves at some coffee-house. Accordingly, on inquiry, we discovered that there was a good dame by the Cross, who acted in the double capacity of pouring out coffee, or letting lodgings to strangers, as we were. She was easily to be found out; and with all the conciliating complaisance of a *maitresse d'hôtel*, conducted us to our destined apartments; which were, indeed, six stories high, but so infernal to appearance, that you would have thought yourself in the regions of Erebus.

In passing up the Mound to the Castle, Mr Chambers has scarcely a word to say in reprobation of that monstrous deformity of mud and stone, nor can he find it in his heart to question the taste of Mr Playfair, or his employers, in choosing such a situation for the building which, to the annoyance of every other man of taste in Edinburgh, has been stuck

with wooden pins to the lower end of the Mound. Every body has seen and heard enough of the Regalia of Scotland; and I certainly consider the history of Mons Meg, that noble piece of ordnance, as a subject much better fitted to be handled by so excellent and elegant a historian as the author before me, than even the history of the Regalia of Scotland. I recollect very well in that incomparable heroic poem by Drummond of Hawthornden,—the *Polemomiddinia*,—when the poet attempts to describe the noise of some explosion during the heat of the battle, he refers naturally to the sound of Meg's voice. It was a noise which only could be occasioned on earth, if Meg should have burst with too heavy a charge:

"Vcluti Monsmegga crackasset."

By tradition, every Scotsman knows something of Meg; but it was reserved for Mr Chambers really to throw a "flood of illustration" over her history, for which every one of his countrymen who can stand the smell of gunpowder ought to be profoundly grateful. I had no idea, however, that she was so extravagant a jade in point of fat meat and clothes, as the items in the truly droll bill of costs given below shew her to have been. Who on earth would suppose that such a cherished nurseling, and favourite of kings and courts, as a cannon, would require to be supplied with such fare as this:

"Item, for 24 lb. of tallow for *Mons*, (no sum).

"Item, 8 elle of claith, to be *Mons*, a claith to cover her, 9s. 4d.

"Item, mair tallow to *Mons*, 20s.

But we really must detail *Mons*, her curious history, at length.

Before quitting the precincts of the Castle, we beg to mention a celebrated national palladium, which was kept here for several centuries, till removed to London, and which must carry an interest along with it, wherever it may be seen, and when the following particulars are known respecting it.

It is probable, that *Mons Meg*, by which name this famous piece of artillery is universally known, was first the property of King James IV., who had a great taste for splendid military and naval munition, and in whose time it was customary to dignify pieces of cannon with fantastic,

and we may say human, names. This piece of ordnance was thirteen feet long, about seven feet in circumference at the mouth, and twenty inches in diameter of bore. It was composed of a number of thick iron bars, which were hooped; and the breech was much smaller than the mouth. "In the accounts of the high-treasurer during this reign, the following curious entries are to be found, relative chiefly to her transportation from Edinburgh Castle to the Abbey of Holyrood, apparently on some occasion of national festivity.

'Item, to the pyonouris, to gang to the Castell to help with *Mons* down. Xs.

'Item, to the menstrallis that playit befor *Mons* down the gait. XIVs.

'Item, giffen for XIII stane of irne, to mak grath to *Mons*' new cradill, and gavillokkis to ga with her, for ilk stane XXVIIIId. XXXs. IVd.

'Item, to VII wrichtis, for II dayis and ane half, that maid *Mons*' cradill, to ilk man on the day, XVIId.

'Item, for walking (*attending*) of *Mons* the XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX dayis of Julij, and the gunneir of the Abbay, ilk nycht, IIIs.

'Item, the last day of August, gifyn to Robyn Ker, to fee 100 warkmen to pas with *Mons*, sicklike as the laif war feit, to ilk man, VIs. XXXIId.

'Item, for XXIV lib. of talloun for *Mons* (no sum.)

'Item, VIII elle of claith, to be *Mons*, a claith to cover her, IXs. IIIId.

'Item, for mair talloun to *Mons*, XXs.

'Item, for 200 spikin nails, to turs with *Mons*, IIIs.

"In the festivities celebrated at Edinburgh by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, on the occasion of her daughter's marriage to the Dauphin of France in 1568, *MONS MEG* was, of course, not allowed to remain silent or inactive. In the treasurer's accounts there is the following article:—

'By the Queenis precept and speciale command, item, the third day of Julij [1568] to certane pyonaris for their laboris in the mounting of *Mons* furth of her lair (*place of lying*) to be shote, and for the finding and carrying of hir bullet after scho was shot, fra Weirde Mure to the Castell of Edinburgh," &c.

"There is a local tradition, that, along with some other artillery sent, in 1651, by the Scottish Committee of Estates, to Dunnottar Castle, which then held out against the power of Cromwell, was *MONS MEG*. The bed she is believed to have occupied during the siege is still shown upon a battery in that ancient fortress,

projecting over the sea, of a size far exceeding that of the other embrasures, and from which *she* gets the credit of having dismasted an English vessel steering for the harbour of Stonehaven, at the distance of a mile and a half. These traditions, however agreeable to our national prejudices, and in harmony with the popular respect which Mons appears to have always commanded, are unhappily falsified by the official documents respecting the surrender of Edinburgh Castle in December 1650, published by order of the Parliament of England. Among these is a list of the ordinance taken in the Castle on the 21st of December 1650, in which a conspicuous place is given to 'the great iron murderer Muckle Meg.' In another list she is denominated 'the Great Mag.'"

After this period of her history, we find no notice respecting "Mons" till 1682, when the Duke of York (afterwards James VII. and II.) visited the Castle. Upon this occasion, in firing *her* off, as a mark of honour to the royal visitor, *she* was unfortunately burst; and it does not appear that any attempt was ever afterwards made to repair her carcase. Lord Fountainhall relates the story in the following simple manner:

"The Duke of York went frae thence (Lesly) to Holyrood House; thence went and saw Edinburgh Castle, where the great cannon, called Mons Meg, being charged, burst in her off-going, which was taken as a bad omen."—*Chronological Notes*, 1.

After thus dwelling on Mons, her memoirs, I am afraid I shall do injustice to another Mons in his own way, who has very much and very properly attracted the attention of Mr Chambers. I now refer to the gentleman who is most appropriately denominated the "Director General of the Fine Arts." Unfortunately, I have not the honour of this gentleman's acquaintance, but shall endeavour to acquire it soon, especially as I learn from Mr Chambers, that I may perhaps come into contact, in the shop of the "Director General," with some of the greatest and wisest men of the age—even the Great Unknown himself. You know that I hate all political partisanship as I do the face of Old Nick himself; it is, therefore, delightful to be informed, that at the "Corner," whig and tory all agree. It has made me quite in love

with this corner, to hear so admirable a character of its possessor and itself. One word only at parting with it: let the "Director" husband his smiles.

Pray, what authority has Mr Chambers for calling that ugly barn which contains the libraries of the Advocates, and Writers to the Signet, a beautiful modern building? or how can he speak with patience of the site of the County-Hall, over which the half-ruined Cathedral of St. Giles sits grinning, in all its frightful ugliness, like an imbecile, bigotted priest, anxious to throttle every mortal within his ken who is not as imbecile and bigotted as himself?

Mr Chambers, in drawing our attention to the old Parliament House, seems to lament the Union of Scotland with England, very much in the same strains as Sir Terence O'Flaherty and Mr Calaghan O'Brailaghan usually mourn over the Irish Union. All three croak in vain; thanks to the power and the good principles of England.

In the second Walk, my author conducts his readers to what is called the Court end of the town—that is, through all the vilest parts of the old town, between the Cross and the Palace. To the admirers of dramatic anecdotes in particular, and to the lovers of "rows" in general, the following story, by far the best told in the book, cannot fail to produce a few smiles, perhaps even a horse laugh. The author, in speaking of one of those now wretched alleys, called the "Auld Playhouse Close, says,

At the bottom of this close stood the house which served Edinburgh as a theatre, previous to the erection of the present edifice in 1768. To this obscure retreat, the liberal part of the gentry of Edinburgh, and the most degraded part of the common people, (for of these classes were the play-goers of Edinburgh then composed,) resorted to see such stars as Digges, Ward, and Bellamy; and many a night, as gossips tell, has this mean alley been crowded with sedans, containing the most brilliant toasts who flourished in Edinburgh at the middle of the last century. We have heard a laughable anecdote related of the destruction of this house, which serves to illustrate the popular feeling respecting the stage in Scotland at that time,

and must amuse all classes of our readers. The prejudice against theatrical amusements, amounting, in the minds of the vulgar, to absolute superstition; and we cannot wonder at the persecution which Home met with from the clergy, when it is understood that the devil was believed to be in league with the players, and that the simplest stage-tricks were attributed to supernatural agency. This absurd notion was so prevalent, and so strongly rooted in the public mind, that it at last caused the destruction of the Canongate play-house. Upon one occasion, when the manager broke faith with the public, by substituting the tragedy of Hamlet for a play that had been announced in the bills, the audience expressed their disapprobation and horror at so profane a play by the most outrageous declamations; and being shortly joined by the disaffected people out of doors, from less to more, proceeded at length to set fire to the house. To protect the peace of the city, the town-guard were called out, and marched to the spot; but though these veterans had found no qualms in facing the French at Blenheim and Dettingen, they had not courage sufficient to support them in an attack upon the frontiers of the Evil One. When ordered, therefore, by their commander, to advance into the house, and across the stage, the poor fellows fairly stopped short amidst the scenes, the glaring colours of which at once surprised and terrified them. Indignant at this pusillanimity, the captain seized a musket, and, placing himself in the attitude of a determined leader, called out, "Follow me, my lads!" But just at the moment that he was going to rush across the stage, and attack the rioters, he happened to tread upon a trap-door, which had been left ajar, we (suppose, for the ghost, or perhaps for Ophelia's grave,) and in a twinkling vanished from the sight of his men, who instantly retreated, and left the house to the destruction which they had been called upon to prevent. It is further said, that when their honoured captain re-appeared, the guard, who had given him up for lost, received him in the quality of a ghost, and could scarcely be undeceived, even by his cursing them in good Gaelic for a parcel of cowardly scoundrels.

An account follows of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, which contains a very considerable portion of new and interesting information in reference to this abode of kings. Some critic, more sharp-sighted than I pretend to be, observed to me, that Mr Chambers must have received some unac-

knowledge aid in detecting the absurdities which the old beldames at the Palace cram down the throats of gaping visitors. Industry, and a love of old stories and old books, and a fair portion of capacity to sift and bring out the verity from much contradictory evidence, must all have been combined to enable any man to indite what has been said on the subject of the Palace.

The New Town next, with its streets of palaces, attracts the walker's attention. The most remarkable part of this written walk, is the notice given of the formation, in one day, of what is called the Lothian Road, together with the "true, full, and particular account, of what befel a worthy milkwoman who lived in a house in the line of the said road."

Of the Lothian Road, which leaves the western termination of Prince's Street at a right angle, and stretches away to the south, an amusing anecdote may be told. This road was for a long time projected, as being a design of great public utility; but owing to the objections made (as is usual in such cases) by the proprietors of certain inestimable barns, sheds, and cow-houses, which required to be removed, it was a long time before the measures of the authorities concerned drew near to execution. After several years of speculation, and when the project was nearly agreed upon by all parties, the road was, to the surprise of the public, and the mortification of said proprietors, completely made and finished, without leave being asked, all in one day! It so happened, that a gentleman, who had recently succeeded to his estate, laid a bet with a friend, to the effect that he would, between sunrise and sunset, execute the line of road, extending nearly a mile in length, and about twenty paces in breadth. This scheme he concerted with address, and executed with promptitude. It was winter, when many labouring men are often out of work; so that he found no difficulty in collecting several hundreds at the spot upon the appointed morning before sunrise; and he took care to provide them with a plentiful supply of porter, usquebaugh, bread and cheese, and other inspiriting matters. No sooner had the sun peeped over the hills, than this immense posse fell to work, with might and main,—some to tear down inclosures, others to unroof and demolish cottages, and a considerable proportion to bring earth, wherewith to fill up the natural hollow to the required height. The in-

habitants, dismayed at so vast a force, and so summary a mode of procedure, made no resistance; and so active were the workmen, that before sunset the road was sufficiently formed to allow the better driving his carriage triumphantly over it, which he did amidst the acclamations of a great multitude of persons, who had flocked from the town to witness the performance and issue of this Herculean undertaking.—Amongst the instances of temporary distress known to have been occasioned to the inhabitants, the most laughable was that of a poor simple woman, who had a cottage, and a small cow-feeding establishment, upon the spot. It appears that this good creature had risen very early, as usual,—milked her cows,—smoked her pipe,—taken her ordinary matutinal meal of tea,—and, finally, recollecting that she had some friends invited to dine with her upon *sheep-head kail* about noon, placed the pot upon the fire, in order that it might simmer peaceably till she should return from the town, where she had to supply a numerous set of customers with the produce of her dairy. Let our readers imagine the consternation of this poor woman, when, upon her return from the duties of the morning, she found neither house, nor *byre*, nor cows, nor fire, nor pipe, nor pot, nor any thing that was her's, upon the spot where she had left them a few hours before,—all vanished like unsubstantial pageant, or like the palace of Aladdin, on the morning after his marriage, when his princely father-in-law went to the window, as usual, to gratify his eyes with its splendour, and found it had been carried off to Africa during the night by the slaves of the wonderful lamp!

I am pleased enough with what the author says of the Queen Street Gardens. They are a first-rate ornament to the town. But how, in the name of all that is wonderful, does not one word escape the lips of Mr Chambers in stern reprobation of the conduct of Lord Moray, and of the tasteless Gohs whom he must have employed to spoil, nay, absolutely and irremediably to brutify, if the word may be used, some of the finest building-ground in the vicinity of Edinburgh? But the evil is done, and I have only to deplore, in common with my fellow-citizens, that the finest dispositions of archi-

ture are not always the most profitable, and that the capacity to hew stones, and draw black-lines, will never constitute an accomplished architect.

From the New Town, we are conducted to the south side of the Old Town, where the only object worth much attention is the University, of which Mr Chambers supplies some new information. I wish he had hinted to Professor Jameson, how very acceptable it would be, both to denizens and aliens, if he could by any means contrive to lower the price of admission to the Museum. In this walk, too, some account is given of Heriot's Hospital,—one of those huge overgrown establishments, endowed, I have no doubt, with good intentions, but tending, like all other similar institutions not under the efficient controul of public opinion, to withdraw, or rather to bury in almost total inactivity, much capital, which, in the hands of individuals, would have been used with infinitely greater benefit to themselves and to the nation, than when left in the hands of any junto of functionaries whatever. The natural tendency of all such institutions is uniformly to engender jobbing and corruption, and to increase the very evils they are intended to remedy or to alleviate. For ought I know, Heriot's Hospital is as free of corruption as any public establishment of the kind in Britain; I should like, however, to see the accounts of its officers overhauled by a set of conscientious Parliamentary Commissioners.

But I am not going to read you a lecture on Political Economy. I must therefore bid you, Editor, and Mr Chambers, good-bye, without saying a word of the Port of Leith, which I rejoice to see once more attaining all its wonted prosperity. Nor can I stay to notice the projected improvements in Edinburgh, for the fulfilment of which, I pray as earnestly as the excellent ex-Provost Henderson, or any of the spirited council, by whom this worthy, and patriotic, and independent citizen, was supported in the adoption of the splendid plans laid before them.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, NO. VII—JULY 1825.

ON the first appearance of this Review, we were inclined to congratulate ourselves that the principles of Radicalism, espoused, as they were, by men of learning and talent, who were understood to be contributors to this Journal, would thereafter be rescued from the disgrace of being defended only by the most ignorant, the most vulgar, and most contemptible men in the nation. We expected, also, that a proper mixture of refined literary criticism would have found its way into the pages of a work professedly undertaken by gentlemen. The Quarterly Review seemed, at the time the Westminster was first published, to have exhausted all its stock of literary topics, and indeed we have not for a considerable time past seen one literary article in that Review which might not have been written, and better written too, by any of the higher-classed boys at Eton or Westminster, or even by a goodly number of the youths attending the Logic Classes in our own poor Universities. Many of the subscribers to the Edinburgh Review murmured loudly that there was of late so little general literary discussion in its pages. The field seemed clear for the Westminster Review. No rational expounder or defender of radical doctrines was in existence, and the two leaders of the literary taste of England had, from necessity or choice, become almost dormant.

We certainly did expect also, that well-educated and impartial men, who professed their adherence to the doctrines of radical reform in the political constitution of States, would have thrown some new light on the doctrines of Political Economy, about which the two great parties in this country, who were lately opposed in every thing, seem now to be most happily and most cordially agreed; but to our great disappointment, we found in the Westminster Review the very doctrines repeated, and supported by the same facts and arguments which we had been accustomed to read years before with infinitely more satisfaction, because they were new, in the pages of the Edinburgh, and even in a few papers (not Mr Southey's) of

the Quarterly Review. It is not to blame the Westminster Review for almost copying and adopting the works of its more laborious predecessors that we thus speak: on the contrary, we rejoice that the purely philanthropic doctrines of the new but inestimable science of Political Economy have been thus probably more widely diffused than they would otherwise have been. But we do blame, without hesitation, the *arrogant pretension to originality* with which the Westminster Review has sent abroad into the world a variety of disquisitions on Political Economy, of which every individual topic and argument were well known to the public; and with which all, except those who began, and intend to finish, their studies of this science in the pages of the Westminster Review, are as familiar as with household words.

It is unnecessary to say, then, how much we have been disappointed in the progress of this new Journal, and most of all in its last Number. Indeed, the only readable papers in the whole seven Numbers now published are those in which we think we can trace the strokes of the laborious, and sometimes elegant pen of the Editor of the Retrospective Review, or those articles to which the mild Secretary of the Greek Committee may have lent a gentle touch. Whoever has read Mill's Elements of Political Economy, and his treatises on "Government," Jurisprudence, and International Law, in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, and looked cursorily into Bentham's *Traité de Legislation*, as redacted by Dumont, is sufficiently master of all that has been, or ever will be written in the Westminster Review on Political Economy, the Administration of Law, Education, External and Internal Defence, and a host of other subjects connected intimately with the domestic and foreign policy of nations. On all these subjects, we do not perceive that the Review has made one pace in advance of the weak and beggarly elements on which at the first it rested its foot. Now this will not do. Men are not now-

a-days to be told this is the chair of St. Peter, and whoever sits upon it must receive the homage of the bodies and consciences of men, under pain of eternal damnation. Much less will it do to tell us this is the doctrine of Bentham and of Mill; and if you do not assent to it, and act according to it, nothing but misrule and absolute tyranny will ever exist in the political constitution of any country,—nothing but corruption can exist in the administration of the law,—nothing but ill-directed exertions in the great object of general education,—and nothing, finally, but universal profligacy and universal degradation. Presumptuous declarations of the infallibility of its own maxims, and of the utter worthlessness of whatever is at variance with them, is the chief characteristic of the school of Bentham.

Nor should we be so much disposed to raprobate the conduct of this newly self-constituted Pope, in morals and legislation, if he would couch his all-pervading principles in language somewhat more smooth and intelligible. Nay, we would almost be inclined to excuse the old man and his disciples, if they would only be pleased to render their vulgarity and abuse of all who write either against them or unlike them, a shade less disgusting than what is to be met with in Billingsgate. The filthy vulgarity-vehicle which Cobbett weekly launches forth upon the roads of England, contains nothing which has more the character of a nuisance to all men of tolerable taste, than whole sentences, nay, we are tempted to say, whole pages of the *Westminster Review*. We may refer particularly to the cur-like attacks which it has repeatedly made on articles and writers in the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*. Something like a chivalrous forbearance had been shewn to one another by these champions of the two prevailing parties in the nation, and in no instance do we recollect the one making a direct attack upon the other; but this style of gentlemanly debate was immediately abandoned by the *Westminster Review*; and instead of confining itself to the understood rules of combat, of whose utility long experience was the best proof, it began

to hit right and left,—to give, here a fair blow, there a foul,—on one part of its adversary's body to inflict a bite, on another a scratch, and on a third, perhaps, a stroke with a concealed dagger. There has, indeed, been in by far the most of its papers a most clown-like awkwardness and unreadability, (Bentham). Witness, for instance, in this last number, the article on Dr Henderson's *History of Ancient and Modern Wines*. It proceeds through fifty long, dull pages, without one scintillation of spirit, which one would have supposed must have been produced by the very handling of such spirit-stirring subjects as the finest wines in the world.

We intended to dissect the articles in the 7th Number at length, but really we find the task would be by far too irksome, the moment we look at the contents, and find the comparative distances of the pages devoted to each subject. In reading the first article, on the New Edition, by Buchon, of the *Chronicles of Froissart*, we do confess that we felt considerable delight; little thanks, however, to the *Westminster Review*. The passage which pleased us most was that in which the courtly old chronicler has almost painted the battle of Poitiers, which is here extracted by the Review, and in a form more intelligible than hitherto. With this article we are indeed much better pleased than with any other in the whole Number. The following article is one on duelling. With its views we are much inclined to coincide, so far as we can understand them; but its arguments are so inflated with Benthamism, that it is no easy task at times to discover their common-sense bearings.

Blanqui's *Journey into England and Scotland*, in 1823, was not a book which it was worth the while of a Review, pretending to some selection in the works it takes up, ever to have looked into. Occasional poet attempts at wit mark the article; but, on the whole, it is really much of a piece with the very silly book—*class reviews*.

The late particularly indifferent antiquarian researches, and would not perplex ourselves a moment in attempting to discover whether the English Dr Young, the French M. Champollion,

found out the newly-ascertained Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics. The honour of prior discovery seems undoubtedly to belong to the Englishman, and abundance of *mala fides* has been exposed in the conduct of the vain Gaul.

The following article of the Review takes up one of Bentham's favourite topics, "Abuses in Pleadings at Law." Without doubt, these require, in this country, to have the sweeping besom of reform applied to them. In Scotland, an attempt has been made to place the forms of pleading on a better footing; it remains to be seen how this reform will operate. Will the stiff-necked lawyers of England, with the stiff-necked of all mortals, the Chancellor, at their head, ever attempt such a reform in their own courts, where it is more needed than in Scotland?

In the observations of the Review on Mr M'Culloch's Introductory Discourse on the Science of Political Economy, we do not see one idea that has not been fifty times repeated in much better language. Whatever is said eulogistic of this great master of the science, we are disposed cordially to agree with.

Of the sickening article on wine, which follows, we have already said more than it deserves. What tempted the Westminster to say so much about a book of which every one knew all he wished to know, more than twelve months ago? The whole race of Reviewers had given their criticisms upon it long before; and what new thing has the Westminster added to the crowd of notable things which had been said of Dr Henderson and his book of wine?

We hold Mathematics to be a bore in political and literary reviews.

A long article, No. IX., is devoted to the explanation of the Benthamite theory, in reference to education. Many of the ideas are admirable; but it will not do to thrust them down men's throats. In short, we are afraid we shall continue for a considerable time unteachable by Mr Bentham, and we strongly suspect that it will be long, very long, ere the whole world adopt without qualification all the dogmas of the Chrestomathia.

In the review of Lord John Russell's

Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe, we must naturally expect to see the book and its author pretty severely handled; because Lord John is not a radical. However, he has not been very cruelly treated. We give the summing up of the critique. Says the Reviewer, who is by no means despicable in point of historical knowledge and sound observation, "Upon the whole, this book may be read as a good collection of facts, bearing upon some historical points, and as containing here and there some pretty specimens of essay-writing. With an evident desire to avoid taking a partial view of the subject, its author has not the capacity to take an extensive one; his opinions are sometimes incorrect, sometimes correct, never profound. He is an industrious, but not an entertaining compiler of memoirs; in all the higher duties of an historian, in tracing the operation of known principles of human nature in a large scale, and in various circumstances, that deduction from the past may throw light on the future, without which history is not more useful than a fable, he is indeed very deficient." Lord John deserves part of this; but he suffers the severest part of these remarks because he is not a Benthamite.

The two closing articles are bitter and vulgar attacks on the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews. The tirade against the Edinburgh begins with this most oracular annunciation: "They who write or speak upon an important subject, are either in earnest about it, or they are not." It required an angel from heaven, no doubt, to reveal this great truth to a wondering and gaping world, which would have remained for ever ignorant of it, had not supernatural agency been employed to promulgate it. As a specimen of the Cobbett style, we refer to the elegant dissertation on the *ins* and the *outs* on p. 214. The doctrines of the Edinburgh Review which are attacked are those on Parliamentary Reform; and for no reason on earth that we can see, but that the Edinburgh Review hesitates about admitting the principle of universal suffrage and vote by ballot; it has been virulently abused through many a tedious page of this purely-

radical article. The Quarterly Review does not fare better; and we rather think it deserves a pretty sound castigation for various attacks which it has made, without sufficient warrant, on the social state of ancient Greece. A different castigator from the Westminster Review must, however, take up the lash ere it can fall with proper effect on the Quarterly.

A cart-whip, inch thick with mud, is not the weapon to be employed against such an antagonist, and yet this is the only weapon used by the Westminster Review.

We have done with this work, and have only to say further, if it does not improve, the sooner it becomes dormant, the better it will be for all concerned in it.

Lines to the Memory of Mr Joseph Fell, jun. of Newcastle,

A young Man, endowed with promising talents, and a most amiable disposition; who died of consumption at Havre de Grace, 7th July 1825.

Written by Dr Alderson, Newcastle.

He came, a bright and cheering ray of morn,
Just as it gilds the calm and placid lake,—
The lake embower'd in woods, where fragrance, borne
Upon the gentle breeze, doth mellow wake
The song of thrush and linnet mid the thorn,—
“The milk-white thorn;” and when he softly spake,
That voice Eolian thrill'd upon the ear,
Just as the nightingale, that warbles near.

But as the pure and spotless flower, that springs
Beneath the May-day morn, and fills the glade
With perfum'd sweets, and o'er the rivulet flings
The beauteous image blooming but to fade:
Yes, like that flower he grew, mid meaner things,
So sweet, so gentle, all he did or said;
Softly, yet humble,—stately, but still low,—
Too wise for vanity,—himself he saw.

With eye serene he view'd the motley stage,
Of human life; no envious longings strove
Within his breast, ambition's war to wage:
His mild and gentle spirit nought could move
To strife: calmly he read the varied page
Of worldly vanities, state, glory, love;—
At others' faults he sigh'd, his own condemn'd,—
His virtues lightly priz'd, yet prais'd his friend.

He that hath seen that dark eye beaming love,
And heard that voice attun'd to friendship's tale,
Hath gaz'd on Hesperus nightly throned above,
Or listen'd to the murmuring plaintive gale
That sweeps in dirge through yonder scented grove
With me, perchance, may join in mournful wail,
And weep a while o'er friendship's sacred dust,
Whose spirit sleeps in an immortal trust.

NUGA CAMBRICA.

Bardic Congresses.

Though, Cambria, not in arts or arms thy name
 May vie with Roman or with Grecian fame,
 Yet hath the Muse, with an unsparing hand,
 Her bounties scatter'd o'er thy mountain land.
 From earliest time, thy *Awen* gave its bloom
 To cheer thy freedom, or to deck the tomb;
 From earliest time, thy woods and rocks among,
 The gifted Bard hath weav'd his varied song,
 To chant of Druid lore, or tune his lays
 To themes of love, or peerless Arthur's praise.—*Anon.*

AMONG the national characteristics of the Welsh, a predilection for music and poetry, and especially for the association of the sister arts, must be accounted one of the most prominent. Other nations have advanced far beyond them in the general career of learning and science, but, in an enthusiastic attachment to those intellectual pursuits, which may be emphatically styled national, no people have surpassed the Cymry. It is not the love of letters, merely, by which they are influenced on this occasion: they are also animated by a patriotic regard for their native land, and by an anxiety to preserve, unimpaired, those remarkable features by which it has ever been signalized. This singularity in the character of the Cymry is to be traced to a period of very remote antiquity; for the Greek and Roman writers, who supply any notices of the Druidical or Bardic Institution, which, as Cæsar tells us, had its origin in Britain, are express in their testimony to the ardour with which it encouraged the talents of the minstrel and the poet. At first, indeed, it appears as if these qualifications were only considered as auxiliary to the higher aims of the institution, and were adopted, as we have elsewhere observed, as the channel whereby its laws and precepts were promulgated to the people. Hence it is, that, in the Institutional Triads of Bardism,

"instruction by voice, song, and conventional usage," were declared to be the "three modes of instruction adopted by the Bards of the Isle of Britain." And the Historical Triads commemorate Tydain Tâd Awen, or Tydain the Father of the Muse, as the first who reduced poetry to a system, and thus laid the foundation of the privileges and customs of Bardism.

It is thus evident, that the first traces of this peculiarity in the national manners of the Cymry are to be found in the earliest ages. But the change of times necessarily produced a remarkable revolution in this respect: the cultivation of the sister arts already alluded to, which was originally considered only as instrumental to the political or religious views of the Bardic Institutions, became, in time, its sole or paramount object. But in order to shew this in a clearer light, we will take a cursory retrospect of the history of the Bardic Congress.

We have already seen that the Druidical and Bardic Institution was of very high antiquity, and that it was established for the promotion of objects connected with the political and moral welfare of the community, as well as for the minor or subordinate purposes of cultivating the arts of music and poetry. For the purpose of carrying these objects into effect, the Bardic Congress* was es-

* Bardic assemblies appear to have been anciently of two sorts, the *Gorsedd* and *Cadwal*, both of which terms imply, alike, a Chair or Seat of Presidency, differing only in degree: the first having reference to a general or supreme Congress, and the last to one merely provincial or particular. In process of time, however, these distinctions seem to have faded away, or to have been applied indiscriminately to the two modes of meeting. We have therefore spoken of the assemblies of both sects under the general denomination of Congresses.

published; and the most ancient notices of it; now extant, occur in the Triads of the Social State, which are ascribed, by the learned, to Dynwal Moelmud, who lived three or four centuries before the Christian era. In these ancient records, the *Gorsedd y Beirdd*, or Congress of Bards, is numbered amongst the "national privileged meetings of the Cymry," and is denominated "one of the three assemblies of fraternal union*." It was held at stated times, in some central or exposed part of the country; and, as we have before mentioned,

In the Sun's face, beneath the eye of
Light.

Such was the primitive character of this ancient convention; but how long it was retained, there are now no means of ascertaining with any degree of accuracy or precision. The long intestine wars consequent on the bitter enmity and successive invasions of the Romans and Saxons, as well as the introduction of Christianity, by destroying the political and religious ascendancy of the Druids, must have deprived the institution of its primitive importance; and from this period, there is no doubt it gradually degenerated more and more from its genuine high and peculiar character.

The Bardic Congress, indeed, was, in its earliest stage, of a very different nature to what it subsequently became. In its next gradation, it appears to have been devoted to the more particular encouragement of the musical and poetical talents of the country, as well as to the preservation of the ancient ordinances and traditions of the Bards. The first Congress of which any memorial has descended to us, was one held on the banks of the Conway, in the seventh century, under the auspices of Maelgwyn Gwynedd, prince of North Wales. The account, which is both quaint and obscure, occurs in a poem of Jorweith Beli, a poet of the fourteenth century, who seems to have recorded the event for the sake of a joke practised on the occasion by the Prince, who proposed a reward for such of the Bards and Minstrels as

should swim over the Conway. The offer was acceded to, and, upon the arrival of the parties on the opposite shore, the harpers were found incapable of playing, owing to the injury which their instruments had sustained from the water, while the Bards, as might be expected, continued in as good tune as ever: this being, probably, the result contemplated by Maelgwyn. The following is a *literal* translation of the passage, in which this singular event is related:

When Maelgwyn, the Tall, went from the
land of the son of Don,
From the banquet of the champion of the
Congress to Caernarvon,
And was taking with him memorials of
the superior excellence
That vocal song had acquired over the
Minstrels,

He proposed many substantial rewards
To all who should swim the river.
When they came to land on the wave-
beaten banks of the river,
The harpers were worthless and silent;
But by reason of the fair increase of the
faculty of the wise,
The poets composed equally well as be-
fore,

Notwithstanding their swimming*.

A wide chasm now intervenes in the history of these assemblies, which may, perhaps, be explained, by the unsettled and turbulent events of the period to which it relates. The Muses, like the laws, are silent amidst the clang of arms, whether it be the din of foreign arms or the tumult of intestine commotion, to both of which Wales was miserably exposed during this troubled season. The next records which we find, and which are merely of a general nature, have reference to several Congresses held at the close of the eleventh century, under the respective auspices of Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, and Gruffydd ab Cynan, princes of North Wales, both of them distinguished for their munificent patronage of the Bards. The Bardic laws and institutions underwent various modifications at these meetings, and particularly under the Congresses holden under the last-mentioned prince, who is supposed to have given the Congress a more musical character than previously possessed, by the

* Archaeology of Wales, Vol. III., p. 283. † Archaeology of Wales, Vol. I., p. 476.

from Ireland, (where he spent much of his time,) not only of several skilful musicians, but also of some musical instruments, before unknown in Wales. At these Congresses it was, moreover, ordained, that no one should be admitted a Bard, except at an *Eisteddfod*, which was to be held every third year, at the principal palace of the prince at Aberfraw, in Anglesey, and at Mathravel in Powys land. And it was ordered, that no person should, from that day forward, be admitted a Bard, except through permission of the lord, and authority obtained from the Bardic instructor, who was to certify by the appointed day, that the candidate was duly skilled in the principles of his art. By the same regulations, the arts of music and poetry were separated; no poet being allowed to play on the harp, or upon any other instrument; neither could he exercise any other calling whatever*.

The example set by these princes was followed by Cadwgan, the son of the former, as appears by a passage in the Chronicle of the Princes, in the *Archæology of Wales*, (Vol. II. p. 537.) of which the following is a translation: In the year of Christ 1107, Cadwgan, the son of Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, made an honourable feast, and invited to it the chieftains and gentlemen of the country, out of every province in Wales, to his castle, at Aberteivi. And for the sake of shewing the greater respect to his guests, he invited to it the Bards, and the best Minstrels, vocal and instrumental, that could be found in all Wales; and he gave them chairs and subjects of emulation, according to the custom of the feasts of King Arthur. He also gave them customs and privileges, and honourable presents, and dismissed them, rewarded with gifts, and privileged with honour, every one to return to the place from whence he came."

It is probable, that from the impulse given by Bleddyn ab Cynfyn, and Gruffydd ab Cynan, the Congresses of the Bards were for

time afterwards uninterruptedly held. However, the next instance that occurs after that last noticed, is one at an interval of sixty years, at which Rhys ab Gruffydd, Prince of South Wales, presided, and which, like the last, the reader will perceive, united the festivities of the Bard with the charms of music and song. The following record of it is also extracted from the Chronicle of the Princes already quoted. In the year 1166, the Lord Rhys held a distinguished feast in the castle of Aberteivi, and he instituted two sorts of contention, one between the bards and poets, and the other between the harpers, crowders, and pipers, and a variety of vocalists. He bestowed two chairs† on the victors in the contest, whom he also enriched with costly presents. A young page of his own court obtained the victory in instrumental song, and the men of North Wales (*Gwynedd*) obtained it in vocal song. All the other Minstrels also received from the Lord Rhys as much as they demanded, so that no one was disappointed. And that feast was proclaimed over Wales a year before it took place, and over England, Scotland, and Ireland, and many other countries‡."

For nearly three centuries after this, we have not been able to discover any traces of the continuance of this national usage; but the conquest of Wales, at the close of the thirteenth century, became necessarily fatal to the influence of the Bards, who were, as we have elsewhere shewn, immediately deprived of the enjoyment of their ancient privileges. Their Congresses were consequently for a long time afterwards entirely discontinued; and it was not until the 15th century, during the reign of Edward the IV. that we find any instance of their revival, a royal commission having been then obtained for the holding of one at Carmarthen, under the patronage of a gentleman of that neighbourhood. At this meeting, Dafydd ab Edmund, a distinguished

* Constitution and Ordinances of Minstrels, translated from the Appendix to Dr Rhys's *Welsh Institutes*.

† A chair was the usual prize, as it still continues to be, for the successful candidates on these occasions.

‡ *Archæology of Wales*, Vol. I., p. 437.

poet of Hanmer, in Flintshire, obtained the chair, and gained, through his persuasive eloquence, the sanction of the Congress to the twenty-four new canons of poetry, which the loss of the original laws had induced him and the other Bards of North Wales to compile, but against which the Bards of Glamorgan, who pretended to be possessed of the primitive canons, afterwards entered a protest.

In the reign of Henry the Seventh, another Congress, also under the royal authority, took place in South Wales; but no particulars, as we are aware, have descended to these times. To this succeeded several others during the 16th century, in the same division of the principality, under the auspices respectively of Sir Richard Nevile and William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, for the express purpose of collecting and consolidating what remained of the ancient Bardic institutes and traditions. And on the 26th of May 1568, a Congress, or *Eisteddood**, as it was called, was holden, under commission granted by Queen Elizabeth, at Caerwys, in the county of Flint, which commission was directed to Sir Richard Bulkeley, and others, and is now, we believe, preserved in the Mostyn collection of Welsh Antiquities. It does not appear, however, that anything was done at this meeting beyond a mere contest of musicians, attended by some empty parade, of no connection with the genuine purposes of the Bardic Congress; and this, as far as we can learn, was the last assembly of the sort held under the sanction of the royal license.

In 1580, a Congress was established in South Wales, under the presidency of Sir Edward Lewis of the Van, and at which the Bardic collections made some years before, under the auspices of Sir Richard Neville and Lord Pembroke, as already alluded to, were considerably augmented; and these were again thoroughly revised and methodized, and finally declared to comprise a full

illustration of Bardism at a Congress holden at Bewpyr Castle, Glamorganshire, under the patronage of Sir Richard Basset, in 1681, at which thirteen regular Bards attended, as appears by a list still in existence.

Thus appears to have terminated the second stage of the Bardic Congress, or Session, in which, for more than six centuries, even according to our imperfect records, it had continued the means of rescuing from oblivion the ancient ordinances and traditions of the Bards. Since the period alluded to, it has been regarded more as a festival for the encouragement of the national music, poetry, and general literature. From the time of Sir Richard Basset, until the year 1819, when the first meeting of the "Cambrian Society in Dyfed" was held, the only efforts to revive this national custom are those that were made under the patronage of the Gwyneddigion, at different places in North Wales, where appropriate prizes were awarded to the successful candidates in poetry and music.

Such is a mere outline of the history of the Bardic Congress, from its earliest dawn, until its late revival under the sanction and encouragement of the Royal Cambrian Institution. In its pure and primitive character, this national meeting had for its various objects the reformation of manners and customs, the support of ancient privileges, the commemoration of remarkable occurrences, the maintenance of public tranquillity, and, finally, the general promotion of science, morality, and religion. It was, accordingly, in the distant ages to which this observation has reference, connected, in an integral manner, with the public welfare of the country. It was the great political engine by which the general prosperity of the State, as well as the integrity of its several social relations, was upheld and secured. In later times, however, when the Druidical system had lost its political influence, the aim of the Bardic Congress was

* This appears to have been the first occasion on which the word *Session*, was applied to the Bardic Congress, and without any advantage appears to us, over the old terms.

limited to the collection and preservation of the Bardic institutes and traditions, and to the encouragement of music and poetry; and even in this qualified character, it must have been useful in preserving, unimpaired, the interesting traces of the manners and customs of the people, in a point so essentially connected with their peculiar character.

We shall conclude this notice with the following beautiful lines, which were recited at the second anniversary of the establishment of the Royal Cambrian Institution: our readers, we are sure, will derive much pleasure from their perusal.

The Meeting of the Bards.

Where met the Bards of old—the glorious throng—

They of the mountain and the battle-song?

They met—oh! not in kingly hall or tower,

But where wild Nature girt herself with power;

They met where streams flash'd bright from rocky caves,—

They met where woods made moan o'er warriors' graves,—

And where the torrent's rainbow spray was cast,—

And where dark lakes were heaving to the blast,—

And 'midst th' eternal cliffs, whose strength defied

The crested Roman in his hour of pride,—

And where the *Carnedd*, on its lonely hill,

Bore silent record of the mighty still,—

And where the Druid's ancient *Cromlech* frown'd,

And the oaks breath'd mysterious murmurs round.

They throng'd, th' inspir'd of yore! on plain or height,

"In the Sun's face, beneath the eye of Light,"

And, baring up Heaven each noble head,

Stood in the circle where none else might tread!

Well might their lays be lofty! Soaring thoughts,

From Nature's presence, tenfold grander brought!

Well might old Freedom's soul pervade the nation,

Which started eagle from their lone domains!

Whence came the echoes to those numbers high?

'Twas from the battle-fields of days gone by;

And from the tombs of heroes laid to rest,

With their good swords, upon the mountain's breast;

And from the watch-tow'rs on the heights of snow,

Sever'd by cloud and storm from all below;

And the turf-mounds, once girt by ruddy spears,

And the rock-altars of departed years!

Thence, deeply mingling with the torrent's roar,

The winds a thousand wild responses bore;

And the green land, whose every vale and glen

Doth shrine the memory of heroic men,

On all her hills, awakening to rejoice,

Sent forth proud answers to her children's voice.

For us—not our's the festival to hold,

'Midst the stone-circles, hallow'd thus of old;

Not where great Nature's majesty and might

First broke, all glorious, on our wondering sight;

Not near the tombs, where sleep our free and brave;

Not by the *mountain-lynx**, the ocean wave,

In these late days we meet;—dark Mona's shore,

Eryri's† cliffs, resound with harps no more.

But, as the stream (though time or art may turn

The current, bursting from its cavern'd urn,

To bathe soft vales of pastures and of flowers,

From Alpine glens and awful forest bowers,)

Alike, in rushing strength, or sunny sleep,

Holds on its course to mingle with the deep;

Thus, though our path be changed, still, warm and free,

Land of the Bard! our spirit flies to thee.

To thee our thoughts, our hearts, our hopes belong;

Our dreams are haunted by thy voice of song!

Nor yield our souls one patriot feeling less

To the green memory of thy loveliness,

Than their's, whose harp-notes peal'd from every height,

"In the Sun's face, beneath the eye of Light."

* Mountain-lake.

† The Snowdonian Cliffs.

WORKS PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

LONDON.

Preparing for publication, *Remains of the Rev. Christian Frederick Schwartz, Missionary in India*; consisting of his Letters and Journals, with a Sketch of his Life.

A new and enlarged edition of *The Bar*, with Sketches of Eminent Judges, Barristers, &c., a Poem, with Notes, is in the press.

Select Specimens of English Prose and Poetry, from the Age of Elizabeth to the present Time, including, in a moderate size, considerable portions of those authors who have had a decided influence over our language and literature; to which will be added, Introductory Essays, by the Rev. Geo. Walker, Head-master of the Leeds Grammar-school, in two volumes, 12mo. are nearly ready for publication.

Nearly ready, a fifth edition, revised and corrected, of the Rev. T. H. Horne's Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, in four large vols. 8vo., illustrated with numerous Maps and Fac-similes of Biblical MSS.

No. 10 of Mr Britton's Illustrations of the Ancient Architecture of Great Britain, to complete the volume, will appear in September. Another number of the Cathedral Antiquities is also expected at the same time; and vol. 3. of the Beauties of Wiltshire.

Sermons, preached on several occasions in the Island of Barbadoes, by W. J. Shrewsbury, late Wesleyan Methodist Missionary in that island, will speedily be published, in one vol. 8vo.

In the press, *The Georgics of Virgil*, by T. W. C. Edwards, M.A.

Mr Hakewill's *Picturesque Tour of Jamaica*, the seventh and concluding part, is in the press.

A new and considerably improved edition of the Rev. G. N. Wright's *Guide to Dublin* is nearly ready.

Mr C. A. Elton, author of *Specimens of the Classic Poets*, has in the press a History of the Roman Emperors, from the Accession of Augustus to the Fall of the last Constantine.

Sketches, Political, Geographical, and Statistical, of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, &c., will soon be published.

Two hundred and fifty Copies of a Translation of all the existing Fragments of the Writings of Proclus, surnamed the Platonic Successor, by Thomas Taylor, the Platonist, are announced.

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The Second Correspondence of Madame de Maintenon and the Princess des Ursins, from the original letters, in the possession of the Duke de Choiseul, is in the press, and stated to contain a more interesting account of the political transactions and secret intrigues of the Court of Louis XIV. than any other hitherto published.

Part II. of Dr Kitchiner's *Economy of the Eyes*, and *Treatise on Telescopes*, being the result of thirty years' experiments, is preparing for publication.

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The Literary Souvenir; or *Cabinet of Poetry and Romance for 1826*, with splendid Engravings, is now printing.

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The Improvisatrice, by L. E. L., has, it appears from a *United States Journal*, been reprinted in America.

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MONTHLY REGISTER.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—*French Rentes*.—M. de Villele has realised the first part of his plan for the conversion of the French debt, the amount of assents to the conversion into the three per cents. being 30,688,268 francs *de rente*. It is said that the house of Rothschild alone effected the conversion of more than eight millions. After Friday, no assents could be received, but the books are to remain open till the 22d of September, to allow the conversion of *rentes* into a four and half per cent. stock at par; and when that amount is ascertained, M. de Villele will be enabled to judge how far the sinking fund will be adequate to the reimbursement of the unliquidated *rentes*. The Council-General of the bank of France decided on Wednesday against the conversion of their funded property into 3 per cents. It is said that there was neither discussion nor division upon the subject.

The manufacturing labourers of France seem to have taken a leaf out of the book of their contemporaries in England. Rouen and its vicinity have been greatly enriched by the establishment of manufactories. A very large population is supported from this source, both in the town and in the neighbouring villages. In one of those villages called Houllme, a combination was formed of the workmen to obtain a rise of wages. The conspirators appear to have very closely copied our English models. They subscribed to support those who were out of work. They struck themselves, and they forced those who were willing to work to strike also, by means of threats

and violence. The next step was to assemble with clubs and staves, and to assault one of the master manufacturers; and he being rescued from their violence, they proceeded to break the windows of the manufactory, and to pull down the walls. A communication was made to the workmen of the neighbouring villages, and they, in obedience to the suggestion, also *turned out*. In short, there were some thousands of workmen in a state of riot. The military were called out. The rioters, like madmen and fools as they were, resisted with stones, sticks, pitchforks, and even with firearms. The result was such as might naturally be expected; the military prevailed, and above forty workmen were brought in prisoners, to be dealt with as the law directs. We shall see whether the French mode is more tolerant than our own, of outrages which are utterly incompatible with the prosperity of manufacturing establishments. A severe and rigorous punishment of this first attempt at riotous conspiracy will be mercy to the great body of workmen, who may otherwise be persuaded to engage frequently in measures exposing their lives to forfeiture.

The decree of the King of France, acknowledging the independence of St. Domingo, has been officially published; and, in point of form, is one of the most singular of documents. In the outset, it assumes, on the part of a king, a right of sovereignty over the French part of the island, by doing away with the ancient colonial system of exclusion; then it *declares* that the duties levied in those ports should be reduced one-half in

Javour of the French flag; and that the present inhabitants shall pay 150,000,000 francs as an indemnity to the old colonists, in five equal yearly instalments; and it concludes by *granting* to the inhabitants, on these conditions, "the full and entire independence of their government." Thus the king, by implication, denies the past *de facto* independence of the Haytian government, and practically asserts his own *de jure* supremacy, until the very moment that he, of his own free will, grants to his Haytian subjects that independence which it is to be taken for granted they never possessed! This, which is meant to disguise the clashing of his Majesty's policy with the ineffably sublime doctrines of the Holy Alliance, is, of itself, the merest drivelling and pedantry; but it is a proof and a virtual declaration, that those doctrines are sometimes at variance with the true interests of a nation, to which they must, in practice, be made to succumb. The recognition of Haytian independence has been severely commented upon by the opponents of the minister. It is, say they, a transfer of a part of the French dominions, which, according to the charter, could only be effected through the medium, and with the sanction of the Chambers. The intelligence of the measure, however, has been received with great satisfaction and joy at Rouen, Marseilles, and other commercial towns, where its importance and advantages can be duly estimated. It was viewed as the precursor of other liberal measures; and the hopes of the public in that respect have not been disappointed. The French government, by a special ordinance, has permitted the admission of Colombian vessels into the French ports, provided they do not display the national flag—a condition which is meant to show a decent respect to the pretensions of Spain, while the ordinance itself indicates a disposition to treat with, and recognise the new American States as members of the great family of nations.

Letters from Port-au-Prince, of the 5th July, received at Havre, contain the following details of the manner in which the French King's ordinance was received in Hayti: "On the 3d July, in the afternoon, a French division, composed of the frigate Circe, the brig Ruse, and the schooner Bearnaise, anchored in the road of Port-au-Prince. The commandant, Baron de Mackau, went on shore in the morning of the 4th instant. He was well received by all the authorities. The negotiations relative to the independence commenced on the same day, and were finished at ten o'clock the same evening.

The ordinance of the king was promulgated on the morning of the 8th. The President and the Baron Mackau embraced each other, and the populace filled the air with cries of "Vive Hayti! Vive la France! Vive la Roi! Vive l'Independence!"

French Encampment on the Frontiers of Spain.—The following letter, from Bayonne, contains intelligence respecting the formation of the camp in the neighbourhood of that city. A similar one is formed on the side of Perpignan:—*Bayonne, Aug. 16*—General Pelletout, appointed to the command of the troops destined to be encamped in this neighbourhood, has arrived here with his staff, and to-morrow the 24th Regiment of Infantry will arrive to replace the 4th Regiment of Light Infantry, at present in garrison at the citadel, who will immediately enter the encampment at Marac. Every preparation is made for the reception of the troops, the infantry at Marac and the vicinity, the cavalry at Ustaritz and St. Jean de Luz, and the artillery on the Glacis. It is said, that the whole will compose a body of 11,000 men, and will be assembled by the 27th inst. Various are the rumours respecting the destination of this army; those most conversant in affairs of this nature assert that it will remain here in readiness to enter Spain in case of need, to enforce such measures as the Government may deem expedient.

SPAIN.—*Madrid, Aug. 15.*—The garrison of St. Ildefonso, already stronger than usual, has been within these few days still farther augmented by a battalion of one of the two Swiss Regiments, in the service of France, remaining here. This circumstance has attracted public attention, which is lost in conjectures respecting the motives which could have produced a call for troops at the seat of the Court, which were not required for the service of this garrison; but the letters which we received this day from St. Ildefonso, in announcing the above-mentioned event, mention the discovery of a plot, the object of which was the assassination of M. Zea, and which would sufficiently explain the march of the Swiss; which fact, in its turn, renders credible the existence of the plot itself.

An Extraordinary Council of State is summoned for the 17th instant. Several high functionaries, who are not qualified to assist in Council, have, nevertheless, been summoned to this; it is thence presumed that pressing and important affairs will be therein entertained; for, although the King suffers under an attack of the gout, the day of meeting is irrevocably fixed.

I think I may assure you, that a correspondence, seized by the Superintendent of Police, and in which there is a question of forcing the King to abdicate, forms the principal object of this extraordinary meeting of the Council; but that which I can farther certify to you is, that the project for the re-establishment of the Inquisition will be there discussed—perhaps even terminated one way or other, but definitively.

One journal pretends that 300 persons have been arrested at Seville. We believe that the number is reduced to 12. Another, that M. Zea was for 14 hours out of office, that an august personage spoke to the King of Spain of abdication, &c. Those men who seek for truth have so often been deceived by all these journals, that they now know how to appreciate their news. In fact, the better to comprehend the situation of Spain, we must recollect with what facility people's minds were agitated in France in 1816, 17, 18, and 19. It was also believed that the criminal attempts of Didien and Bertin were more serious than they really were. It was easy at that time to alarm Europe with respect to our situation, and it was accordingly done. Let us apply these reflections to Spain, and we shall be sensible that it will require some years for order to be restored after great revolutions. In politics, the imaginations of men are disturbed long after all movement has ceased.

Death of the Ultra Royalist Bessieres.
—The Paris papers lately received communicate the important intelligence of the arrest and execution of Bessieres, with seven of his followers. This event took place on the 25th ult. at Molina d'Arragon, where, as it appears, he was overtaken by General Count D'Espagne, and immediately shot. The seven who suffered with him were officers of cavalry. Ferdinand, it is said, has addressed a letter to the King of France, to inform him of the critical situation of his kingdom. But what can Charles X. do for him? Order his troops to re-enter Spain? Suppose it done: the country would still be as far removed as ever from that condition which could guarantee her prosperity and repose. It is always much easier, both in public and private difficulties, to tell what should be done, than to find the best way of doing it. On the other hand, the first useful step towards improvement can be taken only when an accurate knowledge of the evil has been obtained. What every man of sound political judgment must deprecate, as regards Spain, is the continuance of a system of military coercion, upon the calculation that that alone

will be sufficient to bring about her redemption. The only result of practically acting upon such a notion would be, in the end, a total dissolution of the very elements of civil society, and the consequent growth of a state of anarchy, which it is frightful to contemplate. It appears from all the accounts, that the Carlists are augmenting their numbers throughout the Peninsula; and they may, perhaps, ultimately become strong enough to carry their project, that of dethroning the present Monarch, and placing the crown on the head of Don Carlos. Such an event, however, would only create fresh difficulties. Supposing Don Carlos qualified to regenerate his unhappy country,—supposing him to possess the confidence of nine-tenths of his subjects, as they would then become,—how could the Continental Powers—the more immediate allies of Spain, view so revolutionary a proceeding? Could they sanction the forced abdication of Ferdinand, even for the good of Spain? It is obvious they could not: and the attempt, therefore, to proclaim Carlos, would only prepare the way for fresh disasters.

PORTUGAL.—The following proclamation was found posted up in most of the principal places of the Portuguese capital, in the morning of the 30th of July, and stuck to the walls with a preparation so extremely adhesive, that the police were unable to tear it down. On the morning that it appeared in the capital, it was in the same way found posted up in the main streets of Oporto, Braga, Villa Real, &c. :—

“PROCLAMATION ADDRESSED TO THE NATION.

“Valiant Portuguese.—The British Government acts according to a plan of complete intrigue. They favour our party as far only as they conceive is consistent with their own Machiavellic views, with unheard-of subtlety, afterwards so managing, that the French Government should be the executors of the very plots they themselves had framed, by extorting the banishment of our Prince, the only person who ought to reign over us. It was they (British Government) who dictated the decree of the 24th June, on seeing that the publication of our innocence and just pretensions, by the competent tribunal, was so near at hand, which would have brought eternal confusion on our enemies. The moment has arrived, Portuguese. The continental Governments are on our side, and, although the abdication of the king should not take place, an equivalent will be obtained without the number of evils, Portuguese, such a measure would bring with

it. Let us therefore unite,—let us ward off the tempest gathering against us, by resorting to a policy that is not our own. Let us establish a Regency, presided over by the Queen, our Lady, with whom alone we can be happy.”

NETHERLANDS.—The Brussels papers contain a royal decree from the King of the Netherlands, prohibiting the faculties of medicine in the universities from granting the degree of doctor of medicine to army medical officers, without authority from the King's Commissary-General, and also prohibiting the medical boards in the provinces, without similar authority, from allowing such officers to practise as surgeons, accoucheurs, or apothecaries. The Commissary-General can only grant the permission, in either of these cases, upon the condition that the medical officer soliciting such permission shall engage to continue in the King's service ten years afterwards.

GERMANY.—The German papers state, that Mr Jacob, from London, formerly M. P. is travelling with instructions from the British Government, to inquire into the state of the corn trade, the cultivation of corn, and the stock in the magazines in the north of Germany. He was at Berlin on the 30th ult., and was to visit some great landholders in that neighbourhood, then go to the seaports of Pomerania, and afterwards to Poland. Mr Jacob is said to express himself favourably for the German landholders, giving them hope that the English Government intends to allow the free importation of corn.

Hanover, August 10.—On the 29th of July, at three in the afternoon, the earth sunk in, and left a large opening, in the district of Barlis; it is 100 feet in diameter, and continues to enlarge. It cannot be seen how deep it is, but stones being thrown in, a noise is heard, after the lapse of a minute and some seconds, as if they had fallen into water.

PRUSSIA.—The anniversary of the birth-day of the King of Prussia was celebrated at Berlin on the 3d instant. Among other demonstrations of loyalty was a play at the Theatre, in the prologue to which a happy allusion was made to an afflicting circumstance which took place in 1808, when the French forbade the keeping of the King's birth-day. On that occasion the celebrated Ifland appeared on the stage, and, instead of the prologue that was expected, held a nosegay of the little flower called “Forget-me-not,” towards the royal box, then empty and deserted. The allusion had the effect of electricity, and the famous song, “*Heil dir an Siegesthron!*” (answering to the Eng-

lish “See the conquering Hero comes”) was loudly called for, and sung with enthusiasm.

RUSSIA.—The board for ecclesiastical affairs in Russia has issued an ukase for the immediate seizure of several writings, which were published during the late ministry, and are extensively circulated; they are chiefly Russian translations of the works of Jung Stilling and Madam Guyon, and other mystics. Strict search is to be made for these books in all seminaries, ecclesiastical schools, and convents. The publication of religious works, not approved by the censors of the Synod, is to be severely punished.

The Emperor of Russia has given his sanction to a joint-stock company to cultivate the vine, and manufacture wines, in the Crimea.—On the 6th ult. the first stone of a new Catholic chapel was laid at Zarskojeselo, near the Emperor of Russia's palace. His Majesty gave 30,000 rubles and the ground.

ITALY.—A report is current at Milan, that the Count de Niepperg, First Gentleman Usher to the Archduchess Maria Louisa, Duchess of Parma, to whom he is said to have been privately married, is to be raised to the dignity of a Prince. The Emperor of Austria lately honoured the General with the ribbon of one of his orders.

GREECE.—A letter from General Roche, agent for the Paris Committee in Greece, communicates some authentic intelligence from that country, which, considering the tenor of the preceding accounts, may be considered as rather satisfactory. Ibrahim Pacha had marched quite across the Morea, burning and ravaging the country, and on the 25th of June reached the “Post of the Windmills,” in the immediate neighbourhood of Nauplia (or Napol). General Roche was in this post with Prince Ipsilanti and 250 men, who were increased by reinforcements during the action to 700. The Arab troops, which exhibited a respectable degree of discipline, amounted to 5600 infantry and 700 cavalry, with two small field-pieces. “At five o'clock,” says the letter, “the general attack began; the Greeks sustained it with extraordinary courage. In vain the Egyptian column from the Civeri road endeavoured to force the entrance to the mills; it was repulsed three times following, and at a quarter past six was put to the route. The Greeks immediately pursued it, but the fear of the enemy's cavalry made them return to their post. At half-past six the enemy rallied, and directed his march to the back part of the mountain, where he halted to call in his tirailleurs. Whilst the left wing of the

Greeks was beating off the enemy, the centre column had arrived at the foot of the mountain, where some fighting ensued in the inclosed gardens, which I had in the morning advised Prince Ipsilanti to have entrenched, and make a regular post. At a quarter to seven the firing decreased, but began again with greater vivacity at seven. During the fight the enemy continually reinforced their attacking columns, as were also the Greeks, to whom the Government had sent out as many as 450 men, which raised the forces of Ipsilanti, about seven o'clock, to 700 men, and towards eight o'clock in the evening, farther additions had raised them to 900. At that period the Turks began to retire, in great disorder and confusion, on the road to Argos. The centre column endeavoured to take up a position in the mountain opposite the windmills; but the company of Voltigeurs pursued and routed them. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded must amount to 400 men—that of the Greeks is very slight. On this occasion the Greeks have proved to the Barbarians, that when they are well commanded, they can fight like men worthy to become free. The beautiful and rich valleys of Modon, Calamata, and Leon-dari, after having been pillaged and the inhabitants massacred, have been delivered to the flames. Since Ibrahim Pacha has been in the plain of Argos, he has burnt that large town, and reduced to ashes the thousands of olive trees which grew in that fertile plain. He has pitched his camp near the ruins. If he remain long in that position, the Greeks will have time to cut off his retreat both by the defiles of Tripolizza and of Corinth. He cannot undertake the siege of Napoli, having neither cannon, ammunition, nor provisions. He reckoned on his fleet; but that the Greeks keep strictly blockaded at Suda." In a postscript, he adds, "I have just learnt that the Arabs are withdrawing; they have taken the road which leads to Tripolizza and Calavrita, but it is not known what is their destination. The Government has just given orders for some guerillas to follow them, in order to harass their retrograde march. Ibrahim Pacha's true object is to carry desolation wherever he can, for he fully sees the impossibility of at present conquering the Peloponnesus." It is evident that the complexion of this intelligence is decidedly favourable. The Egyptian Pacha has been repulsed, and has commenced his retreat through a country, where the consequences of the desolation he has himself created are likely to be visited on his own troops. If the superiority which the Greeks have by sea is great enough to

enable them to cut off all his supplies, there is reason to hope that famine and the sword will soon annihilate his army. Later accounts from Trieste say, that Ibrahim was actually surrounded near Tripolizza by Colocotroni.

The following arrangement, it is fondly hoped, will put the seal to the independence of Greece. Our generous countryman, Lord Cochrane, after warring for the rights of mankind in another hemisphere, has agreed to devote his unrivalled courage and skill to the service of the Greeks. He takes with him two ships of the line, and two steam vessels, manned with British seamen. We have repeatedly stated, that this is exactly what the Greeks want, to achieve their emancipation. The irruptions of the Turks on the land side have been so feeble and fruitless, that had the Greeks been completely masters by sea, this campaign, which has brought their cause to the verge of ruin, would have crowned their arms with new and decisive triumphs. Under any commander, such a naval force would be an immense acquisition to that people in their struggle; but his Lordship's renown is an item of no small value in the account; and his gallantry, too, is of that daring character, which must make him peculiarly formidable to such awkward, blundering seamen as the Turks. In Peru, Captain Hall tells us, that his Lordship, with a very small force, turned the tide of the war in favour of the Patriots in a twinkling. We have no doubt that his appearance in the *Ægean* will effect as much for the Greeks. Pressed as that people are by difficulties, we are still confident that they will be able to hold out till he joins them; and then invasions of the Morea by sea will be at end. But the friends of the Greeks owe a debt of gratitude besides, to Sir Francis Burdett, Mr Hume, Mr Hobhouse, and the other gentlemen who have taken the risk and responsibility (and no small risk and responsibility it is) of this arrangement upon them.

AMERICA.

MEXICO.—Spain has suffered another humiliation in the New World. The Asia ship of the line, with the brig *Constantia*, which were equipped for service, we believe, by melting Church and Crown plate, as a last effort to preserve the Spanish dominion in America, have abandoned the cause of Ferdinand, and joined the enemies they were sent out to conquer. The vessels have not been captured—they submitted to the Mexican Government spontaneously. The men are to receive the arrears of pay due them

by their employers; and both they and the officers have testified their readiness to swear obedience to the revolutionary government. We may easily guess at the true motives which have led to this desertion of the service of the mother country, though want of pay and provisions probably furnished a good pretext. The Sultan of Constantinople smites off the head of a Pacha who has made an unsuccessful campaign, without ever inquiring into the cause of his failure; and Ferdinand, who rivals the worst of the Mustaphas and Solimans in ignorance and caprice, is not inclined to spare the life of any officer who cannot snatch victory for him in despite of all disadvantages.

The treaty between Great Britain and Mexico, which has at last been ratified, declares that the Mexicans shall trade with Britain herself, and with her colonies, on the footing of the most favoured nations; the subjects of each power transacting their business in the dominions of the other, are not obliged to employ factors; they are exempted from compulsory military service, and extraordinary contributions. British subjects residing in Mexico are protected from molestation on account of their religion, "providing they respect that of the nation." The Mexican states are to co-operate in extirpating the slave-trade. It appears, from Mexican papers, received with the treaty, that the difficulties thrown in the ratification were in part created by the fanatical party, who declared that the object of the treaty was to destroy the Catholic religion, or, as the Mexicans express it, "to throw down the temples of the Eternal, to raise up those of Britain."

BRAZIL.—The differences which have arisen between the provinces of Rio de la Plata and the Government of Brazil threaten to lead to regular hostilities, of which there has yet been no example, between two of the States of the New World, which have raised themselves to independence. It may be worth while to take a cursory view of the origin of the dispute. Monte Video and the rest of the dependent territory north of the Aestuary of La Plata, and east of the Uruguay river, was, it is well known, down to a very late period, in the possession of Spain, a possession which was only interrupted by the temporary occupation of the fortress of Monte Video by our troops, during our ill-fated expedition against Buenos Ayres. During the troubles of the Peninsula, and the confusion in the Spanish Colonies, the Government of Portugal occupied the territory of Monte Video, in order to attract attention to claims in a dispute

with Spain of some standing, respecting some small territory, we believe on the frontiers of the district of Algarve. The Government of Brazil, since its separation from Portugal, has succeeded to the possession of Monte Video and its territory; but there has been no cession of that territory that we know of by the Court of Spain, either to Portugal or to Brazil, and certainly no cession by the United Provinces of La Plata, which may be supposed to have succeeded to the right of Spain in that quarter, and the time of occupation can hardly be considered a prescription, if the title was originally bad. As to the question of right, then, it would appear that the Government of Brazil has a very slender claim upon Monte Video. Putting aside the question how far it was generous or just for the Portuguese Government to seize Monte Video, it was seized as a security for the settlement of a dispute arising between the two Governments in the *Old World*. When Brazil separated from Portugal, and actually made war upon Portugal, she could not succeed to the right of definitive property, which Portugal never claimed, nor could she have a right to continue for her advantage a possession arising out of a dispute the whole subject of which was in Europe, to which she was no party, and to the settlement of which her occupation of Monte Video could in no way contribute. No doubt, in the general dissolution of the bonds which connected South America and Europe, it is just as lawful for the inhabitants of Monte Video and its neighbourhood to adhere to Brazil, as to the independent provinces of La Plata, if they wish it. But that they do not wish it, the connection of the people in language and customs with Buenos Ayres would lead us to suppose; that the force of the insurgents, who have easily swept away the Portuguese troops, except in the fortresses, seems to prove.

UNITED STATES.—At New York, the 4th of July, the Anniversary of American Independence was celebrated with unusual *clat*. General Lafayette had arrived on the 3d from Albany, to be present at the celebration, and the members of the Senate appointed a Committee to wait on him, to request him to meet the Senate at ten o'clock. Boat-races, and fireworks, and theatrical entertainments, and balls, were announced for the day and the evening. We do not believe that half as many Parisians were present at the grand coronation at Rheims, as the number amounts to of citizens of Philadelphia who repaired to New York on this occasion.

The Murats.—Within a few days, two sons of the late King of Naples, Achilles and Napoleon Murat, made, at the Prothonotary's Office of the Court of Common Pleas of this county, the necessary declaration of their intention, preparatory to their becoming citizens of the United States. We believe that both those gentlemen intend to settle in Florida. They are the first members of the Buonaparte family who have officially recorded their intention to become citizens of the United States. We do not recollect that any of the illustrious exiles from France, or any part of the Continent of Europe, who have taken refuge from the political troubles of these countries, have recently taken any steps to evince a wish to incorporate themselves with the American family. It is pretty generally known, that in this city, in 1792, Talleyrand took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and renounced all Kings, Princes, Potentates, and Powers.—*Democratic Press*, July 13.

Gigantic Organic Remains.—We lately mentioned, that the bones of a non-descript animal, of an immense size, and larger than any bones that have hitherto been noticed by naturalists, had been discovered about twenty-nine miles from New Orleans, in the alluvial ground formed by the Mississippi river and the lakes, and but a short distance from the sea. It now appears, that these gigantic remains had been disinterred by a Mr W. Schofield, of New Orleans, who spent about a year in this arduous undertaking. A fragment of a cranium is stated to measure twenty-two feet in length; in its broadest part four feet high, and perhaps nine inches thick; and it is said to weigh 1200 lbs. The largest extremity of this bone is thought evidently to answer to the human scapula; it tapers off to a point, and retains a flatness to the termination. From these facts it is inferred, that this bone constituted a fin, or sponder. One of its edges, from alternate exposure to the tide and atmosphere, has become spongy or porous, but, generally, it is in a perfect state of ossification. A large grove or canal presents itself in the superior portion of this bone, upon the sides of which considerable quantities of ambergris may be collected, which appears to have suffered little or no decomposition or changes by age. It burns with a beautiful bright flame, and emits an odoriferous smell while burning; it is of a greasy consistence, similar to adipocere. It is evident, that there was a corresponding fin, or sponder. The animal, therefore, must have been fifty feet

in breadth from one extremity of the fin to the other, allowing for wear and tear, as well as a proportionate width of the back to the length of the fins. There are several of the dorsal vertebrae, and one of the lumbar, and a bone answering to the coccygis in our anatomy. The vertebrae are sound, and corresponding in size to the largest bone; the protuberances of the vertebrae are three feet in extent; they lead to the supposition that the animal had considerable protuberances on the back; the body of each vertebrae is at least twenty inches in diameter, and as many in length; the tube or calibee for containing the spiral marrow is six inches in diameter; some of the arterial and nervous indentations, or courses, are yet visible. There is a bone similar to our os calcis, one foot in length, and eight inches in diameter.—*New York Evening Post*.

ASIA.

EAST INDIES.—The letters from India which were last received, contain a great variety of scientific as well as political information. They particularly mention the rage in Calcutta for phrenology. A Doctor Paterson is delivering lectures on this subject, and the Calcutta papers for February and part of March are nearly filled with the reports of the lectures, and with discussions upon them. A new system of constructing bridges over the torrents and rapids has been adopted with much success. Instead of rope, they are now formed with cane, which is stronger, lighter, and more durable. There are some 125 feet long.

The Calcutta Gazette of the 8th March contains a long detail of an unsuccessful attempt, twice repeated, to take the island of Ramree, on the Arracan coast. The guides on whom they depended led them for several miles into the country, every inch of which was disputed by the enemy; and at last, betrayed and surrounded, they commenced a retreat, the enemy hovering within a hundred yards of their rear, and occasionally bringing down one or two of their number. The heat was intense, the soil miry and fatiguing to an extreme degree; and in some of the nullahs which the soldiers had to cross, many of them stuck fast, and would immediately have been killed by their pursuers, had not those who struggled through promptly rescued them. At length they reached their boats, which were stationed at the Ramree Creek to receive them; being almost dead with fatigue, and having had about seven men killed and twenty five wounded.

BRITISH CHRONICLE.

AUGUST.

1.—*University of Edinburgh*.—The Senatus Academicus of the University of Edinburgh have conferred, during the last session, the degree of LL.D. on the following Noblemen and Gentlemen, viz.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings

The Right Hon. the Earl of Dalhousie

The Right Hon. Robert Peel

Sir Thomas Brisbane, K. C. B.

Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles.

— This day the Senatus Academicus conferred the degrees of Doctor in Medicine on one hundred and forty gentlemen, after having gone through the appointed examinations, and defended publicly their inaugural dissertations. The public examinations were conducted in Dr Hope's Class-Room, as being best calculated to accommodate such a numerous body. It is pleasing to observe the increasing celebrity of our University, for although it has been long distinguished as the first School of Medicine, the number of gentlemen who have now obtained diplomas is greater by nineteen than ever before received that honour in any one year.

— *Steam Voyage to India*.—The Enterprise steam-vessel, which sailed from the Thames this day for India, is expected to make the voyage in eleven weeks. The distance from England to Calcutta being about 14,500 miles, this is nearly 200 miles a-day. We doubt if she will be able to maintain so rapid a rate of sailing on so long a voyage. Where it is necessary to economise in the use of coal, the vessel cannot sail rapidly. The same quantity of coal, for instance, which carries a vessel 1000 miles at ten miles an hour, would carry her 2000 miles at half the velocity, because to produce double the rate of motion requires four times the quantity of coal. The London papers do not inform us how many passengers the Enterprise obtained, or at what places she is to touch for a supply of fuel.

3.—*Awful thunder-storm at Liverpool*.

— This morning, about two o'clock, this town was visited by one of the most awful thunder-storms ever experienced here. Two claps, in particular, were most terrific, and made the stoutest heart tremble. The first occurred at a quarter before two o'clock. The thunder burst forth with the most sublime, yet terrific grandeur. The clap was so loud, that it awoke almost every inhabitant. We have heard the peal compared to the sud-

den crash of falling houses; but it resembled more the discharge of a heavy piece, or, rather, of pieces of ordnance immediately under your window. The lightning which preceded the second peal was so vivid as to deprive of sight, for a few moments, any one who had the temerity to gaze upon its dazzling and appalling brightness. It was just as if a glowing sheet of flame had been passed before the eye of the beholder. The whole town was seen as in the blaze of the meridian sun. The Town of Liverpool steam-packet was on her passage from Dublin at the moment; and the captain describes the lightning as having been the most awful and terrific he ever beheld. The thunder immediately broke forth, not with a rumbling noise, as during ordinary thunder-storms, but in one loud, tremendous clap, shaking the very buildings to their foundations, and striking terror and dismay into all who heard it. The rain, during this time, descended in torrents. The lightning which succeeded the second terrific clap was but weak, compared with the sublime grandeur of the flash by which it was preceded. The thunder also became feeble, and soon muttered and died away in the distance. As is usual after any awful visitation of Nature, a variety of rumours of the damage produced by this storm of thunder and lightning were in circulation; but we have not learnt that any very serious injury, as respects either person or property, has been sustained in the town or neighbourhood.

12.—*Stirling School of Arts*.—Mr Macome delivered his concluding lecture before the members of the School of Arts, and an assemblage of ladies and gentlemen much more numerous than on any former occasion. It must be truly gratifying to the promoters of this Institution to witness the emulation which has already been excited among our mechanics for acquiring scientific knowledge; but we are sure that to none has it given greater delight than to the individual who has been the first to lay open the wonders of Nature to their untutored minds. The fund already procured by public subscription has far exceeded our most sanguine expectations, and does honour to the liberality and benevolence of those who have so promptly stepped forward with their support, though it is still far from equal to what would be required for setting the Institution afloat, even on a limited scale.

12.—*Wonderful Sagacity of a Dog.*—As a child, about four years of age, was playing near the edge of the quay, at the upper drawbridge, Leith, a large Newfoundland dog was running furiously along, when it came in contact with the child, which it precipitated into the harbour; the dog ran on, when a sailor called the dog back, and pointed to the child, who was floating—it immediately returned, plunged into the water, and seized the child by the back. One of the spectators, fearing that the child's head might still remain under water, although supported by the dog, plunged in, and endeavoured to take hold of the child; the dog, however, would not allow him to touch it, and ultimately brought the little innocent, whose life it had unconsciously endangered, safe to the shore.

13.—*Kirkcaldy.*—It is truly gratifying to look at the present state of the manufacturing interest of the country, as compared to the embarrassments it laboured under some years ago, and nowhere does prosperity and enterprise show more activity than in our linen manufacturing districts. At Kirkcaldy, a passenger can with difficulty make his way through the streets, from the unusual number of buildings going forward, amongst which will be included, in a short time, an elegant and commodious new jail, corn-market, &c.; and, to give greater facility for the conveyance of goods to and from London, a shipping company has lately been formed, with a capital of £.12,000, who propose to sail one smack every week from each port. Besides these undertakings, the inhabitants of that town and district have had the good sense to establish, within these few days, a chamber of commerce and manufactures, in order, as it is stated in the third clause of its rules and regulations, "to watch over every public measure, whereby the trade and manufactures, in which its members are engaged, may be affected, and to lend its weight and influence for procuring relief from any general grievance, as well as for the attainment of any other object which may involve the general or particular interests of those branches of trade and manufactures, where the same can be conducted with more effect by the association than by individual exertion."

—*Affecting circumstance.*—A death took place under circumstances peculiarly affecting. A band of shearers, male and female, amounting to about thirty in number, had come from the island of Rùm to the Lothians to get employment at harvest work. They were, we be-

lieve, all of one family or tribe, and were conducted to Edinburgh by a venerable old man, the progenitor of most of them, who maintained a patriarchal authority over them. He took his followers to the house of a countryman of the name of Macdonald in Baxter's Close; and by this man they were hospitably received, and permitted to repose themselves on the floor of his house, each of them wrapped in a plaid or blanket. The fatigues of a long journey, performed under a scorching sun, soon threw those simple people into a profound sleep; but when hearing, in imagination, probably, the sullen roar of the vast Atlantic, as it lashes the rock-bound shore of their native island, they were suddenly aroused from their slumbers by the groans of their aged chief. They found him in the agonies of death! The attendance of a medical gentleman was immediately procured, on whose arrival, a scene the most harrowing to sensibility presented itself. The old man's head was supported by an affectionate kinswoman; the clammy sweat of death was upon his brow, and his eye was overspread by a film, which disappeared by fits, allowing the lambient glow of his affection to beam from the hollow orb upon the bystanders, whose grief was expressed by the most piercing cries and pathetic action. In a few minutes he was no more. When the paroxysm of sorrow had subsided in some measure, the poor people, his survivors, deliberated as to the means of interring him, when it turned out, that they had no more than five shillings among them! A coffin, however, was applied for in the proper quarter, and obtained.

13.—*Escape from Prison.*—This afternoon, eight convicts escaped from the Caltonhill jail, under the following extraordinary circumstances:—They were all confined in one cluster of cells, having in front an airing ground, to which there is access for the turnkeys, by an iron gate, directly opposite to the round-house. Along with them was confined John Murray, under sentence of transportation for life, who, on Saturday morning, informed the governor of the jail, that a conspiracy had been formed by his companions to overpower the turnkeys, and make their escape in the course of the day. Mr Young, with his usual vigilance, communicated this information to the turnkeys, and enjoined them not to open the gate of the airing ground unless two of them were present. About half-past three o'clock in the afternoon, when one of the turnkeys happened to be absent, a prisoner called to another turnkey to take out a bundle of clothes which he wanted to be

washed. The man, disregarding his orders, opened the gate, when he was instantly knocked down; and the whole eight, one of whom seized hold of a broom shaft, which was at the door, rushed out, and along the centre passage, which has at each end an iron gate, that stood at the time most conveniently open. When they got to the wicket which opens upon the street, they knocked down the turn-key stationed there with the broom shaft, took his keys from him, and opened the wicket. On getting to the street, they cast off their prison jackets, and ran in the direction of Arthur Seat. They were immediately pursued; and five of them were kept in view for some time, but were lost sight of among the lanes near Gilbert Toll, beyond which point the pursuit was not conducted. The insecure state of the jail, from which so many escapes have been made, demands most serious consideration. It was destined entirely for a criminal jail; but, to the shame of humanity be it said, it continues to be used for the confinement of debtors, who have the precise same accommodation in it as the worst of criminals.

15.—*Royal Landing Club Dinner.*—The Royal Landing Club, Leith, celebrated the third anniversary of his Majesty's arrival in Scotland, by a dinner in the Assembly Rooms, Leith—Baillie Auld, senior magistrate, in the chair. On his right were the Right Honourable the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Earl of Fife, Sir Patrick Walker, Sir Henry Jardine, William Allan, Esq. Admiral of Leith, the Reverend Mr Grant, Captain D. Boswell, R. N., &c. On the chairman's left sat the right honourable the Lord Viscount Melville, Lord John Hay, Admiral Sir Philip Durham, Mr Trotter of Ballendean, Dr Duncan, senior, Captain Hume, R. N. Bailies Burn, Dudgeon, and Old Baillie Macfie, acted as croupiers. Bailies Reoch and Mackay, the former presidents of the club, sat at the end of the chairman's table. The meeting was characterized by harmony and mirth, and did not break up till a late hour. About 200 persons were present. The dinner was splendid, and reflected the highest credit on Mr Simpson.

18.—*Wick.*—The herring fishing, which has been proceeding very steadily hitherto, has now become remarkably brisk. Yesterday we had what might be termed a good fishing, being upwards of 5000 crans (or barrels), but this morning it is estimated to exceed 20,000 crans, which perhaps is more than ever was brought ashore in one morning at this or any other place. There are about 600

boats, many of them having from 50 to 80 crans, and there is no doubt the whole will average at least from 25 to 30 crans. Such is the demand for women for gutting and packing the fish, although nearly 4000 of them are employed at present, that double the usual rate is freely given to those that are disengaged, by which such of them as are active may earn from 8s. to 10s. for their day's work. Although a considerable portion of the usual fishing season is yet to run, many of the boats have already nearly completed their stipulated quantities, and the stocks of the curers, though laid in on a more extensive scale than usual, are becoming short. Fresh herrings have hitherto been purchased by vessels here on the fishery at from 12s to 14s. per cran, and to-day they are buying freely at about 10s., which affords the fishermen a very handsome remuneration, but if the weather continues favourable, the price will soon be much lower. Very few sales of cured herrings have yet been made here, but such as have been effected are about 20s. per barrel, after obtaining the bounty. One of the curers sent two barrels of his earliest caught fish to Hamburg, for which he got a return of £.15 per barrel, after defraying all charges. This, it is thought, will induce the fishermen to begin their operations next year much earlier than they have been in use to do. One of the boats here having taken in more fish last night than she could carry, sunk with her whole draft of nets, &c. but the crew were fortunately rescued by another boat which happened to be near them at the time.

21.—*Floods in the North.*—The mountain streams were much swollen with the heavy rain, and in Strathmairn and Strathdearn did considerable damage. The river Nairn rose to a greater height than at any time since the year 1782; some old people say that the flood on Sunday last was four feet higher than on that occasion; the river covered the haughs on its banks, from Dummaglas to the town of Nairn, and several farmers had to remove their families and cattle. The waulk-mills at Fairlie were under water, and a kiln at Cantray was thrown down by the current: when the flood subsided, the low grounds in some places were covered with potatoes, and other articles carried down from the heights. The river Fearnie, which runs into the Nairn, broke down the embankment made last year, changing its channel, and rushing over the farm of Milton, on the property of Farr, swept away the newly-cut hay, and destroyed the potato crop: a part of the garden wall was carried

away; the arable land of Coulbuic was also covered with water; a girl passing from Milton to Coulbuic was surrounded by the water, and the island on which she stood was decreasing in size, when, after being three hours in this perilous situation, she was extricated by some fox-hunters. Loch Moy was swollen by a reflux through the channel, by which it poured its usual tribute into the Findhorn; a burn near Moyhall carried away the bridge over it, and flooded the high road so as to render it impassable; the Caledonian coach was in consequence compelled to return to town on Monday morning; but a temporary bridge having been erected, the coach proceeded to Perth the following day.

27.—*Expedition to Africa.*—*Ports-mouth.*—This morning sailed the *Brazen*, 28, Captain George Willes, for the coast of Africa, with Captains Clapperton and Robert Pearce, and Drs Morrison and Wilson, of the Royal Navy, on their mission into the interior of Africa, having in view the discovery of the yet-unknown course and termination of the River Niger, and opening friendly communications with the principal native Kings and Chiefs. The *Brazen* has also on board, with the same object, a number and variety of presents, suited to the notions, capabilities, and wants of the Kings and chief persons of the different tribes. The travellers will debark in the Bight of Benin, whence Captain Pearce and Dr Morrison will proceed eastward, in as direct a course as circumstances will permit, to Timbuctoo; and Captain Clapperton and Dr Wilson will proceed northward, taking the city of Soudan for their ulterior point. The King of Soudan has promised to send guides to Sockatoo to meet the latter travellers, receive the presents, and propitiate the other native Sovereigns. It is a prevailing belief among the natives that there is a lake communication between both Timbuctoo and Soudan, with the Atlantic Ocean, flowing into the Volta. The travellers are gone out in the highest health and spirits, and with the most sanguine expectations of ultimately succeeding in their object. Lieutenant James, Royal Marine Artillery, for Ascension, and Mr William Aikin, Assistant-Surgeon of the Maidstone, are also passengers in the *Brazen*. The *Edward* transport sailed in company with the *Brazen*, having 150 soldiers, of the Royal African Corps on board. The *Brazen* has also 50 men of the same corps on board, and twelve smugglers, who are to serve five years on that station.

29.—On Tuesday, his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, attended by

Baron Bulow and Captain Bowles, arrived at the Royal Hotel, from England. He left town on Friday for the Highlands, where he will probably join his brother, Prince William, to whom, if rumour may be credited, he has ceded the principality of Oels in Silesia,—a territory containing about 85,000 inhabitants, and yielding a revenue of £.15,000 a year. His Serene Highness has remained quite private during his stay in this city.

Lord Cochrane.—On Wednesday afternoon, the 30th, this distinguished nobleman, accompanied by his lady, arrived at the British Hotel, in a travelling carriage and four. Thursday forenoon his Lordship and Lady Cochrane, attended by Mr Robert Scott Moncrieff, his Lordship's school-fellow, early friend, and relation, drove to the Castle in an open carriage. The carriage remained on the esplanade while they walked round the fortification. On the party returning, the crowd assembled at the barrier gate gave them a hearty cheer, which his Lordship acknowledged by a grave but affable inclination of the head. They afterwards proceeded to the Parliament House, and the Advocates' and Writers to the Signet Libraries, where a similar testimony of respect was shown by the populace; and subsequently visited Holyrood House and the Calton Hill. Friday forenoon, at eleven o'clock, his Lordship, accompanied by his Lady and suite, visited the chain pier at Newhaven. About an hour previous to his departure, the spacious street in front of the British Hotel was completely blockaded by hundreds of anxious spectators, who greeted his Lordship with enthusiastic cheering as he passed to his carriage. The enthusiasm, however, did not stop here,—they proceeded to disengage the horses, with the view of dragging him along Queen-Street in triumph, had not his Lordship politely declined the honour. On Saturday his Lordship, accompanied by his Lady and Mr Moncrieff, left town for Valleyfield, the seat of his relation, Sir Robert Preston. A vast number of respectable people were assembled at the British Hotel to witness his departure. At the Ferry, all the different vessels displayed their colours in compliment to his Lordship. The people of the different towns and villages through which he passed were on the look-out, and cheered him enthusiastically, besides waving colours, beating drums, and, in short, making all sorts of noise, as the carriage proceeded. The crowd, as his Lordship approached Valleyfield, was very great; and so impatient were the people to see him, that the rush they made towards the carriage al-

most upset it. On Monday he visited Culross, where the bells were rung all day, and the inhabitants loudly cheered their gallant townsman. It is expected that, before his final departure from Scotland, Lord Cochrane will return to the British Hotel.

30.—Improvements of the City.—A numerous meeting was held this day, in the Council Chamber, of gentlemen interested in the improvements of the city, the Lord Provost in the Chair.

The Lord Provost stated to the meeting, that he had called them together for the purpose of taking their instructions as to proceeding with the improvements of the city which were in contemplation last year, and which were brought before Parliament by the Bill of last Session, but delayed for the reasons which were made public at the time. That the time having now arrived for giving the Parliamentary notices, his Lordship was desirous of taking the advice of those gentlemen with whom the Magistrates had formerly consulted, as to the propriety of prosecuting the measure in the ensuing Session of Parliament.

And the meeting, after discussing the matter at considerable length, resolved, that a remit should be made to the following Committee, to co-operate with the Lord Provost and Magistrates, or any Committee they may choose to name, with the view of accomplishing the objects contemplated by the Bill of last Session, viz.:—
The Right Honourable the Lord Advocate
John Hope, Esq. Solicitor-General
Sir William Forbes, Bart.
Sir John Hay, Bart.
Sir George Clerk, Bart.
Sir George Warrender, Bart.
Sir John Marjoribanks, Bart.
Sir William Arbuthnot, Bart.
Honourable Baron Clerk Hattway
Sir Robert Liston
Sir Patrick Walker
Sir Henry Jardine
Adam Duff, Esq. Sheriff-Depute
Robert Downie, Esq. of Appin
Rev. Principal Baird
General Maxwell
Alexander Munro, Esq. Prince's Street
George Cranstoun, Esq. Dean of the Faculty of Advocates
Colin Mackenzie, Esq. Deputy Keeper of the Signet

James Gibson Craig, Esq. of Riccarton
William Trotter, Esq. of Ballendean
James Jollie, Esq. W. S.
William Inglis, Esq. of Middleton
Kineaid Mackenzie, Esq. Merchant
Robert Johnston, Esq. Merchant
William Burn, Esq. Architect
Alexander Douglas, Esq. W. S.

Henry Cockburn, Esq. Advocate
James Nairne, Esq. W. S.
Thomas Hamilton, Esq. Architect
George Lyon, Esq. W. S.
James Skene, Esq. of Rubislaw
George Combe, Esq. W. S.
James Bridges, Esq. W. S.
Thomas Allan, Esq. Banker
William Macfarlane, Esq. W. S.
John Horner, Esq. Merchant
John Robison, Esq. Contes Crescent
Alexander Smith, Esq. Banker
James Spittal, Esq. Merchant
The Convener of the Southern Districts
 for the time being.

And it was resolved, that power should be given to the said Committee to add to their number.

The Meeting farther recommend to the Lord Provost and Magistrates to direct the requisite Parliamentary notices to be given of a Bill to be introduced for accomplishing the improvements contemplated by the Bill of last year, on the understanding that, by giving the notices to this extent, it will be in the power of the promoters of the Bill to adopt any modifications of the plan that may hereafter be deemed expedient.

On the motion of Sir Patrick Walker, seconded by Principal Baird, the thanks of the Meeting were tendered to the Lord Provost, for calling them together, and for his conduct in the Chair.

Hainault Scythe.—Two Flemish reapers, engaged to come to this country under the auspices of the Highland Society, to introduce the use of the Hainault Scythe, made the first experiment on the farm of Mr Oliver at Lochend, on Monday 15th August, in the presence of various eminent agriculturists, Members of the Highland Society, and others. The following is a description of the instrument, and a detailed account of the operation:—The Flemings are young men of good address, and of such make as fits them to do justice to any instrument they may wield. The scythe is a short blade of twenty inches, or nearly like the point half of an ordinary hay scythe. It has a handle of the same length. The blade during cutting is quite level, both from point to heel, as well as from edge to back. The handle stands in a position nearly upright, or inclines forward at the top, so as to form with the blade an angle of 80 degrees. That portion of it held in the hand is turned back a little, or nearly in 45 degrees, and is longer than the breadth of the hand, on which overlength the arm rests, and is strengthened during cutting. In the left hand the operator holds a staff three and a-half feet long, at the extreme end of which is

a hook; while cutting, this is used in pressing back the corn about mid-way up, at the time the scythe strikes the bottom. At each stroke the scythe cuts the length of itself, and a foot or more deep, which cut corn it leaves standing quite upright in front of the uncut victual. As soon as the operator has proceeded as far as he wishes across the ridge, he turns, and with the hook pulls the corn towards the open side, cutting a little more at the same time, so that in going and returning three feet may be cut. The operation is exactly the mode of cutting called *bagging* in England, only the handle of the bagging hook is straight with the blade, and occasions the reaper to stoop; and the baggers use the fingers in gathering, and a small rip of corn in cutting, instead of the stall and hook. There can be little difference in point of time, but the Flemings seemed to work very easily. No trial was made of the time they would take to cut any given quantity of ground, although the speed they made certainly warranted the assertion, that two would in a day cut an English acre. This is often done by the baggers. It is very good work to three sickle reapers to do this, and bind it as it is understood they do. The Flemings showed a capability of cutting as much as three of the best reapers, and as much as five ordinary ones, if they had a piece of ground adapted to their implements, which seem so little calculated to work among stones, as to be an insuperable bar to its use in four-fifths of Scotland. The scythes used were very clumsily made and ill-tempered, and broke and bent on receiving the slightest extra opposition; but, if its use is found beneficial, this will soon be remedied by British makers. They have since exhibited in different parts of the country, and if the accounts in the provincial papers are to be trusted, with great success. Accurate measurement, in every case, was taken of the work performed, and calculating at the rate of ten hours a-day, it appears that a person expert in the use of this implement could, on an average, cut about an English acre. The experiment has given so much satisfaction, that various agricultural associations in different parts of the country have offered premiums to such of our own reapers as next season show the greatest expertness in the use of the scythe.

Imprisoned Debtors in Scotland.—A Return of the Number of Persons committed to any prison in Scotland for debt, from 1st January 1824; to 1st January 1825; distinguishing such as were imprisoned for debts not exceeding £.5 from those where the amount of debt was larger.

Number imprisoned for debt.

	Not exceed- ing £.5.	Exceed- ing £.5.
Aberdeen	109	69
Ditto—Tollbooth, Fraser- burgh	none	none
Annan	3	8
Argyle prison—Camp- belton	4	8
Ditto—gaol Inverary	1	10
Ayr—gaol at Ayr	23	33
Ditto—gaol Irvine	20	21
Banff	9	19
Berwick—gaol Green- law	none	7
Ditto gaol Lauder	none	2
Rothsay	1	3
Caithness-gaol, Wick	8	7
Cromarty, Town-house, Cromarty	1	2
Dunfries	19	58
Ditto—gaol Lochmalen	6	8
Edinburgh—gaol Canon- gate	300	152
Ditto—gaol Calton Hill	405	140
Ditto—gaol Leith	76	19
Ditto—gaol Musselburgh	14	13
Elgin—prison Elgin	8	13
Ditto—gaol Forres	1	none
Fife—St. Andrew's	1	2
Ditto—Tron House, An- struther	none	1
Ditto—gaol Bruntis- land	none	1
Ditto—gaol Cupar	16	10
Ditto—gaol Dunferm- line	26	3
Fife—gaol Inverkeith- ing	1	1
Ditto—gaol Kirkaldy	5	9
Forfar—gaol Arbroath	2	5
Ditto—gaol Brechin	13	15
Ditto—prison Dundee	30	32
Ditto—Tollbooth	3	17
Ditto—gaol Montrose	3	8
Haddington	10	3
Inverness Tollbooth	29	0
Kinross Tollbooth	1	2
Kirkcudbright, New Gal- loway	none	2
Ditto—gaol	7	8
Lanark—Tollbooth Glas- gow	576	315
Ditto—gaol Lanark	7	10
Ditto—gaol Rutherglen	2	1
Linlithgow gaol	7	19
Nairn	7	4
Orkney—tolbooth or gaol Kirkwall	2	1
Ditto—tolbooth Lerwick	2	none
Peebles gaol	1	1
Perth—burgh prison Cul- ross	1	none
Ditto—prison Perth	23	88

	Not exceed- ing £5.	Exceed- ing £5.
Renfrew—bridlewell		
Greenock -	25	27
Ditto—prison Port-Glas-		
gow -	3	none
Ditto—gaol Paisley	232	81
Ditto—gaol Renfrew	none	1
Ross—tolbooth Ding-		
wall -	8	23
Ditto—gaol Fortrose	none	1
Ditto—gaol Tain	1	
Roxburgh—gaol Jed-		
burgh -	4	12
Selkirk—gaol	1	4
Stirling -	31	49
Sutherland—gaol Dor-		
noch -	3	4
Wigton—gaol Stanraer	2	1
Wigton—gaol Whithorn	0	1
Wigton—Borough gaol	6	10

Excise Licences.—By an Act passed in the last Session of Parliament, relative to Excise licences, it is enacted, "That every person in the united kingdom required by any law of Excise to make entry of his or her premises, to carry on any trade or business in which an Excise license is required, shall place, in letters visible and legible, at least one inch long, upon the entered premises, his or her name at full length, and after such trade or business for which the license has been granted; and if any such person shall not preserve and keep the same so painted as often as necessity shall require, he or she shall forfeit for every such offence the sum of £.20.

Newhaven.—It is pretty well known that the inhabitants of this village are a peculiar people, and that their race is preserved pure and uncorrupted by constant intermarriages. There is only one instance of a Newhaven man marrying out of his own sept; but his wife, during his lifetime, was treated as an interloper by the other villagers, and even yet, now that she is widow, no one of them will exchange a word with her, though, for her husband's sake, they have adopted his children into their community. A peculiarity such as this concerns themselves only; but they have a few others that deeply concern the Edinburgh public, which is dependent upon them for regular supplies of fish. They tenaciously adhere to the ancient mode of fishing practised by their forefathers, rejecting all modern improvements, by which fishermen are enabled to catch fish of the first quality at a great depth; and hence, though our market is abundantly supplied at times, we have few *princ* fish, with the exception of haddocks. Turbot here

is the greatest of rarities, and so little known, indeed, by the generality of people, that halibut is often imposed upon them for it; yet there is abundance of turbot in the Firth, more especially towards its mouth. Then the Newhaveners have a practice of emigrating in a body to the herring-fishery about this season of the year; and, as a consequence, no white fish is to be seen in the market for weeks together. We wish well to a so primitive set of people as those of Newhaven; but it is too much that the metropolis of Scotland should contentedly brook their prejudices and caprices, when these stand opposed to a regular supply of certain luxuries and necessities of life, which Nature has so liberally provided in its immediate neighbourhood; and we really could wish that a few fishermen from the east coast of England would establish themselves upon the shores of the Firth, as it would be most advantageous, both to themselves and the public, and even to the Newhaveners, who could not be insensible to good example, when united with successful rivalry.

Antique gold chain.—During the operation of *trench-ploughing* in an old pasture field, in the low grounds of the farm of Falkland Wood, belonging to Mr Bruce, a large gold chain, nearly four feet in length, and composed of large links, was turned up by the plough, which had come in contact with, and broken it into two unequal portions. That the chain was gold was not suspected at the time by the ploughman, but was soon discovered to be so, on submitting it to the inspection of a watch-maker in the neighbourhood, when it was immediately taken to Edinburgh, and disposed of to a jeweller, for the sum of £.14 sterling. The metal was said to be of the purest quality; there was no inscription or ornament on the links, and the workmanship seemed to be of the coarsest description. It is probable that it was an ornamental chain, worn at a remote period, by some of the nobles of the land, and had been lost while hunting in the forests, with which this part of the country was covered at that period. It is to be regretted that it was disposed of so hastily, without proper examination by competent persons.

Musie of the Rocks.—There is a rock in South America, on the banks of the river Oroonoko, called Piedra de Carichana Vieja, near which, Humboldt says, travellers have heard from time to time, about sun-rise, subterraneous sounds, similar to those of the organ. Humboldt was not himself fortunate enough to hear this mysterious music, but still he believes in its reality, and ascribes those sounds

to the difference of temperature in the subterraneous and the external air, which at sun-rise is most distant from the highest degree of heat on the preceding day. The current of air, which issues through the crevices of the rock, produces, in his opinion, those sounds, which are heard by applying the ear to the stone in a lying position. May we not suppose (Humboldt adds) that the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, during their frequent navigations up and down the Nile, may have made the same observation about a rock of Thebais, and that this "Music of the Rocks" led to the fraud of the priests with the statue of Memnon? When the "rosy-fingered Aurora made her son, the glorious Memnon, sound," it was nothing but the voice of a man concealed under the pedestal of the statue. But the observation of the natives of Oronoko seems to explain, in a natural way, what gave birth to the Egyptian faith in a stone that issued sounds at sun-rise.

Perintosh Whisky.—The word Perintosh signifies Thane's land, it having been part of the Thanedom of Cawdor (Macbeth's), or Calder. The barony of Perintosh belonged to the Forbes's of Culloden, and contained about 1800 arable acres. All barley produced on this estate was privileged to be converted into whisky, duty free; the natural consequence of which was, that more whisky was distilled in Perintosh than in all the rest of Scotland. In 1784, Government made a sort of compulsory purchase of this privilege from the Culloden family, after they had enjoyed it a complete century. The sum paid was £21,500.

Royal Oath.—It is not, perhaps, generally known, that persons of either sex, who are engaged as domestic servants under the Royal Family, take an oath not to divulge any thing connected with the private habits of their masters or mistresses. So says a book lately published, and there are reasons good and cogent no doubt for the regulation. Unquestionably, the Divinity that doth hedge a king to the multitude, is but a tattered robe in the eyes of the valet de chambre, who can discern through it a full share of those frailties which the prince on the throne is heir to equally with the beggar on the dunghill. Royalty would fare badly in this gossiping world, were means not used to tie up the tongues of such witnesses.—*Scotsman.*

Thief curiously detected.—Lately, William Armour, dyer, was convicted before the Justices, at Paisley, of having stolen a quantity of silk yarn from his employers, Messrs John Gilchrist and Son, dyers, Lomend, and sentenced to 30 days confinement in Bridewell. The man-

ner in which the theft was discovered, and the thief detected, is rather curious. For some time past, Messrs Gilchrist observed an unaccountable diminution occasionally take place in their stock of silk. Suspecting that some of their servants were acting dishonestly, they concealed a loaded musket on full cock, amidst a quantity of silk, and attached, by a string, several heads of silk to the trigger of the piece. The stratagem succeeded. As anticipated, the discharge of the gun proclaimed the operations of the thief, and on repairing to the spot, the culprit was found trembling by the side of the tell-tale musket. Armour is an old soldier, and a pensioner, and his ear is consequently not unused to the discharge of firearms, but he declares that no report of musket or cannon, from friend or foe, ever made his heart leap like Mr Gilchrist's gun.—*Paisley Advertiser.*

Adulteration of food.—From the proceedings in a case recently tried before the Lord Mayor of London, the practice of adulterating articles of food appears to prevail to an extent which scarcely any one could have suspected. The question alluded to was one of alleged adulteration of flour, and the complainant not having been brought in due time, the case was dismissed. Mr Clark, however, of the Apothecaries' Hall, who had been employed by the complainant to analyse the flour objected to, stated to the Court, as matter of information, that he had been recently employed by Government to analyse 1167 sacks of a composition, passing by the name of flour, in a warehouse at Hull, and found *one third part of it to be a composition of ground bones and plaster of Paris.* This fact having been ascertained, the composition was ordered to be destroyed, and a fine of £10,000 imposed on its owners. Mr Clark farther stated, that he had recently analysed some Souchong Tea, and found it to contain no less than *twenty five per cent.* of lead ore. These are alarming facts, and indicate a degree of hardened wickedness, the existence of which our charity would scarcely have allowed us to suspect. The subject calls loudly for the most vigilant attention; and conviction of such a crime should, in every case, be followed by the severest punishment. Many offences of a far less heinous description are visited with the last punishment of the law; and we really think it ought to be matter of grave consideration, how far the case of an individual, who is capable of seeking a villanous profit by the sale of adulterated articles of food, which must unquestionably operate as slow poisons, should be considered as in any way different

from the case of the common prisoner, or visited with a lower penalty.

Liability of Carriers.—A case of considerable importance to spirit merchants was lately decided in the Justice of Peace Court at Linlithgow, so far as regards their liability for carriers. The case itself, in the present instance, was of no moment in point of value, but Mr Armstrong (of James Lindsay & Co.) wished to try the merits of it, they having a small cask seized through default of some person or other about the carrier's warehouse. It appeared that Messrs Lindsay & Co. had sent out a cask to a man in Queensferry, with a regular permit containing quantity, quality, and strength, as specified when it left their warehouse, which they were ready to make oath to; but on its arrival at its destination, it was found deficient in strength, and was in consequence put under seizure by the officer. On hearing this, Messrs L. & Co. immediately petitioned the Board of Excise, who referred it as a trivial case to the Justices of the Peace, whose decision was, "That they were liable to the Excise, whatever the defaults of a carrier or shipmaster may be, either in point of adulteration or in reducing of strength, which, in this case, must have been done by some party or other, and also whether they could or could not prove it was the same as specified in the permit when it left their stock."

Walrus.—Some time ago, a Walrus, or Sea Horse, was discovered on the rocks at Fiereness, on Eday, Orkney; and having been shot at and wounded by one of Mr Laing's shepherds there, it took to sea, and was followed by him and some others in a boat. The man fired a second time, and had the good fortune to pierce the animal through the eyes; he

now lay on the water, apparently lifeless, but, upon the boat coming alongside, and one of the men catching hold of the fore paw, the Walrus made a sudden plunge, and carried the man to the bottom with him: and it was with difficulty, upon his rising to the surface, that he was got back to the boat. Another effective shot, however, enabled them to finish the animal, and they towed him ashore in triumph. The skin of the Walrus, which is now dried, measures fifteen feet by fourteen feet; and the tusks, which appear much worn at the ends, protrude from the head about twelve inches. The entire skull is in the possession of Mr Searth, Mr Laing's factor, and is to be sent to the Edinburgh Museum. This is the first instance of any of those formidable inhabitants of the polar regions having been seen off the coast of Great Britain.

Miltonian MS.—It is known that the recent discovery of the Miltonian MS. in the State-Paper Office, attracted the notice of his Majesty, under whose auspices the work so long lost to the world is about to be published. We understand, in consequence of this and other interesting discoveries, made within the few last years in the same quarter, his Majesty has been pleased to appoint a commission to examine the documents in that valuable depository of the records of former times, with a view to printing the most important of them. The commissioners named are—the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr Secretary Peel, Mr C. W. Wynn, Mr Croker, and Mr Hobhouse; Mr Lemon, the Deputy-keeper of the State-Paper Office (by whom the MS. above mentioned was found) has been appointed secretary to the commission.

APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, &c.

I. CIVIL.

Aug. 1. Hon. Algernon Percy to be Ambassador to the Swiss Cantons.

— Hamilton C. J. Hamilton, Esq. to be Secretary to the Embassy at Paris.

— Hon. John Bloomfield, to be Secretary to the Embassy at Stuttgart.

19. Archibald Campbell, Esq. of Blythswood, to be Lord Lieutenant of Renfrewshire.

II. ECCLESIASTICAL.

Aug. 1. The Rev. Thomas Hill, Minister of Ballantrae, presented to the Church and Parish of Lorne Perth.

— The Rev. Mr Ritchie, Kilmarnock, elected first Minister of the Associate Congregation, Queen Anne-Street, Dunfermline.

Aug. 11. The United Associate Congregation of Lander, called Mr William Lawrie, preacher, to be their Minister.

12. The Associate Congregation of Tillicoultry called Mr James Forsyth to be their Minister.

Aug. 13. Mr Mackintosh Mackay presented by the Duke of Gordon to the Church and Parish of Laggan.

17. Mr William Nichol ordained Minister of the First Associate Congregation of Jedburgh.

18. The Associate Congregation of Portobello gave a call to Mr W. C. Ansell, to be their Minister.

— The Rev. ——— Cameron ordained Minister of Stormway, Lewis.

— The Rev. James Reston ordained Minister of the Relief Congregation of Newton Stewart.

— The Associate Congregation of Alloa have given a unanimous call to Mr Peter McDowal, to be colleague and successor to the Rev. Mr Muckersie.

22. The Second Associate Congregation of Auchtermuchty gave a unanimous call to Mr James Forsyth to be Assistant and successor to the Rev. James Browning.

23. The Associate Congregation of Eglinton Street, Laureston, Glasgow, called the Rev. John Johnston, of St. Andrew's, to be their Minister.

— Dr John Gilchrist, from Greenock, inducted first Minister of Canongate, Edinburgh.

III. MILITARY.—In July last.

BREVET.

*To be Aides-de-Camp to His Majesty,
with the Rank of Colonel in the Army.*

- Lieut. Col. R. C. St. J. Lord Clinton,
h. p. 8 Gd. Bn. 27 May 1825.
— Morland, 9 Dr. do.
Capt. Unquhart, 59 F. Maj. in the Army do.
- 1 Dr. Gds. Cornet Wilson, Lieut. by purch. vice
Queke, prom. 25 June
- 2 Capt. Rogers, Maj. by purch. vice
Spearman, ret. do.
Lieut. Ferguson, Capt. do.
Cornet Davies, Lieut. do.
H. W. Charlton, Cornet do.
Lieut. Copland, Capt. by purch. vice
Middlton, 72 F. 7 July
Cornet Collins, Lieut. do.
- 3 T. Arthur, Cornet by purch. vice Mark-
ham, 1 Dr. 23 June
A. L. Bourke, Riding-Master, do. 7 July
- 6 Cornet Dantury, Lieut. by purch. vice
Scarlett, prom. 9 June
H. R. Jones, Cornet by purch. vice
Porter, prom. do.
P. Ponsonby, do. 10 do.
Lieut. Hollingworth, Capt. by purch.
vice Schreiber, prom. 7 July
Cornet Wiss, Lieut. do.
H. P. Corry, Cornet do.
Cornet Dunne, Lieut. by purch. vice
Everard, prom. 25 June
W. D. King, Cornet do.
- 1 Dr. Lieut. Keily, Capt. by purch. vice Clark,
7 Dr. Gds. 26 May
Cornet Eccles, Lieut. do.
H. J. Stracy, Cornet do.
Cornet Markham, from 3 Dr. Gds.
Lieut. by purch. vice Clive, prom. 25 June
- 4 ——— McCaffry, do. by purch. vice
Doyle, prom. 22 do.
——— Ramsbottom, do. by purch.
vice Sullivan, prom. 7 July
——— Hingham, Lieut. by purch. vice
Snow, prom. 25 June
- 8 H. J. Arbuthnot, Cornet do.
J. Mac Call, do. by purch. vice Maclet,
prom. do.
- 9 G. Vesey, do. by purch. vice Knox,
prom. 1 do.
- 10 Cornet Knox, from 9 Dr. Lieut. by
purch. vice Wortley, prom. do.
——— Gifford, do. vice Lord Carmar-
then, prom. 7 July
- 12 Lieut. Moore, Capt. by purch. vice
Coles, prom. 25 June
Cornet Maryat, Lieut. do.
——— Hon. H. Petre, do. vice Mick-
lethwaite, prom. 7 July
P. Pole, Cornet do.
Surg. Burton, from 66 F. Surg. vice
Robinson, ret. 30 June
- 15 H. Gill, Cornet by purch. vice Dundas,
prom. 16 do.
Cornet Percival, Lieut. by purch. vice
Rausden, prom. 6 July
——— Shedden, Lieut. by purch. vice
Landay, prom. 7 do.
J. Raft, Cornet 6 do.
F. Ives, do. 7 do.
Cornet Collins, Lieut. by purch. vice
Wrotesley, prom. 22 June
- 16 Lieut. Walker, from h. p. 6 Dr. Gds.
do. vice Harris, prom. 23 do.
H. Penlezay, Cornet do.
- 17 C. Forbes, do. by purch. vice Loftus,
prom. do.
Cornet Hon. H. N. C. Massy, Lieut. by
purch. vice Clarke, prom. 7 July
- Gen. Gds. Lieut. Fludyer, Lieut. and Capt. by
purch. vice Cameron, 95 F. do.
H. Fitz Roy, Ensign and Lieut. do.
- Cold. Gds. Col. Macdonnell, Lieut. Col. 27 May
Lieut. Col. Hamilton, Maj. with rank
of Col. do.
Lieut. Col. Raikes, Maj. with rank of
Capt. do.

- Cold. Gds. Lieut. Col. Bowles, Capt. and Lieut.
Col. 27 May 1825.
Major Bentinck, Capt. do.
Lieut. Col. G. Fitz Clarence, from h. p.
Capt. 6 July
——— Russell, from h. p. 12 Dr.
Capt. 7 do.
2 F. Ensign Kennedy, Lieut. by purch. vice
Hart, prom. 16 June
Ensign and Adj. Littlejohn, rank of do.
17 do.
- 5 Lieut. Blair, Capt. vice Rolland, dead
9 April
Ensign Grant, Lieut. 50 June
——— Macdonald, from 26 F. Ensign
do.
- 4 Barrow, Lieut. vice Gregg, Atr. Col.
Corps 25 do.
F. M. Chambers, Ensign do.
Ensign Williams, Lieut. vice Lardy,
prom. 7 July
C. Huxton, Ensign do.
- 5 Hosp. Assist. Hall, Assist. Surg. 30 June
- 7 Ensign Morshead, from 51 F. Lieut. by
purch. vice Black, 55 F. 25 do.
Lieut. Walker, from h. p. Lieut. (pay
diff.) vice Hamilton, 81 F. 30 do.
- 8 Ensign Hon. R. Hare, do. by purch.
vice Fitz Maurice, prom. 25 do.
9 Hosp. Assist. Bam, Assist. Surg. 30 do.
- 10 Ensign Halifax, Lieut. by purch. vice
Galloway, prom. 25 do.
Gent. Cadet, J. Wilmot, from R. Mil.
Coll. do.
Lieut. Shinkwin, Adj. do.
Ensign Crosbie, Lieut. vice Majendie,
prom. 7 July
- 11 J. H. Franks, Ensign do.
Ensign Westropp, Lieut. by purch.
vice White, prom. 23 June
W. Dolphin, Ensign by purch. vice
Walker, prom. do.
H. O'Neill, Ensign vice Westropp
30 do.
- 12 O. K. Werge, Ensign by purch. vice
Cuthbert, 15 F. 7 July
- 13 Ensign Wingfield, Lieut. vice Bam,
dead 27 Nov. 1824.
——— Kershawe, Lieut. vice O'Shea,
killed in action 2 Dec.
——— Flood, Lieut. vice Darby, do.
16 do.
——— Wilson, Lieut. vice Petry, do.
do.
——— Wilkinson, Lieut. vice Jones, do.
do.
- E. W. Sibley, Ensign 27 Nov.
H. C. Hayes, Ensign 2 Dec.
Ensign Orange, from 24 F. Ensign 29 June 1825.
- A. A. Browne, Ensign 30 do.
J. G. D. Taylor, Ensign 7 July
- 11 Ensign Cockell, from 59 F. Lieut. by
purch. vice Meek, prom. 23 June
- 15 Lieut. Honor, Capt. by purch. vice
Maxwell, ret. 30 do.
Ensign Cuthbert, from 12 F. Lieut. 7 July
- 20 Lieut. Stanley, Capt. by purch. vice
Swinton, ret. 29 Dec. 1824.
Ensign Bayley, Lieut. do.
J. C. Rouse, Ensign 50 June 1825.
Hosp. Assist. Davidson, Assist. Surg. do.
- 21 Ensign Campbell, Lieut. vice Bard,
dead 7 July
W. G. Brown, Ensign do.
H. Young, Ensign by purch. vice
Orange, 13 F. 50 June
- 25 Ensign Spalding, from h. p. 81 F. En-
sign replacing diff. do.
- 26 ——— Vernon, Ensign vice Macdo-
nald, 3 F. do.
- 27 Hosp. Assist. Williams, Assist. Surg. do.
- 28 Ensign Berkeley, Lieut. by purch. vice
Pratt, 97 F. 16 do.
——— Acklom, from 58 F. Ensign do.
Lieut. Davidson, Capt. by purch. vice
Bridgeman, prom. 23 do.
Ensign Champaign, Lieut. do.
Gent. Cadet H. Philipotts, Ensign do.

- 501 Ensign Lewis, Lieut. vice Tresidder, dead 4 Dec. 1821.
 W. B. Staff, Ensign do.
 Ensign Suckling, Lieut. by purch. vice Campbell, prom. 25 June 1825.
 A. Trevelyan, Ensign do.
 G. Moore, Ensign by purch. vice Curteis, prom. 12 May.
 Lieut. Westmore, Capt. vice Pagan, dead 25 June.
 Ensign Forbes, Lieut. do.
 J. O. Munton, Ensign 30 do.
 Hosp. Assist. Hughes, Asst. Surg. do.
 A. R. Heyland, Ensign by purch. vice Grant, 11 F. 9 do.
 Ensign Forbes, Lieut. by purch. vice Barker, prom. 16 do.
 W. Lorne, Ensign do.
 Lieut. Philchus, from 29 F. Capt. by purch. vice O'Reilly, prom. 30 do.
 ——— Hamilton, from 81 F. Lieut. vice Armstrong, h. p. rec. dis. do.
 Capt. Dillon, Major by purch. vice Munton, ret. 25 do.
 Lieut. Perkins, Capt. do.
 ——— Kennedy, from h. p. 2 Dr. Gds. do.
 Lieut. vice Cochran, 3 F. do.
 49 Ensign Mathew, Lieut. vice Panford, prom. 7 April.
 T. S. Macgillivray, Ensign do.
 Capt. Lamb, from h. p. 92 F. Paymaster vice Vincombe, dead 25 June.
 A. Campbell, Ensign by purch. vice Munton, 7 F. do.
 Capt. Cross, Maj. by purch. vice Sir J. Tylden, ret. do.
 Lieut. Menon, Capt. do.
 J. H. Cunningham, Lieut. do.
 T. F. Campbell, Ensign do.
 Ensign Phillips, Lieut. by purch. vice Peterson, prom. 7 July.
 G. B. Mathew, Ensign do.
 Lieut. Black, from 7 F. Capt. by purch. vice Eden, prom. 16 June.
 Ensign Davenay, Lieut. by purch. vice Leitch, prom. 7 July.
 W. H. Benson, Ensign do.
 J. R. Sumner, Ensign by purch. vice Ackland, 28 F. do.
 Lieut. Whitby, Capt. vice Butler, dead 22 Dec. 1821.
 Ensign Murray, Lieut. do.
 W. S. Murray, Ensign do.
 A. Grierson, 2d Lieut. by purch. vice Nesbitt, prom. 9 June 1825.
 2d Lieut. Piggott, 1st Lieut. by purch. vice Wood, prom. 25 do.
 H. S. Browne, 2d Lieut. do.
 Lieut. Capt. S. B. Goodman, from R. Mid. Col. 2d Lieut. vice Stapleton, prom. 7 July.
 Hosp. Assist. Leslie, Asst. Surg. 30 Jun.
 61 G. Wynne, Ensign by purch. vice Hood, 3 F. Gds. 16 do.
 63 Ensign H. E. G. Spencer, Lieut. by purch. vice Backhouse, prom. do.
 R. Lane, Ensign 25 do.
 Ensign Mackay, Lieut. 6 July.
 ——— Ausmick, Lieut. by purch. vice Andros, 51 F. 7 do.
 C. Weir, Ensign by purch. do.
 W. Tucker, Ensign 8 do.
 Lieut. Young, Adj. vice Farquharson, prom. 6 do.
 Asst. Surg. Pagan, from 12 Dr. Gds. vice Burton, 12 Dr. 50 June.
 68 Hosp. Assist. Crawford, Asst. Surg. do.
 71 Ensign Denny, Lieut. by purch. vice St. George, prom. 25 do.
 T. Le M. Saurarez, Ensign do.
 R. Maj. Middleton, from 2 Dr. Gds. Maj. by purch. vice Drummond, prom. 16 do.
 Lieut. Champain, Capt. by purch. vice Lord Churchill, prom. do.
 Ensign Daniel, Lieut. do.
 R. E. Brown, Ensign do.
 79 W. Bates, Ensign vice T. Bates, cancelled 25 do.
 W. H. France, Ensign by purch. vice Cameron, prom. 7 July.
- F. Lieut. Hamilton, from 7 F. Lieut. vice R. Hamilton, 11 F. 50 June 1825.
 Hosp. Asst. Bell, Asst. Surg. do.
 Lieut. Colquhoun, from h. p. 16 F. Lieut. 9 April.
 Ensign Holtham, from 40 F. Lieut. by purch. vice Aubert, Ceylon R. 19 May.
 Serj. Maj. Nelson, Adj. and Ensign vice Worth, prom. 30 June.
 Gent. Cadet F. B. Blake, from R. Mil. Coll. Ensign by purch. vice Berkeley, prom. do.
 Lieut. Cochran, from 84 F. Lieut. vice Spaight, h. p. 2 Dr. Gds. 25 do.
 Ensign Forbes, Lieut. vice Kennedy, dead 19 Oct. 1824.
 C. McLean, Ensign do.
 95 Hosp. Assist. Squair, Asst. Surg. 50 June 1825.
 96 Capt. Paddy, from 97 F. Maj. by purch. vice Fitz Gerald, prom. 16 do.
 M. J. Caneton, from Gen. Gds. Lieut. Col. by purch. vice Brown, ret. 7 July.
 96 Hosp. Asst. Wilson, Asst. Surg. 30 June.
 97 Lieut. Pratt, from 98 F. Capt. by purch. vice Peddie, 9 F. 16 do.
 99 Ensign Mayne, Lieut. by purch. vice Brookes, prom. 7 July.
 Lieut. McKinnon, Adj. do.
 Rifle Bn. 3d Lieut. Maister, 1st Lieut. by purch. vice B. H. E. White, 2d Lieut. do.
 Ceylon R. Lieut. ——— 80 F. Capt. by purch. vice Buschke, ret. 5 May.
 Hosp. Asst. Knox, Asst. Surg. 7 Jun.
 Cape C. P. T. Robinson, Cornet by purch. vice Macdonald, prom. 7 July.
 Lieut. St. John, Capt. by purch. vice Taylor, prom. 25 June.
 Cornet Armstrong, Lieut. do.
 O'Neill, Cornet, Cornet do.
 R. M. C. C. ——— Nott, Cornet, Cornet, dead do.
Ordinance Department.—Royal Artillery.
 2d Capt. H. ——— from h. p. 2d Capt. vice Hope, ret. 25 June 1822.
 Gent. Cadet C. H. M. Block, 2d Lieut. vice Pearson, Staff Corp. 15 May.
 ——— C. H. Burn, do. vice Hayne, Staff Corp. 9 June.
- Royal Engineers.**
 Lieut. Col. Thackeray, Col. vice ———, dead 2 Jun.
 Bt. Maj. Fox, Lieut. Col. do.
 2d Capt. Wood, C. do.
 1st Lieut. Verney, 1st Capt. do.
 2d Lieut. Stobbs, 1st Lieut. do.
 1st Lieut. Bolton, 2d Capt. vice Gilbert, h. p. 7 do.
 2d Lieut. Lamey, 1st Lieut. do.
- Hospital Staff.**
 Surg. Jebb, from h. p. Surg. vice Grasset, ret. 25 June 1825.
 H. O'Hara, Apothecary 25 June 1821.
 Dispenser of Medicine, F. Basano, do. vice Wilkinson, dead 18 April 1825.
 N. W. Giffney, Hosp. Asst. vice Dyden, cancelled 16 June.
 R. M. Lewis, Hosp. Asst. vice Donkey, 1 F. do.
 A. Browne, Hosp. Asst. vice Graham, 15 F. do.
 J. A. Orie, H. p. Asst. vice Walsh, 9 F. do.
 P. Rhodes, H. p. Asst. vice Walsh, 14 F. do.
 J. P. Munro, Hosp. Asst. vice Patterson, 52 F. do.
 J. Connell, Hosp. Asst. vice Connel, 36 F. do.
 W. B. Daykin, Hosp. Asst. vice Ross, 82 F. do.
 J. Cahill, Hosp. Asst. vice Cayet, 97 F. do.
- UNATTACHED.**
To be Lieutenant-Colonels of Infantry by purchase.
 Major Fitz Gerald, from 95 F. 16 June 1825.
 ——— Drummond, from 72 F. do.
 Capt. Stapleton, from 5 F. Gds. 30 do.

To be Majors of Infantry by purchase.

Capt. Lord Churchhill, from 75 F.	16 June 1825.
— Fitz Roy, from R. Horse Gds.	23 do.
— Lord Bingham, from 1 Life Gds.	do.
— Schreiber, from 6 Dr. Gds.	do.
— Bridgman, from 29 F.	do.

To be Captains of Companies by purchase.

Lieut. Snow, from 6 Dr.	16 June 1825.
— Fitz Maurice, from 8 F.	do.
— Hart, from 2 F.	do.
— Backhouse, from 63 F.	do.
— St. George, from 71 F.	do.
— Eberard, from 7 Dr. Gds.	do.
— Grime, from 55 F.	do.
— White, from 11 F.	23 do.
— M. of Carmarthen, from 10 Dr.	do.
— Campbell, from 52 F.	do.
— Clive, from 1 Dr.	do.
— Meek, from 11 F.	do.
— Le Merchant, from 57 F.	do.
— Van Baerle, from 89 F.	do.
— Sullivan, from 1 Dr.	50 do.
— Lindsay, from 15 Dr.	do.
— Majendie, from 10 F.	do.
— Ramsden, from 15 Dr.	do.
— McMahon, from 16 Dr.	7 July
— Burke, from 99 F.	do.
— Mekethwaite, from 12 Dr.	do.
— Clarke, from 17 Dr.	do.
— L'Arty, from 1 F.	do.
— Ferguson, from 52 F.	do.

To be Lieutenants of Infantry by purchase.

Cornet Porter, from 6 Dr.	9 June 1825.
— Lieut. Bigge, R. Art.	25 do.
— Ensign C. F. Berkeley, from 85 F.	50 do.
Cornet Macdonald, from Cape Corps	7 July
— Ward, from 7 Dr.	do.
Ensign Cameron, from 79 F.	do.
Cornet Barne, 1 Dr.	do.

To be Ensigns by purchase.

N. S. Gardiner	33 June 1825.
E. Durant	do.
W. Campbell	do.
R. H. Manley	50 do.
W. C. Rockliff	do.
J. E. White	7 July
W. J. Hooper	do.

Exchanges.

Lieut. Col. Cameron, from 95 F. with Lieut. Col. Wylie, h. p.	
Major Fitz Gerald, from 57 F. rec. diff. with Capt. Kell, h. p. 16 F.	
Capt. Jellies, from 17 F. rec. diff. with Capt. Hon. C. Grey, h. p.	
— Welbush, from 85 F. rec. diff. with Capt. Wilmot, h. p.	
Lieut. Bulkeley, from 1 Dr. with Lieut. Cox, h. p. 22 Dr.	
— Fraser, from 12 F. with Lieut. Fife, 58 F.	
— Brooks, from 51 F. rec. diff. with Lieut. Mahon, h. p. 51 F.	
— Ross, from 60 F. with Lieut. Fielde, h. p. 88 F.	
Cornet Dillon, from 3 Dr. with Cornet McDouall, h. p. 1 Dr. Gds.	
Ensign Shortt, from 51 F. rec. diff. with Ensign Reed, h. p. 6 F.	
— Robbins, from 85 F. with Ensign Ball, h. p.	
Surg. O'Halloran, from 12 F. with Surg. Arnel, 77 F.	
Assist. Surg. Griffith, from 47 F. with Assist. Surg. Devitt, 20 F.	

Resignations and Retirements.

General Pratt, from late R. Irish Art.	
Colonel Hon. F. W. Grant, h. p. 2 Argyll Fenc.	
— Hon. F. G. Howard, h. p. 9 Gar. Bn.	
— Broadhead, h. p. 121 F.	
— Spearman, 2 Dr. Gds.	
Lieut. Col. Sir J. M. Tylden, 52 F.	
— Brown, 95 F.	
— Dunsinure, h. p. 10 Gar. Bn.	
Major Martin 43 F.	
— Phipps, h. p. 27 F.	
— Hon. E. Mullins, h. p. 23 F.	
— Sullivan, h. p. 65 F.	

Capt. Maxwell, 15 F.	
— Swinton, 20 F.	
— Busche, Ceylon Regt.	
— Hope, R. Art.	
— Hon. W. R. Maule, h. p. In top.	
— Wilbraham, h. p. 4 F.	
— Wood, h. p. 62 F.	
— Crawford, h. p. 59 F.	
— J. Campbell, sen. h. p. 91 F.	
— Thomas, h. p. 48 F.	
— Calliop, h. p. 5 Gar. Bn.	
— Rea, h. p. 67 F.	
— Moriarty, h. p. 8 F.	
— Riddell, h. p. 150 F.	
— Willoc, h. p. 58 F.	
— Ferrier, h. p. 101 F.	
— Tucker, h. p. 11 F.	
— Brown, h. p. 59 F.	
— Temple, h. p. 7 F.	
— Hamilton, h. p. 47 F.	
— Hext, h. p. Indep.	
— Flack, h. p. 88 F.	
— Andrews, h. p. 45 F.	
— Cotter, h. p. Port. Serv.	
— Emucane, h. p. 30 F.	
— Murray, h. p. 95 F.	
— Elton, h. p. French's Levy	
— Robinson, h. p. Port. Serv.	
Lieut. Douglas, h. p. 2 F.	
— Huldebrand, h. p. 55 F.	
— Stevenson, h. p. 2 Dr.	
— Krause, h. p. 51 F.	
— Streetfield, h. p. 91 F.	
— Routledge, h. p. 55 F.	
— Dolbel, h. p. 4 Dr.	
Cornet 1 omkys, h. p. 1 Dr.	
— Molesworth, h. p. 20 Dr.	
Ensign Browne, h. p. 82 F.	
— Durant, h. p. Bisset's Corps	
— Pratt, h. p. Steel's Corps	
— Croker, h. p. 74 F.	
— Manley, h. p. 8 F.	

Appointments Cancelled.

Lieut. Colquhoun, 59 F.	
Ensign T. Bates, 79 F.	
Hospital Assistant Dryden.	

Dismissed by the Sentence of a General Court Martial held at Up Park Camp Barracks, 27th December 1824.

Capt. T. O'Doherty, 91 F.

Deaths.

General Pratt, late R. Irish Inv. Art. in Ireland	June 1825.
Capt. Clarke, 15 F. of wounds at Rangoon	31 Dec. 1821.
— Butler, 59 F. Cawnpore, Bengal	21 do.
— Savage, 9 F. Tours, France	1825.
— James Mackay, 70 F. Winchester	6 July
— Hensworth, 1 W. I. Lt. at Sea	10 do.
— Stuart, Cape Corps	14 do.
Lieut. Ban, 15 F. Calcutta	26 Nov. 1824.
— Treadler, 50 F.	
— Faulkner, 77 F. Stony Hill, Jamaica	24 April 1825.
— Corfield, 77 F. do.	1 May
— Lear, Ret. Invalids, Alderney 9 Dec. 1824.	
— Baron, late 1 Vet. Bn. Portsea 30 June 1825.	
— Williams, late 2 do. Limerick	9 do.
— Jameson, late 4 do. Lower Canada	4 April
— Whannel, late 12 do. Dublin	5 June
— Macnamara, h. p. 32 F. Cove of Cork	11 do.
— Gulpin, h. p. 107 F. Broughton in Furness, Lancashire	15 Dec. 1824.
2d Lieut. Walker, R. Inv. Art. Lisburne, Ireland	5 July 1825.
Ensign Pearson, 15 F. Athey Wood House, Flint	10 May
— O'Brien, 25 F. Ennis, Ireland	8 July
— Laye, 91 F.	22 March
— Hamilton, late 2 Vet. Bn. Lambeth	10 July
— Fitzsimons, h. p. 15 F.	
Quart. Mast. Matthews, 55 F. Barbadoes	10 May
— Byrne, Queen's Col. Mil.	Jan.
Surgeon James Taylor, h. p. Staff, London	10 April
Assist-Surgeon Johnston, 5 F. Barbadoes	23 May

CORN MARKETS.

Edinburgh.

1825.	Wheat.			Barley.	Oats.		Pease.		Quar. Loaf.	B.&P.Meal.			
	Bls.	Prices.	Av.pr.		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	Bls.	Peek.	Bls.
Aug. 21	185	34 0 42 6	39 1	29 0	33 6	19 0 25 0	21 0 21 0	0 14	1 0	Aug. 25	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
31	530	30 0 43 0	36 8	30 0	31 0	19 0 22 6	20 0 23 6	0 11	1 0		1 4	48 1 5	1 5
Sept. 7	816	30 0 42 0	35 4	28 0	32 0	19 0 22 6	20 0 23 0	0 11	1 0	Sept. 6	1 4	48 1 5	1 5
14	833	28 0 41 0	32 9	—	—	19 0 23 0	22 0 24 0	0 11	1 0		1 4	50 1 5	1 5

Glasgow.

1825.	Wheat, 240 lbs.						Oats, 264 lbs.				Barley, 520 lbs.				Bns. & Psc.	Oatmeal 140 lbs.	Flour, 280 lbs.															
	Dantzic.		For. red.		British.		Irish.		Scottish.		Irish.		Scots.					Strl. Meas.														
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.														
Aug. 24	—	—	—	—	32	0	35	0	18	0	20	6	—	—	24	6	30	0	56	0	37	0	24	0	26	0	18	6	20	0	51	55
31	—	—	—	—	32	0	35	0	18	0	20	6	—	—	24	6	30	0	56	0	37	0	24	0	26	0	18	6	20	0	51	55
Sept. 7	—	—	—	—	32	0	35	0	18	0	20	6	—	—	24	0	30	0	56	0	38	0	24	0	26	0	18	6	20	0	51	55
11	—	—	—	—	31	0	34	6	18	6	22	0	—	—	24	0	31	6	56	0	38	0	21	0	26	0	18	6	21	0	51	55

Haddington.

1825.	Wheat.			Barley.	Oats.	Pease.	Beans.	Dalkeith.			
	Bolls.	Prices.	Av. pr.					Oatmeal.		Per BOLL.	Pr. PECK.
	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d.	s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Aug. 26	243	33 0 41 0	37 1	26 0	31 0 18 0 22 0	18 21 6	18 0 21 6	Aug. 22	18 0	20 0	1 5
Sept. 2	540	31 0 41 0	35 5	25 0	30 0 18 0 22 0	18 21 6	18 0 21 6	29	19 0	21 0	1 4
5	651	37 0 40 6	32 5	28 0	31 0 18 0 22 0	18 22 0	18 0 22 0	Sept. 5	18 0	20 0	1 4
16	933	23 0 40 0	30 9	27 0	32 0 18 0 22 0	18 22 0	18 0 23 0	12	19 6	21 0	1 4

London.

1825.	Wheat.		Rye.	Barley.	Oats.		Beans.	
	per qr.				Fd & Pol.	Potat.	Pigeon.	Tick.
	s. s. s. s.	s. s. s. s.	s. s. s. s.	s. s. s. s.	s. s. s. s.	s. s. s. s.	s. s. s. s.	s. s. s. s.
Aug. 22	52 76	34 36	32 45	23 30	25 34	50 52	40 41	15 54
29	52 76	35 40	34 42	23 30	25 35	50 52	40 44	45 54
Sept. 5	50 74	38 45	30 48	23 30	25 35	50 52	40 41	47 56
12	50 74	38 45	23 45	23 30	25 35	50 52	40 41	47 56

Liverpool.

1825.	Wheat.		Oats.	Barley.	Rye.	Beans.	Pease.	Oatm. 240 lb.			
	70 lb.	45 lb.						Eng.	Irish.	Amer. 196 lb.	Engl. Scots
	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Aug. 23	4 0 11 0	2 2 3 6	4 9 5 9	38 44	41 50	36 54	51 61	50 59	18 26	30 53	30 32
30	4 0 10 6	3 5 1 8	5 0	38 44	44 50	36 54	54 60	50 59	18 26	30 53	30 51
Sept. 6	4 0 10 3	2 2 3 5	4 8 5 9	38 44	44 50	36 54	51 60	50 58	18 26	30 51	30 51
15	4 0 10 5	2 2 3 5	4 8 5 9	38 44	42 50	36 51	54 58	50 55	16 25	30 51	30 51

England & Wales.

1825.	Wht.	Rye.	Barley	Oats.	Beans.	Pease.	Oatm.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Aug. 15	67 0	43 11	42 6	26 1	43 4	22 9	—
20	67 11	43 8	39 2	25 11	45 0	44 8	—
27	69 11	41 11	40 7	26 10	43 10	45 10	—
Sept. 3	69 8	40 4	40 1	27 3	46 10	45 10	—

Quarterly Average which governs Importation :

Wheat, 67s. 9d.—Barley, 38s. 9d.—Oats, 25s. 3d.—Rye, 41s. 9d.—Beans, 41s. 10d.
—Pease, 41s. 6d.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE,

Kept at Edinburgh, in the Observatory, Caltonhill.

N.B.—The Observations are made twice every day, at nine o'clock forenoon and four o'clock afternoon.—The second Observation, in the afternoon, in the first column, is taken by the Register Thermometer.

1825.	Ther.	Baro.	Attach. Ther.	Wind.	Weather.	Ther.	Baro.	Attach. Ther.	Wind.	Weather.		
Aug. 1	M. 55 A. 62 M. 53 A. 65 M. 50 A. 59 M. 48 A. 56 M. 49 A. 58 M. 50 A. 59	29.696 .655 .461 .460 .119 .577 28.999 .989 .986 .994 .997 29.111	M. 71 A. 71 M. 68 A. 67 M. 66 A. 65 M. 60 A. 61 M. 65 A. 62 M. 65 A. 62		Cble. SW. SW. W. Cble.	Aug. 17	M. 18 A. 69 M. 47 A. 57 M. 49 A. 56 M. 50 A. 67 M. 51 A. 60 M. 51 A. 57 M. 52 A. 65 M. 49 A. 55 M. 43 A. 58 M. 17 A. 54 M. 48 A. 56 M. 48 A. 57 M. 52 A. 59 M. 51 A. 61 M. 58 A. 65	29.564 .620 .810 .926 .962 .984 .989 .994 .999 .999 .946 .874 .898 .989 .945 .925 .912 .958 .958 .902 .854 .780 .693 .625 .708 .745 .760 .775 .890	M. 62 A. 59 M. 60 A. 62 M. 59 A. 61 M. 67 A. 66 M. 66 A. 66 M. 61 A. 66 M. 68 A. 68 M. 62 A. 65 M. 62 A. 61 M. 61 A. 65 M. 61 A. 61 M. 65 A. 65 M. 68 A. 69 M. 70 A. 67		Cble. Cble. W. Cble. W. W. N. E. NE. Cble. Cble. Cble. Cble.	Foren. fog, h. rain aftern. Morn. dull day sunsh. Foren. sunsh. dull aftern. Dull morn. day sunsh. Sunshine, and warm. Ditto. Dull morn. aftern. sunsh. Sunshine and warm. Foren. fog, aftern. sunsh. Dull morn. day sunsh. Foren. sunsh. aftern. dull. Itan morn. day warm. Sunshine, very warm. Warm, with sunshine.
7	M. 46 A. 59	.506 .508	M. 61 A. 63		Cble.	23	M. 52 A. 65	.874 .898	M. 68 A. 68	W.	Ditto.	
8	M. 16 A. 57	.256 .266	M. 61 A. 65		W.	24	M. 49 A. 55	.989 .945	M. 62 A. 65	N.	Dull morn. aftern. sunsh.	
9	M. 17 A. 7.	.286 .589	M. 65 A. 61		W.	25	M. 43 A. 58	.925 .912	M. 65 A. 65		Sunshine and warm.	
10	M. 15 A. 58	.166 .672	M. 65 A. 61		Cble.	26	M. 17 A. 54	.958 .958	M. 62 A. 61	E.	Foren. fog, aftern. sunsh.	
11	M. 46 A. 60	.755 .726	M. 62 A. 60		W.	27	M. 48 A. 56	.902 .854	M. 62 A. 65	NE.	Dull morn. day sunsh.	
12	M. 41 A. 56	.618 .311	M. 61 A. 60		SW.	28	M. 48 A. 57	.780 .693	M. 61 A. 61	Cble.	Foren. sunsh. aftern. dull.	
13	M. 50 A. 59	28.860 .690	M. 62 A. 60		NW.	29	M. 52 A. 59	.625 .708	M. 65 A. 65	Cble.	Itan morn. day warm.	
14	M. 50 A. 56	.851 .952	M. 60 A. 59		Cble.	30	M. 51 A. 61	.745 .760	M. 68 A. 69	Cble.	Sunshine, very warm.	
15	M. 49 A. 57	29.208 .425	M. 58 A. 59		Cble.	1	M. 58 A. 65	.775 .890	M. 70 A. 67	Cble.	Warm, with sunshine.	
16	M. 47 A. 57	.509 .575	M. 60 A. 60		Cble.							

Average of rain, 1.891.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

THE Harvest commenced about the middle of August in the lower districts, and, in early situations, the greater part of the crop is in the barn-yard. In the higher districts, the half is cut down, and some fields are clear. The crop ripened all over the country almost simultaneously, and hands could hardly be obtained to cut it down at an advanced rate of wages. Within the past week, showers have been frequent, and the winds have been pretty loud; but either from the lightness of oats, or the flexibility of the footstalks, little has hitherto suffered by shaking winds. The late rains, however, will cause the grain part more easily from the husk; and no time will now be lost in getting the remains cut down.

Wheat handled well, and will be considerably above an average crop. Barley is in some instances rather light, but, on the whole, may be estimated at an average crop, and the general breadth under that grain more than usual. Oats are rather light in general, and will turn out below a medium crop; beans a middling return; pease a full crop; potatoes one-third to one-fourth deficient; turnips light, but improving by the late showers. Some complain of recent mildew on wheat, but the sample has not suffered much. Little wheat has as yet been sown, the soil, till very lately, being rather dry for producing a braird. A considerable breadth on clay fallows will be sown this week. The temperature, since our last, averages 59°, and the fall of rain does not amount to an inch.

Two men from French Flanders have been employed by the Highland Society to teach, or rather to shew, the lieges in this country their mode of cutting down their corns by means of a short scythe. The opinions respecting this mode are various, but in the polite world, there can be but one opinion of the manner in which some express unfavourable opinions in the periodical journals. The strangers did not force their services on us, and when they come at our solicitation, without attempting to find fault with our ancient and present custom of shearing, the least thing they deserve at our hand is gratitude; and however unfavourable some may think of this mode, if they cannot applaud, they might at least be silent. In the Carse of Gowrie, we are glad to observe they have been politely treated, and a most flattering report of their mode, as well as of their general demeanour, has been published.

Perthshire, 12th September 1825.

Course of Exchange, London, Sept. 13.—Amsterdam, 12 : 3. Ditto at sight, 12 : 0. Rotterdam, 12 : 4. Antwerp, 12 : 4. Hamburg, 37 : 0. Altona, 37 : 1. Paris, 3 days sight, 25 : 25. Ditto, 25 : 50. Bourdeaux, 25 : 50. Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 151. Petersburg, 9½, 3 U. Berlin, 7. Vienna, *Eff. flo.*, 9 : 59. Trieste, *ditto*, 9 : 59. Madrid, 37. Cadiz, 37. Bilboa, 37. Barcelona, 36. Seville, 36½. Gibraltar, 31. Leghorn, 49½. Genoa, 44½. Venice, 27. Buena Ayres, 43½. Naples, 40½. Palermo, per oz. 122. Lisbon, 51. Oporto, 51. Rio Janeiro, 49. Bahia, 52. Dublin, 9½—Cork, 9½ per cent.

Prices of Bullion, 7 oz.—Portugal Gold in coin, £.0.0.0. Foreign Gold in bars, £.3.17.10½d.—New Doubleloons, £.0.0.0. New Dollars, 4s. 11½d. Silver in bars, standard, 5s. 1d.

Premiums of Insurance at Lloyd's.—Guernsey or Jersey, 10s.—Cork or Dublin, 10s. 6d.—Belfast, 10s. 6d.—Hamburgh, 7s. 6d. a 12s. 6d.—Madeira, 15s. 9d. a 20s.—Jamaica, 2½s. a 30s.—Home, 35s. a 40s.—Greenland, out and home, 0 a 0 gs.

Weekly Prices of the Public Funds, from August 24 to Sept. 14, 1825.

	Aug. 24	Aug. 31.	Sept. 7.	Sept. 14.
Bank Stock.....	231	228½	—	—
3 7/8 cent. reduced.....	90½	88½	—	—
3 7/8 cent. consols.....	89½	87½	88½	88½
3½ cent. do.....	98½	95½	97½	—
4 7/8 cent. do.....	103½	100½	103½	103½
Ditto New do.....	—	—	—	—
India Stock.....	—	—	—	—
— Bonds.....	4½	23	18	—
Exchequer bills.....	16	3	2	1
Consols for account.....	89½	87½	88½	88½
French 3 7/8 cents.....	—	70 fr. 25 c.	71 fr. 75 c.	—

Prices of Stocks.—Edinburgh, 16th September 1825.

	Shares.	Paid up.	Price.
Royal Bank of Scotland.....	£.100 0 0	£.100 0 0	£.200 0 0
Bank of Scotland.....	83 6 8	83 6 8	220 0 0
Commercial Banking Company of Scotland,...	500 0 0	100 0 0	226 0 0
National Banking Company.....	0 0 0	0 0 0	—
British Linen Company.....	100 0 0	100 0 0	315 10 0
Edinburgh Friendly Insurance Company,	100 0 0	100 0 0	—
Caledonian Fire Insurance Company.....	100 0 0	10 0 0	—
Hercules Insurance Company.....	100 0 0	10 0 0	—
North British Insurance Company.....	200 0 0	10 0 0	—
Edinburgh Life Assurance Company.....	100 0 0	10 0 0	—
Insurance Company of Scotland.....	10 0 0	10 0 0	12 0 0
Scottish Union Insurance Company.....	20 0 0	1 0 0	1 2 0
West of Scotland Insurance Company.....	10 0 0	10 0 0	—
Edinburgh Coal Gas Company.....	25 0 0	17 2 6	41 0 0
Ditto Oil Gas Company.....	25 0 0	11 10 0	—
Leith Oil Gas Company.....	20 0 0	20 0 0	—
Edinburgh Portable Gas Company.....	10 0 0	3 0 0	—
Edinburgh Joint Stock Water Company.....	25 0 0	25 0 0	—
Forth and Clyde Canal Company.....	Average.	400 16 6	—
Union Canal Company.....	50 0 0	50 0 0	—
Australian Company.....	100 0 0	40 0 0	0 0
Caledonian Iron and Foundry Company.....	25 0 0	2 0 0	—
Shotts Iron and Foundry Company.....	50 0 0	20 0 0	21 10 0
Edinburgh and Leith Glass Company.....	20 0 0	9 0 0	11 2 0
Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Alloa Glass Co.	20 0 0	4 0 0	4 16 0
North British Loan Company.....	50 0 0	3 0 0	2 10 0
London, Leith, Edin., & Glasgow Shipping Co.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Scotch Porter Brewery Company.....	20 0 0	2 0 0	—
Leith and Hamburg Shipping Company,	0 0 0	0 0 0	—
Caledonian Dairy Company.....	25 0 0	2 0 0	—

ALPHABETICAL LIST of ENGLISH BANKRUPTS, announced between the 23d of July and the 19th of August 1825: extracted from the London Gazette.

- Arton, R. St. Mary-le bone, linen-draper.
 Ashby, J. and W. Tobett, Chile, near Lewes, Sussex, millers.
 Atherton, T. and J. Dunn, Liverpool, brokers.
 Badcock, J. Watlington, Oxford, tinner.
 Baker, J. jun. Bath, carpenter.
 Baker, T. jun. Cannon street, wholesale-grocer.
 Bamford, J. Egham, baker.
 Batten, T. Great Titchfield street, tailor.
 Baynes, T. Dennington, Suffolk, merchant.
 Beazley, J. Houndsditch, trunk and packing-case maker.
 Chastaney, W. Bunwell, Norfolk, coal-merchant.
 Cheetham, D. Stockport, Cheshire, cotton-spinner.
 Clarke, S. Castle-street, tailor.
 Congreve, H. Chapel-street, Edgeware-road, tailor.
 Connolly, B. Great Portland-street, tailor.
 Cross, G. Chandos street, Covent-garden, victualler.
 Crowder, T. and H. T. Perfete, Laverpool, merchants.
 Dalley, T. and T. Bush, Nottingham, lace-manufacturers.
 Dixon, T. Bath, cabinet-maker.
 Doma, G. J. Pook and T. Sady, Colonnade, Hay-market, tavern-keepers.
 Durnell, W. Dover, roomingier.
 Everhed, T. Horsham, soap-maker.
 Farmer, S. Birmingham, glass toy maker.
 Field, S. Smithfield, wine and spirit-merchant.
 Forster, W. Philpot lane, wine-merchant.
 Fuller, W. Boston, shop-keeper.
 Gubby, T. Islington, builder.
 Hacket, W. Manchester, timber-merchant.
 Hagh, B. and E. Whiteley, Leeds, dyers.
 Haledon, W. Liverpool, porter-dealer.
 Hunsard, R. Moneton Combe, victualler.
 Hishop, W. T. Manchester, scrivener.
 Hobson, S. Dover-street, Piccadilly, wine-merchant.
 Holah, C. Hastings, chemist and druggist.
 Hollis, J. Bishopstoke, Southampton, miller.
 Hooton, R. R. Richards, and W. Wilkes, Aston, Warwick, iron-manufacturers.
 Huddswell, J. London, hat-manufacturer.
 Jackson, L. Gerrard-street, picture-dealer.
 Johnson, J. Manchester, draper.
 Jones, S. King's-armis buildings, Wood street, lace-manufacturer.
 Jones, W. H. Croydon, coal-merchant.
 Kaye, W. and H. Dyche, Manchester, joiners.
 Lingham, G. A. Whitechapel-road, wine merchant.
 Lovel, T. Olney, Buckingham, draper.
 Loveday, T. Newgate-market, poulterer.
 Lowe, G. Popham-terrace, Middlesex.
 Macaulay, J. Cheshunt, schoolmaster.
 Masser, J. York, tailor.
 Milington, W. Shrewsbury, carpenter.
 Moring, C. H. Pope's-head alley, merchant.
 Nicholson, F. Manchester, corn-dealer.
 Paine, T. Coventry, silk-manufacturer.
 Parkes, T. Fenchurch-street, mill-manufacturer.
 Peake, G. Milton, shipwright.
 Price, B. Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, horse-dealer.
 Read, J. Love-lane, Lower Thames-street, victualler.
 Rich, W. Wigan, builder.
 Rogers, B. sen. Liverpool, pawnbroker.
 Rosse, R. Harp-lane, Tower-street, wine-merchant.
 Rudd, J. E. Mitcham, schoolmaster.
 Sadler, T. jun., Warwick-lane, carcass-butcher.
 Still, A. St. Saviour's Church-yard, Southwark.
 Storey, J. B. Blandford, St. Mary, Dorset, maltster.
 Tuckett, P. D. Gloucester, grocer.
 Walduck, H. High-street Shadwell, potatoe merchant.
 Watkins, R. Mount street, Grosvenor-square, tailor.
 Walker, W. Knareborough, York, butcher.
 Walker, G. Wollaston, Northampton, butcher.
 Williams, E. Southampton, shoe-seller.
 Wilson, W. Manchester, wine-merchant.

ALPHABETICAL LIST of SCOTCH BANKRUPTCIES and DIVIDENDS, announced August 1825; extracted from the Edinburgh Gazette.

SEQUESTRATIONS.

- Anderson & Co. worsted-printers at Riccarton, near Kilmarnock.
 Bebbie, James, minkerper, Kilmarnock.
 Bone, James merchant in Ayr.
 Donald, David, spade manufacturer at Carmyle.
 Duncan, William, machine maker, Path head.
 Giesdull, John, manufacturer in Galastuck.
 Watson, James, merchant, agent, and accountant in Glasgow.

DIVIDENDS.

- Carsewell, Walter & George, manufacturers in Paisley, by John Macgavin, accountant in Glasgow.
 Gibbs & Co. late nursey and seedsmen in Inverness; by John Macgavin, solicitor there.
 Spence, George, draper in Edinburgh; by Alexander Ross, merchant there.
 Williamson, James, merchant in Leith; by James Burgess, merchant, Edinburgh.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

1825. Feb. 12. At Buxa, in the East Indies, the Lady of Francis Sneywright, Esq. Assistant-Surgeon, His Majesty's 59th regiment, a son.
 July 20. At Coldstream, the Lady of Captain A. D. McLaren, of the Berwickshire militia, a son.
 23. Mrs Grant, of Viewfield, a daughter.
 24. At Kersiebank House, the Lady of Henry M. Hall, Esq. of Tipperkevin, county of Dublin, a son.
 — At Newbyth, the Lady Anne Baird, a daughter.
 — At Mellerstain, the Lady of George Baillie, Esq. junior, of Jernswoods, a daughter.
 — At Laurence Park, the Lady of Thomas Learmonth, Esq. a son.
 — At St. Clement's Wells, Mrs James Atchison, a daughter.
 26. In Dundas-Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Ivory, a son.

- July 50. At Inveresk House, Mrs George Forbes, a son.
 — At Rossie, Mrs Oliphant, a son.
 Aug. 1. At Beddington, Surrey, Lady Helen Wedderburn, a son.
 — At Bonaw House, Argyleshire, Mrs Robert Burns of Reidston, a son.
 5. At Fasque, Lady Ramsay, a daughter.
 — At 2, Lynedoch Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Wilson, a son.
 — At Edenwood, Fifeshire, Mrs Campbell, a daughter.
 — At No. 69, Gower-Street, Bedford Square, London, Mrs G. G. Hill, a son.
 6. At Drummond Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Balfour, of Elwick, a daughter.
 7. At Liverpool, the Lady of Arch. Maxwell, Esq. a daughter.
 — At East End, near Lymington, the Lady of A. Gordon, Esq. of the Royal Engineers, a daughter.

Aug. 8. In Hamilton Place, London, the Countess Gower, a daughter.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Abercromby of Birkenbog and Netherlaw, a son.

— At Broughton Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Graham Bell, a daughter.

9. At Meadowbank House, Mrs Maconochie, a daughter.

10. Mrs Grant, of Mount Cyrus, a daughter.

11. At Salisbury Road, Newington, Edinburgh, Mrs J. R. Skinner, a son.

— At Hermitage Place, Leith Links, Mrs Menzies, a daughter.

12. In Upper Grosvenor Street, London, the Lady of Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart. a son and heir.

13. At Cruster, the Lady of Thomas Gifford, Esq. a daughter.

17. At Torregles House, Mrs Alex. Gordon, a daughter.

— Mrs Anderson, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh, a son.

20. At Novar House, the Lady of Hugh Rose, Esq. a son.

* MARRIAGES.

1825. June 20. At George Town, Demerara, John Murray Macgusty, Esq. to Madeline, fourth daughter of William Gordon, Esq. of Aberdeen.

July 9. At Howth Church, Major Charles George Gray, of the 11th brigade, to Jane, eldest daughter of Lieut-Colonel Grogan of Seafield, county of Dublin.

13. At Mountgerald, Rosshire, Archibald Dick, Esq. Windsor Castle, Jamaica, and a member of the Honourable House of Assembly of that island, to Isabella, third daughter of the late Colin Mackenzie, Esq. of Mountgerald.

18. At the house of his Excellency the British Ambassador, Paris, the Rev. W. H. Bury, B. D. fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and graduate of the University of Paris, to Mary Anne, daughter of the late John Maclean, Esq. and widow of the late A. Mackenzie Grievs of Glenure, Esq.

19. At Arreton, Isle of Wight, George Cornelius Stigant, Esq. attorney, Portsmouth, Hants, to Eliza Watt, daughter of the late John Watt, Esq. of Edinburgh.

21. At Seven Oaks, Kent, John Arrot Browning, Esq. M. D. to Eliza, eldest daughter of Samuel Green, Esq. of Seven Oaks.

22. At the house of his Excellency the British Ambassador, at Brussels, the Rev. E. Jenkins, B.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Eliza, eldest daughter of John Jay, Esq. formerly of Lixmount, near Edinburgh.

26. At Abbeychex Church, in the Queen's County, Lord Clifton, eldest son of the Earl of Darnley, to Emma Jane, third daughter of Sir Henry Parnell, Bart. and niece of the Earl of Portarlington.

— At Bellevue, the Rev. William Gillespie, minister of Kells, to Charlotte, third daughter of the late George Hoggan, Esq. of Waterside.

23. At St. George's Church, Hanover Square, London, Alexander Robert Stewart, Esq. M. P. for the county of Londonderry, eldest son of Alexander Stewart, of Ards, in the county of Down, Esq. to Lady Caroline Ann Pratt, youngest daughter of the Marquis and Marchioness Camden.

— At Windsor, the Rev. John Moultrie, rector of Rugby, to Harriet Margaret, eldest daughter of Dr Fergusson, Inspector of Hospitals.

31. At Brechin, D. D. Black, Esq. writer there, to Eliza Jean, only daughter of the late Mr Richard Milburn, merchant, London.

Aug. 1. At the parish Church of Mary-le-bone, London, Hugh Maclean, Esq. younger of Coll, to Jane, eldest daughter of Wm. Robertson, Esq.

— At Perth, Major Todd of Castle Bank, to Miss Marjory Bisset, eldest daughter of Mrs Bisset of Marshall Place.

2. George Kinnear, Esq. of Gower-street, London, to Elizabeth, only daughter of Mr Barclay of Leice-ter Square.

— At No. 1. Dundas-Street, Edinburgh, the Rev. George Smith, minister of the second charge, Kilmarnock, to Jane, only daughter of the late David Hogarth, Esq. of Hulton, Berwickshire.

— At Portobello, Alexander Blackie, Esq. banker in Aberdeen, to Mrs Margaret Paterson, daughter of James Miller, Esq. merchant in Glasgow, and grand daughter of the late James Watt, Esq. of Birmingham.

Aug. 2. At Strathairly House, Fifeshire, David Blackie, Esq. W. S. to Margaret, only daughter of David Briggs, Esq. of Strathairly.

3. At Gibraltar, John Sandeman, Esq. (of the house of Hadwin, Sandeman, and Cowell) to Charlotte Sophia, eldest daughter of Lewis Smeile Tucker, Esq. Collector of his Majesty's revenues in that garrison.

4. At Glasgow, Humphry Ewing Crum, Esq. to Helen, daughter of the Rev. Dr Dick.

— At Newton, Thomas Abercromby Duff, Esq. advocate, youngest son of R. W. Duff, Esq. of Fetteresso, to Mary, only daughter of the late Alex. Gordon, Esq. of Newton.

8. At Dingwall, Captain Thomas Munro, half pay 42d regiment, to Miss Alexandrina M'Kenzie, daughter of the late Kenneth M'Kenzie, Esq. Dingwall.

9. At St. Andrew's Church, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, John Rennie, Esq. of Lanton House, East Lothian, eldest son of George Rennie, Esq. of Phantassie, to Sarah Elizabeth Amelia, daughter of Edward Hall Campbell, Esq. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

— At Leith, Mr John Saunders, merchant, London, to Catherine, eldest daughter of Mr James Miller, merchant, Leith.

— At the parish Church of Mary-le-bone, by the Rev. George M. Muggrave, A. M. William Sandford, Esq. of Chessington Lodge, to Agnes, third daughter of John Ewart, Esq. of Edinburgh.

13. At the house of the Duke of Clarence, in Charles-Street, Berkeley Square, London, Miss Fitzclarence, to Mr Sidney, of the life guards.

15. At St. George's, Bloomsbury, London, Jas. Bradshaw, Esq. to Miss M. Tree, late of the Theatre Royal Covent-Garden.

16. At Great Baddow, Alexander Finlay, Esq. Castleman, Lanarkshire, to Miss Lucy Ann Jones, only child of James Jones, Esq. of Great Baddow, Essex, and of Twickenham Park, Jamaica.

— At St. Cuthbert's Church, Wells, Somerset, the Rev. John Sandford, of Balliol College, Oxford, to Elizabeth, daughter of the late Richard Jenkins Poole, Esq. of Sherborne, Dorset.

17. At Horrodale, Colin Chisholm, Esq. solicitor in Inverness, to Margaret, third daughter of John M'Donald, Esq. of Glendale.

— At St. George's, Bloomsbury, London, Wm. Gordon, Esq. W. S. and eldest son of David Gordon, Esq. of that city, to Agnes Marian, third daughter of John Hyslop, Esq. of Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square.

18. At Cairnshines, East Lothian, Mr William Yule Gibson, merchant, Leith, to Catherine, only daughter of the late Mr Peter Sherrin.

— At the New Church, St. Pancras, London, John, eldest son of Lord John Townshend, of Balls Park, Hertfordshire, to Elizabeth Jane, eldest daughter of Lord George Stuart.

19. At St. Peter's Church, Dorchester, Walter Jolhe, Esq. W. S. to Hannah Lycette, eldest daughter of the late Lieut-General Aylmer of Rugby, in the county of Stafford.

20. At Anerum House, the Rev. Gilbert Elliot, son of the Right Hon. Hugh Elliot, to Wilhelmina, youngest daughter of the late Pat. Brydnone, Esq.

22. At Ellingham, county of Northumberland, James Morrison, Esq. junior, of Millbank, Alloa, to Jane Anne, only daughter of the late James Maidment, Esq.

— At Edinburgh, Andrew Gilles, Esq. advocate, to Elizabeth Harvie, only daughter of the late James Brown, Esq. of Craigow.

— At Edinburgh, James Anderson, Esq. Cashier to the Scottish Union Insurance Company, to Ann, only daughter of Mr George Bruce, James's Court.

— At Gloucester Place, the Rev. John Coker, rector of Radcliffe, Buckinghamshire, to Charlotte Sophia, youngest daughter of the late Major-General Dewar.

21. At Craigie House, the Rev. William Currie of Broughton Hall, Cheshire, to Mary, youngest daughter of Richard Campbell, Esq. of Craigie.

25. At Glasgow, Wm. Macturk, Esq. M. D. of Bradford, Yorkshire, to Miss Catharine Ruthford, only daughter of the late Dr John Ruthford of Craigow, Kinross-shire.

Lately, At Glasgow, at the house of her uncle, John Kirkland, Esq. West George Street, Mr Robert Munro, merchant in Lisbon, to Miss Maria Mackenzie.

DEATHS.

1821. Oct. 31. In camp, at Charwah, south of the Norbuddah, Captain P. H. Dewaal, 60th regiment native infantry, commanding a detachment from that corps in pursuit of the freebooter Shaik Dallah.

1822. Feb. 19. At Bombay, Lieutenant Archibald David Greene, 3d native cavalry, aged 22, youngest son of the late John Greene, Esq. of Eskbank.

April 1. At Mexico, Mary Hewitt, wife of Mr David Dick.

May 23. At Kingston, Jamaica, Mr William Welsh, youngest son of the late William Welsh, Esq. of Mossfeinan.

June 21. At sea, on his passage to Italy, Allan Fowlds, Esq. of Skerneland.

27. At Benecoolen, Mrs Christina Nicolson, wife of William Scott, Esq. of Penang.

28. At Harrowgate, Lieutenant Alex. Graham, of the 17th regiment of foot, second son of Lieutenant-General Graham Stirling of Duchray and Auchyle.

July 7. At Madeira, Robert Young, Esq. merchant in Glasgow.

11. At his residence on Staten Island, D. G. Tomkins, Esq. late Vice-President of the United States.

18. At Downpatrick, Ireland, Mr John Raeburn, architect and clerk of works there.

21. At Daffmull, in the parish of Collesie, Elizabeth Jamphray, in the 101st year of her age. She was born in the parish of Abdie, and had resided the greater part of her lifetime in the parishes of Collesie and Monmail. She is said to have retained the use of her faculties, in a great measure, till within a very short period of her death.

21. At London, Sir Alexander Grant, Baronet.

22. At Dalswinton, Dumfriesshire, the Lady of the Right Hon. Lord Erskine.

— At Brighton, in the 90th year of her age, Mary Stewart, eldest daughter of Wm. Stewart, Esq. of Sloan-Street, London, formerly of Inverkeithing.

— At Berth, after a short illness, Mr John Barr, writer.

— At Dalswinton, near Dumfries, Mrs Erskine, of Mar.

— At Aberdeen, in the 66th year of his age, James Stewart, Esq. B. N. late of Barrack, the 1st of the surviving sons of John Stewart, Esq. formerly Professor of Mathematics, Marischal College, Aberdeen.

26. At Bath, Lady Leslie, widow of Sir Edward Leslie, of Farber, Bart.

27. At Grove House, John Bonar, Esq.

27. At Lunktown of Kirkcaldy, Mr Alex. Shaw, late Supervisor of Excise.

— At Stewarston, Mr Andrew Whyte, surgeon.

28. James Taylor, Esq. of Elliesland, Dumfriesshire, brother of the late John Taylor, Esq. of Liverpool.

— At Hutton Bank, Hamilton, Mrs Ann Hutton, relict of John Bryson, Esq. of Sheriff-faulds, late Sheriff-substitute in Lanarkshire.

— At the Burn, John Shand of Arnhall, Esq. aged sixty-six. This gentleman, in early life, in consequence of his want of experience, when he succeeded to his father and commenced business as a wine-merchant, was involved in difficulties, which led him to leave the country abruptly and go to Jamaica, where he entered on a new line, unfriended, and without a shilling in his pocket. Stimulated to exert the powers of a mind naturally strong, by the pride of principle and a feeling of ingenuous shame, he tasked himself to the most severe application, in the acquisition of general as well as of professional knowledge, and, being sober and temperate in his habits, of strict integrity, and of a very independent spirit, he laid, gradually and imperceptibly, a sure foundation for that distinction to which he afterwards attained in the island. During many years and in the most trying times, when the opinions of men were unsettled, and life and property endangered in the colonies, by the phrenzy of the French revolution, he conducted the business of the Assembly of Jamaica with a temperate firmness, and, by a union of enlightened and comprehensive views in his public measures, with complete disinterestedness in his private conduct, he created confidence, even among those who were politically opposed to him, and was regarded as a benefactor by all parties, to an extent that will not soon be forgotten in that corner of the world.

Having acquired a competent fortune, he returned again to his native country, after an absence of thirty-three years, and one of his first acts was to insert an advertisement in the newspapers, clearing all who had suffered by him in his early life, to give in their claims against him, which were paid, principal and interest, without deduction, as soon as they were presented; and so extremely anxious was he that every person should receive compensation in full, that he was at pains, by correspondence and agency, to trace and find out the heirs and representatives of all the foreign houses with which he had had dealings, the very names of whose partners would never have been heard of again, after the convulsions that had taken place in Europe, but for his own information and exertions. Having disposed of a part of his fortune in this way much to his own satisfaction, with another part he purchased the estates of Arnhall and the Burn, in Kincardineshire, on which, during the remainder of his life, he continued generally to reside. In embellishing and still more highly ornamenting the beautiful place of the Burn, he had full exercise for his cultivated taste; and of improving the lands of Arnhall, he found an employment equally suitable to his active mind, by converting extensive tracts of barren and useless moor, the sight of which was offensive to the eye, and the vapours arising from them injurious to the health, into pasture grass and regular arable fields, by judicious drainage. These extensive operations, carried on during a succession of years, afforded employment and bread to a number of the industrious and labouring poor in his neighbourhood, which to him was a higher source of gratification than even the increased value of his property, from the money thus beneficially expended. Such was his public conduct, in which only the public can take an interest, as an example deserving of imitation. The kind affections of his heart, and the social virtues that endeared him to his private friends and acquaintances, are best recorded in their memories, and will not be forgotten, till they shall be as he now is.

July 29. At her son's house, Manor Place, Coates Crescent, Edinburgh, aged 65, Mrs Catherine Hamilton, relict of Daniel Ramsay of Falla, for many years a merchant in this city.

— At her house in Howe-Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Christian Armstrong, relict of Robert Boyd, Esq. of Drum.

— At Port Glasgow, Richard Brown, Esq.

30. At Newton Mays, the Rev. Thomas Scott, minister of the parish of Newton.

— At Saltcoats, George Cunningham, Esq. of Langmuir.

— At Renton, near Dumbarton, Mr John Corrie, accountant, Glasgow.

— At Cowes, the Right Hon. the Earl Craven, the Lord Lieutenant of the county of Berks, Recorder of Coventry, and a Lieutenant-General in the army, in the 55th year of his age. His Lordship married, 12th December 1807, Miss Brunton of Covent Garden Theatre, and has left issue Viscount Uffington (now Earl Craven), another son, and a daughter; the latter born 26th June 1815.

31. At her house here, Dame Elizabeth Graham, relict of the late Sir Robt. Dalryell, Bart. of Binn.

Aug. 1. At Albany-Street, North Leith, Mrs Wright, widow of the late Colonel Robert Wright of the royal artillery.

— At Knole Park, of apoplexy, her Grace the Duchess of Dorset.

— At Dirnanean, aged 86, Andrew Small, Esq. of Dirnanean.

— At Eastertyre, Robert Mackglashan, Esq. of Eastertyre, W. S.

— At Canterbury, Lieut.-General Disborough, of the Royal Marines.

2. At St. Germain, David Anderson, Esq. of St. Germain, aged 73.

— At Thurso, Mr William McLean, merchant there, aged 86.

3. At Arngowan, Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Baronet, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Renfrew.

— At his residence North side, Clapham Common, Thomas Newton, Esq. of Warwick Square, London. He was many years agent to the provincial press, and a man highly respected by a numerous circle of friends, by whom his loss will long be severely felt and deeply lamented.

— At Alehoushill, James Reid, Esq. aged 82.

Aug. 3. At Forres, aged 48 years, George M'Intosh, Esq. merchant, one of the Magistrates of that burgh.

— At 10, St. Anthony's Place, Mr John Stirling, writer.

4. At Leith, Mrs Thomson, relict of Mr James Thomson, builder.

5. At his house, Abercromby Place, Edinburgh, Andrew Bonar, Esq. of Kummergham, banker, in the 78th year of his age.

● At her house, Milne's Court, Edinburgh, Miss Ann Hepburn.

6. At Anderson, aged 52 years, Mr John Duncan, inventor of the patent tainbouring machinery.

— At Montpelier, Burntsfield Links, Hugh Nimmo, Esq.

— At Dundee, Mr George Baxter, merchant, aged 79 years. He has left five children, 55 grandchildren, 16 great grandchildren, 25 nephews and nieces, 100 grand ditto, 61 great ditto.

— The Rev. Henry Muschet, minister of the gospel at Shettleston.

— At St. Alban's Bank, near Hampton Court, in the 78th year of her age, Mrs Halifax, widow of Samuel, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.

— At his house, 6, Charlotte Square, Mr Charles Oman.

8. At Ramsgate, Sir John Sutton, K.C.B. Admiral of the White.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Elizabeth Campbell, widow of Matthew Campbell, Esq. Wigton.

— At No. 2, Frederick Street, Edinburgh, Miss Agnes Melliss, daughter of the deceased Patrick Melliss, late flesher in Edinburgh.

9. At Raeburn Place, Stockbridge, Edinburgh, Robert Morrison, Esq. architect.

10. At his house in Thurso, Capt. James Henderson, of the Ross, &c. militia.

— At Glasgow, Miss Jean Govane, of Park of Drumquhassie, aged 73.

11. At her house, in Irvine, Mrs Barbara Hannatyne, widow of the Rev. Dr James Steven, late minister of Kilwinning.

— At Mile End, Glasgow, Mr Allan Clark, writer, Paisley.

13. At Barnhill, Dumbartonshire, Miss Margaret Oliphant, eldest daughter of the late Rev. James Oliphant, minister, Dumbarton.

— At Cranshaw, Berwickshire, Mr John Bertram, farmer there, in his 79th year.

— At Barnhill, Perthshire, Mr David Rintoul, late writer in Edinburgh.

14. At Piershill Barracks, Samuel Scott, Esq. surgeon to the Carabineers.

— At Roxburgh Place, Edinburgh, Capt. William Black, of the 22d regiment of native infantry, late Assistant Quartermaster-General, and Secretary to the military fund at Bombay.

— At West Maitland Street, Mrs Mary Campbell, wife of Lieutenant John Edington.

16. At Gilsland, John Newall, Esq. of the Hon. East India Company's service, son of the late John Newall, Esq. of Barskeoch and Earlstoun. He was much esteemed by all who knew him, and his death is sincerely and deeply lamented.

— At his house, Riego Street, Edinburgh, Mr George Minto, builder, aged 40 years, much regretted.

17. At Ayr, at the advanced age of 84 years, Sergeant John Holland, out pensioner of Chelsea Hospital, who served in the 7th or Queen's own dragoons, in Germany; and, in the reign of George II. was engaged in the battle of Minden. His father was killed in the battle of Falkirk, fighting against Prince Charles.

18. At 116, Prince's Street, Edinburgh, Catharine Butchfield, relict of the late Dr Chapman; also, on the 14th, her grandson, Robert, infant son of the late Rev. James Simpson.

19. At Elliestown, Mrs Tulloch, relict of the late Thomas Tulloch, Esq. of Elliestown.

20. At Mayfield, near Lochmaben, Mrs Marion Henderson, daughter of the late Robert Henderson, Esq. of Cleugh Heads, and wife of Captain James Brown, of Mayfield.

— At Edinburgh, the Right Hon. John Francis Earl of Mar.

— In Portland Place, London, Admiral Lord Rolleston, G.C.B. aged 72.

Aug. 21. At Edinburgh, Miss Mackenzie, of Applecross.

22. At the house of his brother, Lord Hutchinson, Bulstrode Street, Manchester Square, London, the Earl of Donoughmore, a Peer of Great Britain, one of the original Representative Peers for Ireland, a Privy Councillor, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Ireland, General in the army, Governor of the county of Tipperary, &c. Never having been married, his titles and estates devolve upon his next brother, Lord Hutchinson, K.G.C.B. &c.

23. At Notting Hill, Charles, eldest son of William Robert Keith Douglas, Esq. M. P. aged two years and ten months.

— In Edinburgh, Jane Montague, the eldest daughter of John Cockburn, Esq.

— At London, Lady Elphinstone, widow of John, thirteenth Lord Elphinstone, and mother of the present Lord.

26. At Duddingston House, Miss Charlotte Grant, daughter of the late William Grant, Esq. of Congalton.

27. At Mountainhall, William Brand, Esq. of Mountainhall, aged 100 years.

— At his house, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, after a long and painful illness, Alex. Mannors, Esq. bookseller.

— At Loanhead, near Edinburgh, Janet McLeod, spouse of Mr James Ironside, wood-merchant, Edinburgh.

29. At Craichie, in the parish of Panton, Mr Robert Dempster, aged 95 years.

Lately. At Perth, a veteran named Robert Menzies.—In 1758, when only sixteen years of age, enlisted in the seventy-sixth regiment. He first faced an enemy's fire at the siege of Belleisle, where he was wounded in the leg; and he was also present at the capture of the islands of Martinique, Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent's, from the French; and at the taking of the island of Cuba and the city of Havannah from the Spaniards. He was discharged in 1761, in consequence of the peace; but next year he joined the seventy-first regiment, which was soon after sent to America. Menzies was at the battles of Long Island and White Plains, besides some other severe skirmishes. In 1777 he was at the battle of Brandywine; and in the subsequent year at the siege of Savannah, in Georgia. In 1779 he fought at Priot's Creek; and he next formed one of the army which was besieged at Savannah by the Americans and French under Count D'Estaing, where he was wounded in the shoulder. In short, it would seem from the memoir before us, that this hardy man shared in nearly all the worst hardships of that bloody war; for we find him next at the battle of Camden, next at that of Cowpens, and then at the engagement of Guilford Court. He formed one of the army under the Marquis Cornwallis, when that commander was forced to surrender to the patriot forces under Washington and Rochambeau. When the prisoners were sent home, Menzies—who, in the course of his services, had reached the rank of Quartermaster-Sergeant—was discharged with a pension of one shilling per day; which those at the head of the affairs of our army refused to augment, because he could not produce his first discharge, which was buried with a relation to whom he had entrusted it, and who was killed at that fatal landing on the shores at Boston. Menzies had two sons, who were both killed in battle. He has left a widow nearly seventy years of age, very destitute. His remains were followed to the grave, among others, by four veterans who shared nearly all his fortunes while in the Fraser Highlanders.

— At Hampstead, Middlesex, in great distress, Mrs Young, formerly Miss Diggs, and a leading actress of Drury Lane theatre.

— Suddenly, at Cheltenham, Charles Town-end Wilson, Esq. Captain of the 43th foot, nephew of Henry Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry.

— At Ryde, Isle of Wight, Sergeant Lewis, an eminent barrister at the English bar.

— The Rev. James Scott, minister of Benholm, in his 67th year.

— At Bothwell Mount Cottage, Captain Lewis Campbell, R. N.

THE
EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,

LITERARY MISCELLANY,

BEING A NEW SERIES OF

The Scots Magazine.

OCTOBER 1825.

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EDINBURGH:

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HIGH WATER AT LEITH.

<i>Days.</i>	<i>Morn.</i>		<i>Even.</i>		<i>Days.</i>	<i>Morn.</i>		<i>Even.</i>	
Nov. 1825.	H.	M.	H.	M.	Nov. 1825.	H.	M.	H.	M.
Tu. 1	5	2	5	26	W. 16	6	14	5	51
W. 2	5	52	6	22	Th. 17	7	6	6	40
Th. 3	6	54	7	30	Fr. 18	8	9	7	37
Fr. 4	8	7	8	43	Sa. 19	9	16	8	41
Sa. 5	9	23	9	58	Su. 20	10	19	9	49
Su. 6	10	32	11	3	M. 21	11	16	10	49
M. 7	11	31	11	59	Tu. 22	—	—	11	41
Tu. 8	—	—	0	27	W. 23	0	24	0	2
W. 9	0	53	1	18	Th. 24	1	5	0	45
Th. 10	1	43	2	6	Fr. 25	1	41	1	23
Fr. 11	2	30	2	53	Sa. 26	2	18	1	59
Sa. 12	3	15	3	37	Su. 27	2	55	2	36
Su. 13	3	59	4	22	M. 28	3	32	3	13
M. 14	4	43	5	7	Tu. 29	4	14	4	34
Tu. 15	5	28	5	51	W. 30	4	56	5	18

MOON'S PHASES.

Mean Time.

	D.	M.	H.
Last Quart.,...Th.	3.	52	past 5
New Moon,...Th.	10.	44	— 8
First Quart.,...Th.	17.	3	— 11
Full Moon,...Fr.	25.	46	— 3

TERMS, &c.

Nov	5. Gunpowder Plot, 1605.
11. Martinmas.	
12. Court of Session sits.	
30. St. Andrew.	

Note to Correspondents.

The story of Day, and Sketches from Nature, probably in our next.

We are really concerned for the upper stories of some of our Correspondents, when we see the quantities of sentimental nonsense in verse which they have been at the trouble of manufacturing. Let them, male or female, try to put half a dozen of their stanzas into one, and it is then possible that that one may be fit for the printer.

We approve highly of the admirable letter on Church Patronage sent to us by an unknown Correspondent, but we are unable for the present to take farther notice of it.

Some notice will be taken in our next of the Protestant Reformation, and of various other minor pieces which we have not hitherto been able to overtake.

Our wish is rather to allay than to exasperate the *odium Theologicum*. The critique on Hill's Lectures will therefore be returned to its Author.

THE
EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,
AND
LITERARY MISCELLANY.

OCTOBER 1825.

EVIDENCE OF MR M'CULLOCH BEFORE THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON THE STATE OF IRELAND.

(Continued from page 318.)

IN our last Number we presented our readers with the whole of the first day's evidence by Mr M'Culloch, on the state of Ireland. We now proceed to extract in detail the whole of the second day's examination. It is considerably shorter than that of the preceding day, and refers chiefly to the effects of emigration, and to the law of landlord and tenant in Ireland. Apart from the degrading influence which the exclusion of Catholics from places of power and trust has on the vast majority of the Irish people, we can see no cause so necessarily and rapidly productive of misery among them, as the permission now given by law to every tenant to divide and subdivide his possession at will among his children, or other favourites. The contrast which exists between the law and practice of Scotland, and the prevailing usages in Ireland, in reference to this subject, is very distinctly brought out in the evidence at the close of this second day's examination. As we have already stated, Government have, with the most commendable anxiety for the welfare of Ireland, and without delay, instructed their solicitors to prepare a Bill to assimilate the law of Ireland as nearly as possible to that of Scotland, on the relation be-

tween landlord and tenant; and this, we are convinced, will be one of the most important legislative boons ever conferred on that ill-fated country. Never will capital be attracted to agricultural industry,—never can capital be accumulated by agricultural enterprises in Ireland, until an effectual check shall be put to the wretched system of splitting land into minute possessions.

Mr M'Culloch, it appears, was examined at considerable length by some of the Members on the subject of emigration. It would seem from the course of the questions, that they wished if possible, to draw from him some sort of approval of the grant of £30,000 made by last Parliament, to carry out a miserable handful of Irish to Canada. But we think Mr M'Culloch has shewn the utter futility of any scheme of emigration from Ireland, unless strict provision is made that the place of the emigrants shall not be filled with an equally miserable population. But we shall not detain our readers farther than to state, that, since the last Number of our Journal was published, the opinions of Mr M'Culloch respecting absenteeism have been attacked with almost savage violence by the whole cry of Irish Newspapers, and to some extent also by

the Morning Chronicle. The pitiful tirades of the Irish writers are just as usual with writers and speakers of that country, whenever they attempt to write or speak in an argumentative style. In fact, their lucubrations are sadly superficial, and very often degenerate into what may be properly enough called "unsophisticated blarney." A want of sufficiently comprehensive and distinct views of the principles of commerce seems chiefly to mark the arguments of the writer in the Morning Chronicle—a Journal which is, in general, distinguished for the intelligence and care with which it discusses subjects of this nature. To exhibit the leading features of this controversy, we deem it only justice to both parties to subjoin to this evidence two or three extracts from the Journals in which the dispute was maintained, and which seem to comprise the essential points of the arguments on both sides, and, indeed, in a great measure to exhaust the subject. In the meantime, we proceed with the evidence.

9th June 1825.

John Ramsay M'Culloch, Esq. again called in, and further examined.

Are you of opinion, from what you know of the circumstances of the Roman Catholic and Protestant population of Ireland, that the Protestant population has a tendency to increase as fast as the Roman Catholic population?—No; I should think not; I should think that the Protestant population, being better educated, and consequently, it may be presumed, being more influenced by motives of prudence and forethought, would increase rather slower than the Roman Catholic population.

That the principle of moral restraint would have more influence in checking the progress of the Protestant than that of the Roman Catholic population?—Yes; I think so, under the present circumstances of the Roman Catholic and Protestant population.

Are you of opinion, that the causes which you believe to have produced the present superabundant population of Ireland are still in operation?—I am not aware that the operation of any of them has ceased; I conceive them to be all in operation at this moment.

Under that circumstance, and the other circumstances that bear upon the case, what in your opinion is the probable pe-

riod in which the existing population of Ireland will double?—Unless some change takes place in the condition of the people with respect to their means of subsistence, or some artificial obstacle be opposed to lessen the present facilities of obtaining land, I do not see any cause in operation why they should not double in the next thirty-three years, as they have done in the last.

Looking to the facts of the case bearing on the condition of the people of Ireland, and seeing that the evil consists in the rate of wages being too low, and that the remedy of the evil is the trebling of that rate, so that two millions of labourers, according to your calculation yesterday, may be able to earn twelvence a day; what is your opinion of the probable effect of bounties on the exportation of coarse linens, as likely or not to contribute to produce this remedy?—I should think, that if the bounty is to be derived from a tax laid on Ireland alone, it could not produce the slightest effect; that to whatever extent it might create employment in one branch, it would diminish it in another; and I should conceive, that the bounty, even if it were raised in England, would have no considerable effect; and if it had any effect, whenever it was withdrawn, it would be injurious to the people of Ireland; it would bring a greater population into the market while it existed, and if not kept up for ever, when once repealed, the population would be in a worse situation than they would have been in without it.

Could such a bounty contribute in any considerable degree to afford employment to the people?—No, I do not see that it could, unless it were made exceedingly high, so as to be a heavy tax on the people of England.

Being a bounty on exportation, how would that tell at all in increasing the demand for labour?—If there were a certain bounty given on the exportation of linen from Ireland, for example, that would raise the rate of profit of the linen manufacturers, and attract capital to their business; but whatever capital might thus be attracted to the linen manufacture, would all be invested in it on the faith of this bounty continuing; and the chances are, that the moment that bounty was withdrawn the capital would be useless.

Would not the effect of the bounty be to diminish the price of linen when sent into the foreign market, and thereby to diminish the profit calculated on?—It might or it might not diminish the price in the foreign market; it might fit an article for a foreign market, that could not other-

wise be sent to it, by enabling it to be sold below its cost of production, but that would be its whole effect.

If a merchant exporter received a bounty of twopence a yard, would he not be able to sell that linen for less by twopence a yard than he otherwise would in competition with foreign linen; and would not the effect of the bounty be, supposing the cost of production in Ireland the same as in a foreign country, to give an advantage to the foreign purchaser, and no advantage to the Irish manufacturer?—He might not be able to sell at all in competition with foreigners, even with this bounty; but the bounty would enable him to sell for twopence a yard less than if it were withdrawn.

Do you think that giving premiums for the encouragement of growing flax, and bounties for extending the linen manufacture in Ireland, would in any respect much tend to produce the effect of a higher general rate of wages?—No; I think that giving bounties on the raising of flax, or on the linen manufacture, or any artificial means of that sort, will produce in the end evil in Ireland, for the withdrawal of an additional stimulus is sure to occasion injury, and it is hardly conceivable it could have any considerable effect in the meantime.

Have you ever looked at the state of the progress of the linen manufacture in the north of Ireland, and have you not found, if you have examined into it, that there have been several branches of the manufacture that originally were of very little moment, but encouraged by premiums and bounties, have now risen into that state that they can stand without premium or bounty?—I would not say that it is impossible to find out a case of an advantageous manufacture being introduced by the aid of a bounty, but I am not aware whether the introduction of the linen manufacture into the north of Ireland has been advantageous to that country.

Do you conceive the manufacture of fine linen is of no benefit to the country?—If it can stand fairly in competition with that of foreigners, without protecting-duties of any sort, it may be of advantage to the country, but not otherwise.

Do you apprehend that, if the linen manufacture had not been introduced into the north of Ireland, the population of the north of Ireland could have been employed with the same advantage to the public as they are at this moment?—Perhaps there might have been a less population in the north of Ireland; but I do not know that there is any thing in the

introduction of the linen manufacture that has improved the condition of the population; it might have been smaller in amount without the linen manufacture, but it does not follow that its introduction has improved the condition of the inhabitants, though it may have multiplied their numbers.

Referring again to the facts of the case, are you of opinion that joint-stock companies, for working mines, for building mills, for growing silk, for growing flax, and other purposes of this kind, can contribute in any effectual degree to produce a remedy for the low rate of wages in Ireland?—No, certainly not. I think, that if there be any advantageous mode of investing English capital in Ireland at this moment, it will be much more likely to be found out by private individual enterprise, than by the joint-stock companies referred to.

Looking to the amount of capital that is actually wanted to raise the rate of wages to a proper level, is there any probability that any efforts of joint-stock companies could reach the object?—Not the least, I should think.

Are you of opinion, that the whole demand for labour that might be created by the greatest extent of effort of this kind, would produce a sensible impression upon the great mass of the labouring population in Ireland?—I should think, that all the capital which could be taken by joint-stock companies to Ireland, could produce no considerable effect; and if it did produce a considerable immediate effect, I should think it would have a great chance of being ultimately injurious because it is hardly possible to suppose that the capital of joint-stock companies will be very judiciously laid out; and if not judiciously laid out, so as to replace itself with a profit, it must in the end be injurious rather than beneficial to the country.

Are you of opinion, that there is any prospect, under any circumstances, of the capital of Ireland increasing to such an extent, as to produce a remedy for the present low wages and want of employment of the people?—Not without adopting those improved measures of government and of education, and those other measures for restricting the progress of population, which I endeavoured to point out yesterday. I think there is not the least prospect of capital increasing so as to employ the people, if the present circumstances are allowed to continue.

What then must happen in Ireland, to lay the foundation of any effectual change in the present condition of the people of that country?—It should be the object of Government to attempt to

remove those obstacles that prevent the natural transfer of English capital to Ireland; and it should be their object to endeavour to take away all those artificial excitements to the increase of population which now exist in it.

Is there any prospect of any change of importance without,* in the first instance, by some means or other, the present progress of population being checked?—Not the least. So long as population increases as fast as the capital of the country increases, the condition of the inhabitants never can be improved; and unless measures be adopted for checking the increase of population, as compared with that of capital, it is quite impossible that the condition of the people ever can be meliorated.

In your opinion, then, the first great object of the attention of the legislature, and of landlords and all other classes, should be, by some means or other, to endeavour to check the present rate at which the population of Ireland is going on?—To increase the rate at which capital is augmenting, and to diminish that at which population is augmenting.

If there is no prospect of capital being increased to such an extent, as that it shall overtake the present rate of population, must not the foundation of any effectual plan of improvement be a check to the present rate at which the population is increasing?—Undoubtedly; if it be impossible to augment capital to the extent necessary to pay considerably higher wages, then the condition of the population can be improved only by an actual diminution of their numbers, or of the ratio of the increase of their numbers.

To acquire a sufficient augmentation of capital, it must go to the extent, not only of employing the existing numbers of people, but those who will be added by the natural increase of them, now going forward?—Certainly.

Being aware of the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, are you of opinion that that influence might be applied, so as to restrain the present habit of early marriages?—I should think that the influence of the Catholic clergy of Ireland might be directed so as to have a most powerful effect in infusing better habits into the people. If the Catholic clergy were themselves aware of the principles which determine the condition of the lower classes, and if they had a sufficient motive to induce them to give effect to those principles, and to inculcate them on the minds of their parishioners, I cannot doubt their influence would be most salutary and effective, and would contribute most

powerfully to bring about a better state of things.

Would not this influence, if properly directed, and constantly applied, in explaining and teaching, that the condition of the poor depends very much on the poor themselves, and in shewing the relation of the demand for labour, and the number to be employed, be most usefully exercised by that body, if they fully comprehended, as you have just stated, the principles by which the misery or happiness of a people are governed?—I have no doubt, that if the Catholic clergy were aware of those principles, and had a sufficient motive to inculcate them, they might be instrumental in effecting a great improvement in the condition of the people.

In your opinion, they should recommend the abstaining from that system of early marriages now so universally prevalent?—Yes; I think there is nothing they could do, that would contribute so much to meliorate the temporal condition of the people, as to admit to their charge, as the inculcating of prudence and forethought, and the impressing upon the minds of the people, the advantage of abstaining from matrimonial connections, till they had some tolerable certainty of being able to provide pretty comfortably for the children that might be supposed to arise from them.

If, instead of taking this course, they are guided by a notion that a country cannot be too populous, as long as it can grow sufficient food for subsistence, and make a rule of encouraging marriage, are they not, in fact, adding to the sum of human misery in Ireland?—Yes; it so, they certainly act as the most determined enemies of Ireland would act. They may be unconscious of it; but I am firmly persuaded, no enemy of Ireland could act in a way more injurious to the interests of the community.

In giving that decided opinion, do you feel that you are justified in maintaining it upon the experience that is to be collected from what has occurred in all times, and in all other countries?—Yes; I feel that I am perfectly justified in maintaining it on principles founded on the most comprehensive experience; on the experience, in fact, of every age and every country.

Do you refer to facts of constant and uniform occurrence, that will support that principle?—Yes; there can be no principle more completely established by facts than that principle is, that the condition of the people of every country will always depend on their numbers, compared with the capital that is to feed and main-

tain them; and if a habit of early marriage, and of increasing the people in a greater ratio than the capital, is introduced into any country, and encouraged, the condition of the people of such country will be changed for the worse.

If it be true that in the south of Ireland there are many thousand persons who derive no means for subsistence from their own labour, for which there is no present or probable future demand, and who in fact are in a state of hopeless poverty, do you not consider that the maintenance and support of those persons (in whatever manner, or from whatever variety of sources derived) must be considered upon a strict analysis, as a tax on the resources of the country in proportion to the annual expense of each member of his class?—I do not know that I should consider the sums given for the support of any set of individuals for whose labour there is no demand whatever, in the light of a tax; for I understand a tax to be collected always for some desirable object, and laid out in the acquisition of corresponding benefit or utility to the public in general; and the sums laid out on those people, though necessary to their support, are, in reference to the public, just so much wealth absolutely lost or thrown away.

If it be admitted that a man, a woman, and two children, of this class of persons in a state of hopeless poverty, cannot be sustained in Ireland at a less expense than that of £20 per annum, (that is at an average of £5 each), if their removal to Canada can be effected for the sum of £80, and if after that expenditure they are placed in a situation in which they can sufficiently provide for themselves and their families, is it not clear, that at the rate of four years purchase, we are enabled by such an emigration to remove persons who, at the termination of those four years, would have continued to remain a charge on the community, not only themselves, but producing children which could only lead to an aggravation of the evil, both to themselves and the public; but who, on the supposition of the other alternative, will be in a state of comparative independence, and whose children will be a source of advantage to themselves and to the community?—If it were to cost £20 a-year to keep a number of people in Ireland who contribute nothing whatever, as by the supposition involved in the question, to the wealth of the country, and if those persons can be conveyed to America for £80., I should most certainly say, that the £80 were very judiciously laid out in taking them there;

provided only that you adopt such measures in Ireland as will prevent the blank occasioned by taking out those people from being filled up, for, if you do not do this, you will really have thrown just so much money away.

Under such circumstances, do you consider that the application of the national capital to the removal of these persons would be a legitimate object of public expenditure, provided always that such expenditure should be coupled with provisions which, as far as legislation and practice could go, would have a tendency to prevent an increase of population to fill up the vacuum effected by this emigration. In Ireland, for example, particularly alluding to the case of lands falling out of lease, in which case proprietors desirous of improving their property would be disposed to eject the confert population, which an unfortunate system of leasing had engendered on their estates, and at the same time prepared so far to alter their system as to prevent the recurrence of similar results; in this state of things, do you consider that the application of the national capital to the removal of these persons would be a legitimate direction of public expenditure?—I certainly think, that in the circumstances in which Ireland is actually placed, it would be most proper and advisable for Government to lay out a very large sum of money in carrying away such tenants as might be ejected, or deprived of the means of subsistence by the consolidation of farms, provided the landlords gave the Government unquestionable security that the place which those tenants now fill were not to be occupied for some considerable number of years, as perhaps fifteen or twenty; so that the public might have sufficient security that they were not wasting their money on emigration, but were securing a permanent benefit to the country. Under that condition, I should think it sound policy to lay out a very large sum in carrying away the surplus population of Ireland to other parts of the world, where they might obtain the means of subsistence more readily and in greater abundance.

You have stated that, provided the landed gentlemen who had ejected those persons would give security to Government against the farms being re-occupied by the same description of persons for a certain space of time, emigration might be encouraged; do you apprehend that, under the present circumstances of the laws as they stand in Ireland, it would be practicable for any head landlord to guard the country against the conse-

quences of his under tenants re-creating sub-tenants, and re-peopleing those very farms again, with the same description of occupants as occupied them before?—I should think, from all I know of the law of Ireland, that in the present circumstances of that country, it would be next to impossible for landlords to give that security which I say Government should demand and obtain, before they laid out money on emigration; but that is a very conclusive reason, among many others, for altering the law, that now obtains between landlord and tenant in Ireland.

As it would be desirable, in the case supposed, that proprietors specially inconvenienced by the present state of things, should concur in removing the evil complained of, do you not consider that the expense of emigration might be furnished in part from private parochial or county contributions, and in part from the national funds, and that, by this combination, a more safe and secure system would be carried into effect; as in that case no party could be selected for emigration, to whose case the particular relief was not strictly applicable?—I should think that in the case of Ireland, it would be quite needless to inquire very curiously into the state of the persons about to emigrate; and that great advantage would be gained by carrying a large proportion of the people to America, or any other country where there is a field for their employment; only under the express condition that you get security that their places shall not be filled up again. I do not think it would be of any great importance, in a national point of view, how the expense was defrayed. I consider it as an object of so great importance, that the Government should not be stinted or scrupulous about furnishing the means.

In the general review of such a measure, do you not consider that the advantage to any colony well selected for the purpose, and made the receptacle of such an emigration, arising from the increase of the population, by which the resources of its unoccupied lands of the highest degree of natural fertility might be developed, is to be considered as increasing the expediency of the measure, in a national point of view; and are you not of opinion, that in case of a strict adherence to the terms on which these hypothetical questions are put, the capital necessarily consumed for the furtherance of such a scheme might be restored to the country in an increased ratio, so that the national wealth might be increased rather than diminished by the experiment?—I do not

see any reason whatever to think that the national wealth would be more increased by sending those persons to a colony, than it would be by sending them to any other country, having a commercial intercourse with us, where they could employ themselves with equal advantage. I think it would be an advantage, in a national point of view, to remove them to any part of the commercial world, where they could be employed with most advantage, whether that country were a colony of England or not.

If the national wealth were only to be restored to par, or even slightly diminished by the direct effect of such a measure of emigration, might not the indirect consequences resulting to the country from whence that emigration was taken, from the improved position in which the remaining population would be left, prove in themselves a source of advantage, which, coupled with the direct consequences, would show a material and sensible increase of public expenditure?—There are no grounds whatever, as it appears to me, for concluding that the national wealth would be in the least degree diminished by carrying people out of the country who are unable to provide for themselves, and consequently are a burthen upon it; and while the national wealth would not be diminished by carrying those people out, the comforts of those who remain would be very much increased by doing so; and if you place the emigrants in any country which maintains a commercial intercourse with England, they will increase our commerce with that country, and thus contribute to increase national opulence.

Are you acquainted, generally, with the state of the law in Scotland between landlord and tenant?—I consider myself as having a general acquaintance with it.

Is a lease in Scotland considered as real, or as personal property?—It is considered as real property.

Can you explain to the Committee in what legal sense that word is understood in Scotland?—It is considered in the same point of view as property in land, not as property in money or moveables.

Then the property in a lease for years is considered as real property?—It is considered as a real estate.

Has the tenant of a farm in Scotland, under a lease in which no clause is inserted authorising the tenant to assign his lease, or to sub-divide his farm, or sub-let it, any power so to sub-divide, assign, or sub-let?—No; according to the law of Scotland, if there be no clause inserted in a lease, specially authorising the tenant to

assign, or sub-let, he has no power either to assign or sub-let; but in the event of his death, his lease must descend to his heir at law, to the exclusion of all other persons whatever.

Does the law extend to leases of long duration?—No; when they exceed the ordinary duration of leases, I believe a different rule obtains.

What is the ordinary duration of leases in Scotland?—It may be taken at nineteen years.

Supposing a clause to be inserted in the lease of a farm in Scotland, authorising the tenant to sub-let, can the landlord distrain the sub-tenants for *bona fide* payments of rent made by them to the principal tenant, in the event of the principal tenant becoming bankrupt while in arrear to him?—When a Scotch landlord gives his principal tenant power to sub-let, he has no power to distrain the sub-tenants of that principal tenant, if they have *bona fide* paid their rents to him, for any arrears of rent that may be due to him (the landlord) in the event of the principal tenant becoming bankrupt.

In what manner does a landlord enforce the law, supposing a tenant sub-lets, contrary to his lease?—He can bring an action, either before the Sheriff or the Court of Session, concluding for damages, or concluding for the ejectment of all the tenants from the farm.

Is that process a cheap and summary process?—If the action is brought in the first instance into the Court of Session, it is disposed of as a summary process; and is, I believe, decided in a comparatively short period, and the expenses are not very considerable.

If it is brought before the Sheriff's Court, how is it?—It can be appealed to the Court of Session; therefore it is considered, I believe, more advantageous to bring it, in the first instance, into the Court of Session.

Is this process found effectual?—Quite effectual. There is no such thing in Scotland as sub-letting, in contravention either of the common law of the country, or of clauses in a lease.

What, in your opinion, has been the effect of this law in Scotland?—I am inclined to attribute a very considerable portion of the prosperity of Scotland to the operation of this law; according as the capital of the country increased, tenants were enabled to take larger farms; landlords had consequently an opportunity of consolidating their estates into large farms; and this law has effectually prevented those farms being again subdivided, except by the concurrence of the landlord.

From what you have learned with re-

gard to the law in Ireland respecting sub-letting, and the effect of sub-letting there, what in your opinion would be the probable effect of introducing a law similar to the law of Scotland into that country?—I should think it would be most advantageous to Ireland. I do not know that any measure could be adopted more advantageous to it. I think it would give the landlord that just controul over his estate which he ought to have, and which he has never yet had in Ireland; it would prevent a farm which has been once consolidated from being again divided without the consent of the landlord.

Can you state what the nature of the law is in Ireland, which prevents the landlord from successfully enforcing a covenant in his lease?—I do not know what those circumstances are in the administration of the law that prevent its being done; but I see it universally laid down by all the witnesses before this Committee, and in the best books on Ireland, that restrictive clauses in leases are there nearly a dead letter.

Inasmuch as the lease must by the law of Scotland descend, unless a covenant be specially made to the contrary, to the heir at law of the tenant, to the exclusion of all other persons, does not that lay the tenant under a disadvantage?—I am not aware that that lays a tenant under any disadvantage. When a tenant takes a farm in Scotland, he knows that he is taking it under this condition, as well as under any other condition in the lease; he knows that such is the law he takes it under; and, therefore, it cannot be said to lay him under a disadvantage.

In point of fact, do the tenants complain of the law in Scotland?—No; on the contrary, all the most intelligent tenants (and I know several who are very intelligent) that I have ever conversed with—and there has been a good deal of discussion on this point since the state of the law in Ireland began to be so much talked of—have all said, that the Scotch law is the most advantageous for their interest that could be devised.

In point of practice, does a tenant in Scotland let his farm go to his heir at law, or take steps to turn aside the course of law by any previous engagement with his landlord?—There are very few leases made in Scotland in which there is a power given to the tenant either to assign or sub-let; not one in a hundred, I believe, contains any such power; and any testament or any deed made, unless expressly founded on such a clause in the lease, is worth nothing; it cannot be pleaded in any court of justice.

If a tenant wished that a son, not the

eldest, should inherit, what course could he adopt to carry that wish into effect? He could not adopt any course to carry that wish into effect in any other way than by getting the landlord's assent to an assignment to that son instead of his eldest.

Would such an agreement with a landlord and assignment set aside the law to the prejudice of the eldest son?—It would; because it would be like making a new lease.

Has this system of law of landlord and tenant, in your opinion, contributed to the improvement of the husbandry of Scotland?—Yes, I think it has most decidedly contributed to the improvement of husbandry. It has made the tenants more respectable, by making farms, or tending to make them large; it has prevented any but people possessed of considerable capital from taking farms in Scotland.

Is the present highly-cultivated state of Scotland to be attributed to this cause in any degree?—Yes; I think it is attributable to this cause to a considerable extent.

What effect has it had on the condition of the labouring classes in respect of directing their system of life and their habits to the present course in which it is settled?—I think it has been extremely advantageous to the labouring class. By preventing the splitting of farms once joined together, it has tended to occasion cultivation by means of large farms, and consequently by means of few labourers; so that there has not been that facility of obtaining slips of land and the means of support which there has been in Ireland.

Do you think the condition of the labouring class is better, in consequence of their not being able easily to obtain land?—Certainly; that is my clear opinion.

Can a tenant in Scotland build houses for the purpose of lodging his labourers or his farm servants, without leave from his landlord?—Yes, I believe he could; but he could not let any portion of the farm, however small, to those people without the consent of his landlord.

They might be there during the life of the tenant?—Yes; but they could not occupy any portion of the land as tenants, he could introduce them only as servants.

As the house alone would occupy land, the letting of the house would be a contravention of the lease?—He could not build a house except for his own servants; he could not let it to others.

Suppose a Scotch farmer built a cottage upon his farm, and let it to a labourer, or allowed a labourer to live in it with an understanding that he was to occupy it for a year, would that be considered a sub-letting?—I am not aware whether a

case of that sort has ever been decided in Scotland; but I should consider, upon general principles, that if the person occupying that house was not employed as a labourer by the farmer, it would be held to be a sub-letting, or a subdivision of the farm, and he would be turned out of it.

But if he was employed as a labourer?—I believe the tenant may build as many houses as he pleases for the accommodation of his servants.

If there was any bargain for rent, how would it be?—Then, I take it, it would be a sub-lease.

Then the privilege of building cottages will be merely and solely for the purpose of the accommodation and lodging of persons that are actually his servants?—Precisely; and there never is an instance of any cottages being built by a tenant for any other purpose.

The persons would be in the character of farm servants?—Of farm servants, or farm labourers; but not farm tenants, living in farmers' houses.

What is the nature of the Sheriff's Court, before which covenants in Scotch leases are brought to trial?—The Sheriff-depute, or in his absence the Sheriff-substitute, is the sole judge in that court.

Is it a court that sits frequently?—It is.

Is the general administration of the laws carried on by that court in the counties?—Yes.

Is the business that is carried on in England by magistrates at sessions carried on at that court?—I believe it is principally carried on in the Sheriffs' Courts in Scotland.

May all matters regarding covenants in leases, and matters of that nature, be tried before the Sheriff-depute, or his substitute?—They may; but it is found generally more advantageous to bring actions concluding for ejectment of tenants directly into the Court of Session, to avoid the chance of appeal.

That court sits at Edinburgh?—It does.

Does the Sheriff try with the assistance of a jury?—No; only in criminal cases, which very seldom come before him. In all civil cases, he tries without any jury.

Of what condition of life is the person who fills the office of Sheriff-substitute? The Sheriff-substitute is generally a person in a very respectable condition of life; and generally has been bred in some department of the law.

Is he an advocate?—Not frequently an advocate.

Is there more than one Sheriff's court in a county?—There is only one Sheriff-

depute's court; but in some of the large counties there are different Sheriff-substitutes, who have different courts.

Does he hold his court always in one place?—The Sheriff-depute holds his court, I think, but I am not certain, in one place, and the Sheriff-substitutes hold theirs in one place.

Have you justices of the peace, with similar powers, in Scotland, to the justices of peace in England?—I do not know the powers of the justices of the peace in England, nor very well in Scotland; but I understand there is a large class of cases which come before justices of the peace in England, which come before the Sheriffs in Scotland.

Do the Sheriffs' Courts try all description of criminal cases?—I cannot really say. I believe they might do it; but those cases are generally brought before the Court of Justiciary.

Are the smaller cases of a criminal nature tried before that court?—There are very few cases of a criminal description tried before the Sheriffs' Courts.

Have they the power of issuing warrants for arresting, in matters of a criminal nature, and committing?—Yes, they have.

Is not the whole of that business performed by that court in Scotland?—Yes, I believe almost entirely.

How is the business of distraining for rent carried on in Scotland?—It is carried on under the authority of warrants granted by the Sheriffs.

Has the landlord a right of himself to distrain by his own servant or bailiff?—He must distrain by the Sheriffs' officer.

Before he can distrain in Scotland, he must make an application to the Sheriff?—Yes; and obtain his warrant, and proceed upon it.

Who executes the warrant?—The Sheriff's officers.

Do they seize, and sell, and account for the goods distrained?—I cannot answer that distinctly, not being conversant with those subjects, but I believe they do.

Was it the practice in Scotland, at any former period, for the landlords to grant long leases, for instance, leases for lives?—That was the practice at one time, but it is in very general disuse now.

At what period can you refer to when it was the practice?—It was pretty generally the practice about 1750 or 1760, but it has been going out progressively since the American war.

What do you consider to be the cause of the change in the practice from that system to the present lease of nineteen years?—I conceive one cause to have been

the increase of wealth in the country; but especially the increase in the price of almost all articles of agricultural produce in Scotland since 1790. Those landlords who had let their estates for long leases, found them to be worth next to nothing compared with those whose farms had been let on short leases; and to avoid falling under that loss again, they have almost uniformly altered the term of their leases.

Suppose, in the year 1750, when that practice of long leases existed, the law in Scotland had been like that in Ireland, and landlords could not have prevented sub-letting, what would have been the present state of Scotland?—I conceive there would have been a much larger agricultural population; and that that agricultural population would have been in an infinitely worse state than it is now.

Is the agricultural population greater, in your opinion, than it ought to be for carrying on the business of agriculture?—Not in Scotland, I conceive.

What is your opinion as to the state of the case in Ireland?—All those people who are considered to be the best judges of the number of people in Ireland, as compared with their means of subsistence and employment, estimate that there are about three times as many people as are necessary to cultivate the land.

Can you state to the Committee what is the proportion of the population of England that is employed in agriculture?—It is stated in the late census; I do not precisely recollect it now, but I think it is less than one third.

Are the Committee to understand, that, in your opinion, the great leading measure that can be alone effectual to make an alteration in the present state of things, must be a complete alteration of the law of landlord and tenant, as it now exists in Ireland?—I think that is a most important measure; I do not by any means say it is the only leading measure, but I think that without it any other system of measures will be ineffectual.

In comparison with other means you have suggested, by which a change may be effected in the nature and condition of the people of Ireland, do you think this is the one that is likely to be the most influential?—I should think this would be one that would be among the most influential; and next to this, perhaps, would be the taking away of the existing inducement to multiply cottages, and consequently beggars, by creating forty shilling freeholds.

In what manner can the people be disposed of who would be removed from farms, if the landlords acted on a general

system of clearing the farms when they fell out of lease, of the superabundant population?—I think they might be disposed of by that sort of emigration with respect to which I have been examined.

If, in the north of Ireland, where the linen manufacture exists, the landlords were to collect the surplus agricultural population in villages, so as to divide the business of carrying on the manufacture from the business of carrying on agriculture, would that, in your opinion, be a wholesome reformation?—Yes I think it would decidedly be so; I think you would have better agriculturists, and better manufacturers, and that the population would be more comfortable.

Would it tend further to increase the comfort of that people themselves?—I think it would.

Would a weaver, occupying his time wholly in weaving, actually have better means of supporting himself and his family, than he has now, being partly a farmer, and partly a weaver?—Undoubtedly; he would be able to give his whole time and attention to one business, and to perfect himself in it; whereas they are now devoted to two occupations, and he cannot acquire that degree of skill and dexterity in either which he would do, if confined to only one.

Would not, under those circumstances, the whole of his wages remain in his possession for his own use, in place of a part of them being applied to the payment of rent?—Yes, certainly; the only portion he would have to pay away, would be the rent of his house, if he was not landlord of it.

In the manufacturing districts of England and Scotland, how are the operative workmen circumstanced, in respect to their habits of living, as to houses, and the means of purchasing and obtaining food?—I believe them to be, generally, pretty well off; quite as well off as the agricultural labourer.

Is it the practice with them to hold lands?—I believe it is the practice, to some little extent, in some districts of Yorkshire; but not in Scotland, nor in Lancashire.

What is the state of the manufacturers, in regard to health and morals, that live in towns, and work altogether at their trades, not engaging at all in agricultural pursuits?—I believe the morality of manufacturing towns to be to the full as good as the morality of the country, and the health very little inferior.

Have enquiries been made, and returns of that description which can be depended upon, collected, which may establish that fact?—It is not easy to establish the

fact about morality, it is so difficult to know what the word means; but so far as we understand by it, honesty, and the intercourse between the sexes, I believe the inhabitants of the manufacturing towns are quite on a level with those of the country; and the parochial registers prove they are very little, if at all, less healthy.

As to intelligence and information, how does the comparison stand between the population of manufacturing towns, and the country population?—That is altogether in favour of the manufacturers: in point of intelligence and information, they are decidedly superior to the agriculturists.

Are there complaints in Scotland about absentee landlords?—No; I never heard of any such complaints.

Are there many absentee landlords from Scotland?—A great many.

Do those farms, where there are absentees, bring a lower or a higher rent, than where the landlords are resident?—I believe that throughout Scotland, a farm belonging to an absentee landlord, of the same goodness as one belonging to a resident landlord, would let for rather a higher rent.

What reason is there for its bearing a higher rent than if the landlord was resident?—No tenant likes to live under that system of surveillance and overlooking, which is generally exercised by a landlord. When a landlord goes abroad, or lives in England, his affairs are managed by his factor or agent, who is generally a very intelligent person, and much more conversant with country affairs than the landlords are; so that the tenants prefer dealing with him to dealing with the landlord.

That depends on the character of the factor, and would not apply to a country where the tenant preferred dealing with the landlord?—If the landlord were to employ a very bad man as his factor, of course the tenant would prefer a resident landlord to deal with, if he were a better man; but in Scotland, I believe I am warranted in saying, that, generally speaking, they uniformly prefer absentee landlords.

Do you conceive England sustains any injury from the number of absentees in France?—No, I do not; England would have them to feed and clothe were they in England; and whether she feeds or clothes them in England or France, is a matter of perfect indifference to England.

Do you conceive, that the general interests of any country can be so well watched over and guarded, if the landed proprietors of it, generally, are absent

from it, as if they are present in it, and attending to the interior local concerns of the country?—If the landlords are animated by the same feelings, and have the same interests as the majority of the inhabitants of the country, and if they are more intelligent than the agents whom they employ when they go away, then, provided these two elements are given, I think the country would be the better for the residence of the landlords, but not otherwise.

Do you think, that if seven-eighths of the landed proprietors of England were to go abroad, leaving their estates in the hands of agents to manage them, the general concerns of this country would go on as well as they do now?—I think, if there were courts established in England like the Sheriffs' Courts of Scotland, and if the agents, or persons selected to manage the estates of absentees, were men of as good character, and as intelligent as those who manage the estates of Scotch absentees, England would rather gain by the absence of the great proportion of the landed proprietors.

Are you of opinion, that an assimilation of the law of Ireland, with respect to landlord and tenant, to that which obtains in Scotland, would have any tendency to increase the ratio of capital to population?—Yes; I think it would have a tendency to increase the capital of the country; and it would have a powerful tendency to lessen the means of obtaining small patches of land for the people to live on; and would, consequently, be a clog on population.

Have you turned your attention to the public expenditure of Ireland, and can you state whether the revenue collected in Ireland is sufficient to defray the expense of governing that country?—I understand the revenue collected in Ireland is nearly three millions short of defraying the expense of governing that country, and paying the interest on that portion of the national debt of the empire which properly belongs to Ireland.

Are you aware whether the revenue collected in Scotland is sufficient to defray the expense of the government of Scotland?—Yes; the revenue of Scotland not only defrays the expense of government, but also affords an annual surplus of about £3,000,000, which is remitted to London.

Have you ever heard any complaints made in Scotland about the bad effects of remitting so large a sum of surplus revenue to England?—No, never.

In what manner are the factors or agents for estates paid in Scotland?—They are uniformly paid by salaries.

Not by per centages on the amount collected?—No, scarcely ever.

Is it a practice for factors to receive presents from tenants on taking out leases?—No, there is no such thing known; if it were known that a Scotch factor or agent was receiving presents from tenants, he would be immediately dismissed from his situation.

Are no sort of fees allowed?—Not that I am aware of; I do not believe there is any fee of any kind. If the agent writes the lease, he is paid the same as any other man of business would be, but not otherwise.

Do you think the tenant is at all checked in his industry, by not being enabled to dispose of his farm by will as he pleases?—I should think it is conceivable that a case might occur, in which the present law of landlord and tenant in Scotland would give a tenant less motive to be industrious than he would have if he had the power to dispose of the lease by will; but I think that is a case that would very rarely occur, because in the vast majority of cases, tenants have no disposition to leave their property except to their heir at law; and if it were to occur much more frequently than it does, it would not be an objection entitled to any weight, when compared with the advantages resulting from that law.

Is it a practice in Scotland to introduce a clause into the lease by which a tenant, on quitting, receives the value from the landlord of the improvements he has made?—No; I do not think it is; it may be sometimes done, but I believe rarely. Sometimes the tenant pays a per centage for buildings and improvements that have been made, and in some few instances he may receive a full compensation for such improvements at the end of the lease; but I believe those to be very few.

If a tenant makes himself any permanent improvement on the expiration of the lease, is it ever made a matter of bargain, that he should be repaid by the landlord upon quitting the land?—I should be inclined to say, not often, and if it is not made a matter of bargain, he would get nothing for such buildings.

Is it the practice for the landlord to provide the buildings and permanent improvements of the farm in Scotland?—Yes; I think he provides the greater part of the modern buildings, and the tenant usually pays a per centage on the sum expended by him.

Do landlords carry the system to a great extent, of erecting valuable buildings for the use of the tenants on their farms?—Yes, they do. In many of the

most fertile districts of Scotland, the farm buildings are very expensive indeed; generally speaking, they are very good in all the large and valuable farms that have lately been let, or let within the course of the last twenty-five years.

The practice in Scotland is for the landlords to act liberally in providing every sort of accommodation for their tenants?—Yes, I believe that to be the practice in all the lower districts of the country, and to a very considerable extent also in the Highlands.

In what way does a landlord now secure his property in those buildings, from injury and dilapidation?—The tenant is bound almost uniformly in the lease, to leave the buildings on the farm in what is called a tenantable state of repair.

If he does not do so, what is the remedy of the landlord?—If he does not do so, the only remedy would, I conceive, but I cannot speak positively, be an action against him.

Do instances occur of landlords sustaining injury by the misconduct of their tenants in those respects?—Sometimes, but rarely.

Can a tenant throw up his lease in Scotland when he pleases, or is it binding upon him during the period prescribed in the lease?—It is binding upon him during the entire period prescribed in the lease.

Is the rate of rent in Scotland, in your opinion, as high as it is in England?—I should say, that on lands of equal fertility it was higher in Scotland than in England.

Does that arise as well from the system of husbandry, as from the exemption from poor's rates and tithes?—The markets of England being open to the Scotch farmers, there can be no doubt that the exemption from poor rates and tithes contributes to augment rent in Scotland; and I think, that, generally speaking, the system of husbandry is better.

In what respects is it better—in point of the economy with which it is carried on, or of skill?—I should think in both; I believe it is conducted with greater economy and greater skill.

How are farm servants paid in Scotland?—Sometimes they are paid partly in money and partly in provisions; and occasionally they receive another portion of their wages in the shape of a house. In many cases they are paid entirely in money.

Do they live in the farmer's houses commonly, or are they collected from the neighbourhood?—Sometimes they live in the farm houses; but in the best

cultivated districts of the country, they do not in general live in them.

In what way are they then paid?—Then they are either paid wholly in money, or partly in money, and partly in provisions.

What is the general character of Scotch factors, or agents of estates?—I should say that, generally speaking, they are one of the most respectable classes of men in the country; I do not know any more estimable class; they are generally persons of great intelligence and of perfect integrity.

Of what rank of life are they?—They are at all events equal to, and perhaps occupy rather a higher station in society than the clergy of the Church of Scotland.

What is the sort of education they receive?—Some of them are exceedingly well educated; and all of them are instructed in the common branches of knowledge; and are almost uniformly well acquainted with rural affairs.

Are they selected from the class of respectable farmers?—They generally know a great deal about farming; and most frequently have in addition a considerable knowledge of the law.

Are they fitted to act as magistrates?—They are commonly fitted to act as justices of the peace, as the office exists in Scotland.

Do you know at what rate of salary they are paid?—They are generally paid by fixed salaries, varying from £200 perhaps to £1,000 a-year.

Is it the practice for a factor to manage several estates, or to give his whole time to one?—When the estates are small, one factor may manage several; but when an estate is worth from four to five or six thousand pounds and upwards, it requires the undivided attention of a single factor.

As we formerly intimated, we shall now give those extracts from the journals we have referred to, which appear to us to have set at rest the principles laid down by Mr M'Culloch, in regard to absenteeism. The first extract is from the *Morning Chronicle* of 7th September last. In commenting on the evidence which we have now given in detail, the writer thus states his objections to the doctrines there laid down:

It seems to us, that Mr M'Culloch has not explained the matter either very accurately or very clearly in this evidence. It may not be amiss, to simplify the matter, to assume that the landholder's

rent is paid in kind, and that one-third of the produce is the share of it which accrues to him. If we suppose further, that seven-eighths of the landholders are absentees, (the proportion is too great, we know, but it is that given in one of the questions,) seven-eighths of one-third of the produce of the soil of all Ireland might be sent to them to England or Scotland, if they resided there. For this seven-eighths of one-third of the produce of Ireland, no equivalent would be received by Ireland. It would go to swell the amount of the produce in the markets of England and Scotland. The manner in which the matter is really transacted is not materially different. The farmers dispose of their produce to the exporters of Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, &c., who convey it to the English and Scotch markets, and the return, amounting to so many millions, is paid to the absentee landlords. Of these millions, so much is expended by the landholder in house-rent and servants, so much in dresses for himself and family, so much in food, so much in wines, so much in other articles of luxury. But it is not necessary that any part of this expenditure should give employment to the industry of Ireland, and perhaps the only article derived from Ireland is his linen.

If these absentee landholders had remained in Ireland, so much of the seven-eighths of the third of the produce would have been expended to pay for the wines, the teas, the sugars, cloth, &c. used in his family; but a considerable portion would have been consumed by his family on the spot, and a considerable portion would also have been given to the producers of coarse manufactures, obtained more advantageously on the spot than from a distance, and to various tradesmen, as tailors, shoemakers, &c. for their labour.*

Poland is a country which, being still more backward than Ireland, may serve to make this matter still more clear. The Polish Serfs have each a small possession, by the cultivation of which they are supported, and they work so many days in the week for the landlord. The Polish landholders store up all beyond their own consumption, to be exported for the foreign commodities of which they are in want. If we were to suppose all the Polish landholders to live in England, the whole produce of the country (the cultivators consuming all that they raise on their own possessions themselves) would be conveyed to England, who would thence, in fact, possess a large population, employed in furnish-

ing commodities for these landholders, these servants, &c. which ought naturally to have resided in Poland.

It seems to us that Mr McCulloch has made a very simple subject obscure, by his manner of treating it.

There is, at the same time, no essential distinction between the absence of an English or Scotch country gentleman from his estate, and the absence of an Irish gentleman. It is the same thing, as far as Northumberland and East Lothian are concerned, whether their landlords reside in London or Dublin. At the same time, it cannot be doubted, that if there was exported from the single port of Berwick-upon-Tweed, the port of a very small district, in 1814 and 1815, 90,500 quarters of wheat, 13,587 quarters of flour, 34,055 quarters of barley, 150,000 quarters of oats, without taking any account of the salmon, eggs, animal food conveyed by land, &c., the district supplying that food, which contains but a handful of inhabitants, would, if forming a distinct State, in which non-residence was interdicted, and if all foreign trade was prohibited, would be covered by a comparatively large population—London would be smaller, of course, and so would our manufacturing towns, and the industry of the country generally would be less advanced, because manufacturing industry is best promoted by the congregation of numbers of men in one spot; but the number of mechanics and artisans in this particular district would be increased. The present inhabitants of the district are, however, more prosperous now than they would be on the other supposition, because the agriculturist actually obtains the goods he requires cheaper than if they were manufactured on the spot, under less favourable circumstances.

There can be no question, we think, that if there were to be no Irish absentee landlords, there would be a considerable town population in Ireland to consume that part of the landlord's share of produce, which could be more profitably given to tradesmen at home than to tradesmen elsewhere. But the prosperity of the Empire at large would be no farther promoted thereby than in so far as a greater proportion of town population in the South of Ireland might advance the civilization of that part of the country, and diminish the expense of keeping it in order. It seems idle, however, to attach any importance to absenteeism. Where are we to stop? The inhabitants of the villages used to complain bitterly when the landlords took to the county

towns, and the county towns complained when they took to the capital. There would be no end to regulation if we were to legislate against absenteeism, for a landlord at twenty miles distance would be, to all intents and purposes, as much an absentee from the district in which his property lies, as if he were at five hundred miles distance. It is of no consequence to the Empire at large in what manner the inhabitants are distributed (except with regard to the influence of towns in civilizing a barbarous people), and it is therefore idle and unprofitable declamation in the Irish, to be perpetually harping on their absentees.

The following answer to the above paper in the *Morning Chronicle*, appeared in the *Scotsman* of 14th September, and it requires only a little attention to see how complete the answer is in all its parts, and how well it corroborates the doctrines exhibited in the evidence of Mr M'Culloch, to whom it has been ascribed.

ABSENTEEISM.

It would be worse than idle to take the least notice of the ignorant and abusive nonsense published in the Irish papers on the subject of absenteeism; but as a writer in the *Morning Chronicle* has, though without intending it, been giving considerable countenance to the same outcry, we shall take the liberty to say a few words on the subject. The writer in the *Chronicle* says (for it is needless to allude to his other cases), that if the Polish landlords were to reside in England, the whole share of the produce of Poland falling to them would be transported to England, who would in consequence possess a *large population* employed in furnishing commodities, &c. for these landlords, *which ought naturally to have resided in Poland*. It is quite impossible to hold language like this, and at the same time to contend that absenteeism is not injurious; and instead of attempting to reconcile what is evidently contradictory, we shall content ourselves with showing that the statement of the writer in the *Chronicle* is altogether erroneous.

Let us suppose, for the sake of illustrating the principle, that a number of Polish landlords actually arrive in England, and let us endeavour to trace and exhibit what would be the effect of their residence there—*first*, on the industry of England, and, *second*, on that of Poland. In the *first* place, it is obvious, that if the commodities exported

from Poland to England as remittances to the absentees, were those actually consumed by them, their residence in England could have no effect whatever on the markets of that country. If, on the other hand, the commodities exported from Poland were not of the sort consumed by the absentees, they would exchange them for *equivalent* English commodities, and there would, in consequence, be an increased demand for the class of commodities consumed by the Poles. But, whatever the Irish editors may do, the writer in the *Morning Chronicle* will pause before he contends that an increased demand for any species of our goods will enable us to support a greater population. Men do not live upon demand, but upon *capital*; and the question at issue concerns only those who are spending incomes abroad, and who leave their capitals behind them. The coachmaker, the bootmaker, the manufacturer, &c. do not live upon the demand of their customers, but upon their own capital and industry. Each of them gives a full equivalent for whatever he receives. All that a mere increase of demand ever does, is to enable labour to be better subdivided; and all that the total cessation of the demand for any particular class of commodities ever does, is to force those who produce them to employ their capital and industry in some other department. The shoemaker produces shoes only in the view of obtaining other commodities in exchange for them; and if the demand for shoes were to cease, he would apply himself directly to the production of those other commodities. All, therefore, that England could gain, because of the increased demand for certain descriptions of her commodities caused by the influx of all the landlords in Europe, would be, that her labour would be better subdivided; but we shall shew, that whatever she might thus gain, the countries whence the absentees came would, in that respect, *lose nothing*.

We admit, and it was distinctly and expressly admitted in the evidence on which the writer in the *Morning Chronicle* was animadverting, that when absentees do not take their *menial servants* along with them, the labouring class in the country which they leave are apt to be injured by the competition of the servants thus thrown out of employment, while the labourers of the country where they settle are proportionally benefitted. But this is an effect that is only sensible at the first commencement of absenteeism; wherever it has been practised for a considerable period, it becomes altogether inappreciable.

With respect, in the *second* place, to the effect of absenteeism on the industry of Poland: the commodities sent to England must be such as are fitted for the English markets, for otherwise they could not be sent at all. Let us suppose they consist of raw produce. Had the landlords lived at home, and had their rents been paid to them in kind, as is supposed by the writer in the Chronicle, they would have consumed a portion of them, directly in their houses, and they would have exchanged the remainder for commodities. Now, in so far as the consumption of a landlord and his family are concerned, it is obviously the same to Poland whether the corn and beef for their subsistence be sent into a house in Warsaw or in London; and with respect to the consumption of foreign manufactured goods and colonial produce, it does not signify a straw whether the landlord imports them from England or goes to England to get them. There is indeed a difference with respect to the expenditure of that portion of his income that would have been exchanged for the productions of the more common sorts of tradesmen, as shoemakers, butchers, &c. and for the rude manufactures of the country:—but what is the amount of this difference? An absentee landlord does not take with him the smallest portion either of his own capital or of the capital of the tradesmen and rude manufactures of his country. These remain in Poland; and are equally applied to support and employ labourers, when the landlords are abroad as when they are at home. A portion of these labourers may not, indeed, be employed in exactly the same departments of industry after the landlords have left the country; but there is no ground whatever for supposing that the departments in which they are then employed are in any respect less advantageous to themselves or the public than those they have left. If, for example, there was no longer any inducement, owing to the emigration of the landlords, and the cessation of their demand for the rude manufactures of the country, for a portion of those persons who had previously been engaged in them to prosecute their businesses, they would immediately have recourse to the most advantageous manufacture that can be carried on in Poland,—the raising of that raw produce they had formerly obtained from the landlords, in exchange for their manufactured articles.

Abstracting, therefore, from the mere menials,—from the cooks, scullions, valets, &c., that might be thrown out of employment in Poland, and those that

might be taken into employment in England, the emigration of 10,000 Polish landlords from Poland, and their immigration into England, would have no other effect worth mentioning on the industry of either country; and it is the merest error and delusion possible, to suppose that the population of Poland could be diminished, or that of England increased, except to this trifling extent.

The doctrines we have now laid down seem to us so clear and indisputable, that we feel satisfied they do not require the sanction of great names to insure their ultimate triumph. In point of fact, however, they are supported by the very highest authority. For Mr Ricardo uniformly held, “that absentee expenditure was perfectly indifferent to the wealth and population of a country, except in so far as menials might be deprived of, or taken into employment.”

We have great pleasure farther in quoting the following letter from a very intelligent correspondent of the Morning Chronicle, addressed to the editor of that paper. The writer appears to be quite *au fait* in the doctrines of Political Economy, so happily and so successfully carried into effect by the existing Administration. If any thing had been wanting to close the argument triumphantly, in favour of the new doctrine on absenteeism, it has been supplied by the terse, lively, and altogether satisfactory reasonings and illustrations of the writer of this letter.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR.—In several of your recent papers you have combated the opinion expressed by Mr McCulloch in his evidence, concerning the effect of the expenditure of Irish absentees on the prosperity of that country from which their incomes are drawn. As I agree almost in every particular with Mr McCulloch, and think that the arguments which you have urged against him are fallacious, and that the notions which they inculcate are as pernicious as they are, unhappily, common, I submit to your well-known candour the following statement of my reasons for dissenting from your conclusion:

The income of a landlord, like any other income, may be expended in two ways; in the hiring of labourers, or in the purchase of commodities. In point of fact, it is expended partly in the former way, and partly in the latter; but in



one or other of these ways it must be expended, if it be expended at all, unless, indeed, it were given away.

Now I admit, that in so far as the income of the landlord is expended in the hiring of labourers, whether these are employed in building a house, in digging a garden, in making or keeping a park, in shooting Catholics or poachers, in washing dishes, or in blacking shoes; to that extent it does give employment to a certain number of persons who would be thrown out of employment if the landlord were to go abroad, and consequently tends to keep wages somewhat higher, or to enable a somewhat larger population to be maintained at the same wages, than would be the case if he were to live in London or Paris, and employ English or French labourers for the above-purposes, instead of Irish.

What I do not admit is, that (in so far as his income is expended, not in the hiring of labourers, but in the *purchase of commodities*), it has the slightest tendency to keep wages higher, or to give employment to as much as one labourer more, than if he were living at the Antipodes: nor do I believe that (in so far as this part of his expenditure is concerned) as much as one man would be thrown out of employment, if every resident landlord in the island were to go abroad, or to send abroad for every article which he had a mind to consume.

If the landlord remained in Ireland, he would (we shall suppose) eat Irish bread and beef, wear Irish shirts and breeches, sit on Irish chairs, and drink his wine off an Irish table. Now, then, I will put a case:—Suppose that he goes to London, leaving directions behind him, that all the bread and beef which he would have eaten, all the shirts and breeches which he would have worn, all the chairs which he would have sat upon, and all the tables, off which he would have drank his wines, should be regularly sent him to London. You will not deny, I suppose, that he would give just as much employment to Irish labour as if he had consumed all these articles in the true orthodox way, close to the doors of the very people who produced them.

It would puzzle you, I think, to discover any error in this proposition, or to show any difference which it can make to the Irish producers, provided they supply the commodities, whether they are consumed on the spot, or at a thousand miles distance. I would advise you to ponder well, however, before you admit this; since you will find, if you do admit it, that you have conceded the whole question.

In fact, this case, which I have put as

an imaginary one, exactly corresponds in every thing that is material to the purpose with the actual state of the facts. The Irish do not, indeed, always send the identical bread, beef, chairs, tables, &c., which the landlord would have consumed on the spot, to be consumed by him in the foreign country; but they either send those very articles, or, what comes to the same thing, they send other articles of exactly the same value. Some readers will say (I do not impute to yourself such a degree of ignorance) that they do not send goods, but money; to which my answer is short—if they sent any money, they could not send much, because Ireland has no gold and silver mines, and, therefore, cannot continue to export money to one place, without getting it back again from another. Every body knows, that if a quantity of the precious metals is exported, unless its place is supplied by paper, it always comes back again. In point of fact, however, every body who knows any thing about the way in which the matter is actually managed, knows that no money whatever is sent. The landlord's steward sends over to him a Bill of Exchange, drawn upon a mercantile house; and the drawer of the bill sends over a quantity of goods to the drawee, to meet the bill when it becomes due.

It appears, therefore, conclusively, that the only difference between the expenditure of the resident landlord, and that of the absentee, is this: the one buys, let us say, a thousand pounds worth of Irish goods, every year, on the spot; the other has a thousand pounds worth of Irish goods every year sent to him. Perhaps you may be able to discover some great difference which this makes to the capitalists and labourers in Ireland. Perhaps you may—but if you can, you can do more than I can.

This error (for unless the above argument be correct, you must give me leave so to denominate your opinion) appears to me to be a relic of the now-exploded mercantile system; of that system from which emanated those wise prohibitions of the importation of foreign commodities, which might have remained to this day monuments of ancestral wisdom upon our statute-book, had not Mr Huskisson been somewhat wiser than that Hibernian genius, whose lucubrations you honoured yesterday by a place in your columns. The theory on which those sage regulations were founded, was exactly the same with that which this declaimer and yourself maintain in opposition to Mr M'Culloch. By consuming foreign commodities, you employ fo-

reign labour; by consuming British commodities, you employ British labour. What Englishman, then, it was triumphantly asked, can be so lost to patriotism, as to lay out that money upon foreigners which might have helped to enrich his native country? Admirably argued, truly: one thing, however, which these sagacious reasoners did not advert to, was, that, in buying foreign commodities, you are giving just the same employment to British labour as if you laid out your whole income in commodities of home growth; you are giving employment, namely, to that labour which was employed in making the British commodities with which the foreign commodities that you consume were bought.

The case of the man who has French goods sent to him in Ireland, and that of the man who goes himself and consumes them at Paris, are precisely similar. If the one be criminal, so must the other be. If the absentee landlord be an enemy to his country, so is every resident landlord who expends a shilling upon any article that is not produced—I was going to say in Ireland—but even on his own estate; and just in proportion to the number of

shillings which he so spends, is that same proportion is the mischief which he does. We ought, therefore, if this notion be correct, not only to reimpose upon commerce all the shackles which Ministers have earned such high and such deserved praise for taking off, but we ought to do, what I suppose no Government ever did, prohibit absolutely all foreign, not to say all internal trade. Such is, perhaps, the wise course that we should pursue, if the councils of the nation were taken out of the hands of his Majesty's Ministers, and placed in those of a set of declaimers, who either are desirous to mislead, or whose incurable ignorance renders them just as mischievous as if they were.

I am not so unjust, Sir, as to confound you with such as these; and I regret the more that you should have given your powerful support to an opinion so utterly inconsistent with those principles of political economy which you habitually maintain; an opinion which has had, as I believe, so great a share in blinding the public to the real causes of the evils by which Ireland is afflicted. I remain, Sir, yours, with the greatest respect,—J. S.

Sept. 15, 1825.

THE STEAM-YACHT.

No. IV.

(Continued from page 299 of last Number.)

Mrs Templeton's History continued.

BUT whether spent by Constance in sighs and tears, or by the laughing children (that anticipated the morrow as one entire day of holiday and happiness) in jokes and gaiety, which prevented sleep, the night passed, and the morning dawned. Ere she quitted her pillow, a letter was delivered to her from Charles, in which he told her, that he considered it best himself to destroy her letters and her picture, lest she should not have a good opportunity. It concluded with earnest and affecting prayers for her happiness, and told her, that ere she received it, the writer would be many miles from C—, not intending to revisit it till her husband's ship should have quitted that station. In bitter agony she consigned this letter to the flames, with the others she had received from him, and which she could not yet summon resolution to destroy. She had scarcely done so ere her mother entered the room, and was shocked

on perceiving the expression of anguish in her daughter's face. Her warm affectionate heart bled at the sight of distress in her darling child; and when Constance threw her arms round her, as she hung over her in bed, she mingled her own tears with the convulsive sobbings of the poor mourner, whose cold cheek laid on her bosom. "My dearest girl," she said, "why is all this sorrow? Matrimony is an awful change and responsibility to one so young; yet I can hardly think you so humble as that your dread of not fulfilling its weighty duties can produce grief like this. You cannot surely have any thing on your mind that you conceal from your poor dotting mother, whose only happiness centers in her children." Constance could not reply, for she abhorred falsehood, but she tried to smile, and said, "I am in low spirits, my dear mother; but must dress now; and if you leave me, I shall soon be better. Her mother left her, and went in

search of her husband.. "Henry," said she, fondly pressing his hand, and with a faltering voice, as the recollection of her own wedding-day came to her mind, and the fearful change that had arisen in her husband's mind and prospects since then, "Henry, can you help me to discover what ails my sweet Constance. Her looks terrify me! she looks more a corpse than a bride. Surely she loves Templeton, and is really willing to marry him?" "I should suppose so," said Mr Murray, angrily; "but she was always affected, and this is a proof of her extreme modesty." "Oh, Henry, this is not affectation," said his wife, as the poor victim of her father's unkindness entered the room. She was elegantly attired, but the whiteness of her gown seemed mocked by the deathly paleness of her cheek. Her lips were of the same hue, and though she evidently struggled to hide her feelings, the effects of their intensity rendered it impossible. Her mother quitted the room in silent grief, and left her with her father. "A very pretty picture of resignation," said he, sneeringly, "to the misery of marrying a man whom half the women in C— would give a fortune to obtain. Why, Templeton," he continued, (as the lieutenant, in boisterous gaiety, threw open the door, followed by the younger part of the family,) "you must have given Constance some terrific idea of you. She looks as if she were about to be sacrificed." Roused by the unfeeling sarcasms of her father, she, without replying, rose, while the dignified composure of her manner awed even Templeton into respectful silence. She presented her hand to him, and saying, she was quite ready, he led her to the carriage which waited them. In a few minutes they were in the church, and at the altar; and though Constance fainted during the ceremony, yet was it soon over, and she heard herself saluted as a bride. For the remainder of that day, and for many more, Mrs Templeton acted as if under a spell. She visited, dressed, danced, and sung, as if the happiest of women. Her mother was delighted—her father exulting; but in her own heart was despair, and her only comfort was, that she felt life could

not be to her long. From this singular state of mind she was roused by the unkindness of her husband, whose character became daily more despicable in her eyes. For a month or two he had been proud of her beauty, and constant and flattering in his attentions; but his companions began to quiz him on his unfashionable conduct, and he could not endure their reproaches, but soon vented his anger on his unoffending wife, whom he continually left alone at a country lodging, which they had first taken on account of her health, and which they continued, that he might keep her away from her mother's house, for he saw that his character began to excite the suspicion of Mrs Murray, and he knew that her open and ungoverned temper would lead her to repeat all she observed to her daughter. But it was in vain he hoped to preserve appearances. His repeated drunken frolics made him universally talked of, and at last his mother-in-law seriously and angrily told him, that her child should not be exposed to the contamination of his society. This was injudicious in the extreme, as it did him no good, and drew upon herself his decided hate. Mrs Murray sought to influence the mind of Constance; but her many hours of solitude and reflection had, ere this, caused a happy change in Mrs Templeton's heart, the fertile soil of which was rapidly bringing forth the blossoms of religion and self-denial. That Book, which had been once to her only a serious task, was fast becoming dearer comfort to her heart. She read it as the tidings of love and peace, and the effects of its precepts were soon perceived. Though disgusted with the manners of her outwardly elegant partner, and shocked at his habits, she remembered the dictates of her Bible, and the hopes of Charles Edgar, and resisted all attempts of her mother to persuade her to condemn him by her words, even to a parent. She knew that she had sworn to honour and obey him, and she determined, though his part of the compact were broken, to fulfil her's only the more rigidly; and thus her mother was displeased, and quitted her in anger. Poor Constance wept bitterly for a few moments, but she re-

gained on her knees that inward sense of self-approbation which told her she was right, and comforted her under the displeasure of her fondly-beloved mother. To the insulting jealousy of her husband she returned only meekness, and attentive obedience to his limitations of her acquaintance. To his constant reproaches that she loved Charles Edgar better than him, her only reply was, (as she would not even here depart from *truth*,) that if she failed in all the *fondness* a wife ought to feel, she would try to repair it by her exactitude in all her other duties. But her patient sweetness was all unavailing. Templeton grew more and more insupportable, and neither the loveliness of his wife, nor the speedy prospect of being a parent, could reclaim him. When irritated by others, to whom he chose to hide his real disposition, he, on his return home, gave way to a fury of passion which terrified her; and more than once, on the mildest expostulation from her, did he threaten even her life, in the delirium of rage. Poor Constance, sick at heart, and without the comfort of a friendly bosom on which to repose a thought, drooped and faded like a fragile flower, and her beautiful form became sickly and delicate. Still she relaxed not her efforts to please her husband, as she knew that her own and her infant's subsistence would depend on him, and she at times even tried to look forward with hope, to presenting him with his child as a tie that must soften his heart to her; and perhaps, she would mournfully add, as the father of my child, I may be enabled to love *him*. But the trial was not granted to her! Two months ere its birth, he one evening told her that he was going a short cruise, and that she could remain where she was till his return. "But that will surely be soon," she tremblingly answered; and endeavouring to look happy, she kissed his forehead, and whispered, "You know I shall want your company soon." "It depends upon circumstances," he sulkily answered; "but I must be on board to-night, and so good-bye." A strange and horrid presentiment came over the mind of Constance, as for the first time she threw her arms round Templeton,

and wept on his shoulder. He too seemed moved by her emotion, and clasped her closely to his bosom, looking at her for an instant with pity and affection; but it passed from his countenance, and he shook her off, and coldly kissing her, bade her again adieu, and left the room. For some moments she remained standing where he left her, but soon, sorrowful and hopeless, she sat down to her work, and tried to conjecture why she had felt so much for what was a common occurrence. In the morning, as she commenced her solitary breakfast, a note was put into her hands, which had been left early at the house by a sailor. She recognised her husband's writing, and thinking it might contain some orders for his voyage, she opened it hastily, and fell back insensible on reading the following words:—

"You may marry Charles Edgar whenever you like, as you will never again see
EDWARD TEMPLETON."

Weeks had passed on, and the hapless Constance was yet watched with more despair than hope by her mother and sisters, who had removed her from the country in a state of lethargic insensibility. But at length she slowly revived, and soon after, her orphan Mary was born. The newly-awakened and powerful tie of maternal love made her again feel that life had a value; and as she gazed on the innocent face of her baby, she scarcely believed herself unhappy; but it was not long ere her principles told her that, to remain thus a burden on her mother, by no means rich, and supporting an indolent and vicious husband by her exertions, was wrong. She therefore, as soon as her state of health permitted, tore herself from her darling Mary, whom she consigned to the affectionate care of her grandmother, and for her sake commenced the task of private education. But not even the love which glowed so warmly in her bosom, for the little helpless being, that had wound itself so closely round her heart, could pluck out the venomous dart of disease, which disappointed love had planted there. The more fondly she dwelt on her child, the more did she feel the blessing it would have been to call Charles

Edgar its father. Constance had learned humility by her sufferings, and was meekly sensible of her own insufficiency to train up her darling as her heart earnestly desired. "Yet her Father, who is in heaven," said she, as she rose from her knees after praying for her orphan, "can and will assist me, and when I am taken from her, he can guard her from danger, and lead her to peace." It was fortunate for Constance that the family in which she lived were of that superior order who regard misfortune only as a call for sympathy, and who therefore studied all in their power to render her mind as easy as possible, and endeavoured to make her forget that her situation with them was a dependent one. They were connections of Mrs Weston, and here it was that Mrs Templeton became acquainted with that invaluable friend, who, with her husband, came on a visit to Beechgrove. Though not blest with a family, Mrs Weston was ardently attached to children, and wherever she visited was adored by the younger ones, from the endearing interest she took in all their studies and amusements. It was impossible that one so penetrating should not perceive in Mrs Templeton a being very different from the generality of those she met with in similar situations; and so powerfully was her attention excited by the evident melancholy and declining state of health in which Constance then was, that she soon awakened all the grateful affection of the latter, who confided to her the story of her life. In deep commiseration, Mrs Weston listened to her, and obtained her consent to disclose it to her husband, who, though apparently only the being of hilarity and gaiety, was in reality possessed of a soul glowing with all the feelings that most adorn the man and the Christian. They instantly agreed that Mrs Templeton should relinquish her situation, and become an inmate of their own house. "We will send for her little girl," said the warm-hearted Mr Weston, "and who knows, with your nursing, my dear, and Wiseman's care, but she may live many years." With mingled feelings of regret and pleasure, the friends of Constance parted with her, and she soon found herself in

the possession of every luxury that wealth could command to cheer her mind, or remove her disease. The former was at times attained, but the latter was beyond the reach of art. Consumption began to show its certain symptoms; but the unre-mitted watchfulness of her daily more attached friend, Mrs Weston, and the advice of the most eminent physicians, arrested the rapidity of its progress, and she lingered four years after her arrival at the Elms, during which time her whole family were the objects of the liberality and kindness of the Westons. Her little Mary was ever with her, and often beguiled the weary hours of sickness, while she gradually increased her interest in the heart of Mrs Weston, who loved her with an affection little inferior to her mother's. Lieutenant Templeton was never heard of; he exchanged from the ship in which he had been at the time of his marriage, and all traces of him were lost. Mr Murray's conduct had again become so bad, that his wife, by the advice and entreaties of her friends, determined on leaving him, and with her daughters she accepted the proposal of an early friend who had settled in the North of England, to remove there, and commence a school, which, from their accomplishments and manners, Jane and Anna Murray were eminently qualified to undertake. Elizabeth, her eldest daughter, had never resided at home, but had been educated by a sister of Mr Murray's, who transfused into the breast of her pupil the same virtuous principles and refined cultivation which adorned her own. Elizabeth was now in the situation that Mrs Templeton had left, and was a frequent visitor of her sister at the Elms. Mrs Murray had also been there more than once, but each visit confirmed only the fatal certainty of the accelerating progress of her child's disorder, and now, on her arrival with her younger girls on their way to the North, she perceived, at the first glance, that the life of Constance was quivering like the flame of the taper near its close. That flame flashes in bright and brighter gleams, as its extinction is more near, and, like it, Constance revived at times to more than her former beauty, as

if death were resolved to display the value of the prize he had so nearly made his own. She was fully aware of her danger, and gratefully anticipated her release; but one thing weighed on her mind,—her mother yet knew nothing of her love for Charles Edgar. “Nor will I tell her, Elizabeth,” said she to the weeping girl, who listened to a story equally new to her; “it will only add to her grief; but remember, my dear sister, from whatever motive, never do you tread the fatal path of concealment. The bitterest pang that I now feel is, that I have deceived my beloved mother.” Elizabeth tried to comfort her, and she answered, with a smile of affection, “You never saw Charles, my dear sister, but I think you will, and then perhaps you will excuse me.” At her earnest request, her mother shortened her visit, for Constance knew that the grief of attending her in her last moments would unfit Mrs Murray for the commencement of a new state in life. She therefore urged her to depart, in defiance of the longings of her own mind, that her spirit might be yielded on the bosom of her mother. “Were there hope,” she softly said, “I would ask you to remain, but there is none! Death is hovering over me, and waits only for permission to throw his pall on my weary head; and never was rest to the fatigued traveller more welcome. All that can soften the terrors of his approach, and turn him into the harbinger of freedom and happiness, God has in his word vouchsafed to teach me;—all that can lessen my anxiety for my child, and for you, my friends here have promised. Oh! how great are the blessings showered

on my unworthy head!” It was on the day following that she bade farewell to all her relations. They were drowned in tears and sighs. She alone was smiling and cheerful. “Think, dear ones,” said she, “how soon we shall be together again, never to part. Forgive me all my faults, my beloved mother, and may Mary live to reward you for all your kindness, all your love to me!” With feelings which words cannot describe, Mrs Murray poured forth her blessings on the head of her dying child, and clasping her to her bosom, said, “May God have mercy on me!” then hurrying from the room, followed by her daughters, she entered the chaise, and was soon far from Constance.

The agony of this parting greatly hastened the death of Mrs Templeton, and on the following Wednesday it was that Dr B. witnessed her death-bed scene. She was interred in the family vault of Mr Weston; and though many years have since rolled away, and that babe she left is herself a wife, none who knew Constance Murray, whether in the loveliness of youth and happiness, or in the more touching beauty of sickness and suffering, will ever forget her. Elizabeth Murray has seen the man her sister so fondly and so truly loved, has excused and justified that love, and has found her dearest happiness in calling herself his wife.

“Really, my dear Charles, I am glad the story is concluded,” said my good aunt, wiping her eyes and sighing heavily. “This is a world of woe; but, after all, I am thankful that I was never persuaded to marry.”

L. A.

Sonnet.

’Tis evening! and the god of day is deep
Amid the glories of the purple sky,
And o’er the fading scene dark shadows
creep,
And shroud its loveliness from mortal
eye;
I gaze around—and as the day tints fly,
And steal away the brightness which
they give—
Methinks the objects are the first to die
Which best I lov’d, and wish’d the
most to live.

And thus I’ve seen the eyes to me most
bright
First closed in death—the hearts to me
most dear
The first to wither in the cold world’s
blight,
And dearest joys the first to disappear.
And thus I mourn, amid the gloom of
night,
My vanish’d joys, and weep their time-
less flight.

W. S.

SKETCHES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

No. XI.

THE persons appointed to present the Articles which had been drawn up by the last Assembly, lost no time in waiting upon the Queen. She was then at Perth; and the day after the Articles had been presented to her, she removed to Dunkeld. The Commissioners followed her, and solicited an immediate reply: but the Queen, under pretence of being anxious to have the advice of her Council, declined to say any thing upon points of so much importance till she should have returned to Edinburgh. Five days after she had returned, the Articles of the Assembly were brought under consideration of the Council. No conclusions, however, were come to, and the Secretary informed the Commissioners, that another and a more frequent meeting of Council must be held, before full and final Answers could be given. These were accordingly received on the twenty-first day of August. Petrie mentions, that a meeting of Assembly took place soon after, at which these Answers were ordered to be inserted in the Registers of the Church. He also mentions, that Replies to the Answers of the Queen were drawn up by this Assembly, and that they then adjourned to the day fixed for their meeting in December. It is probable, however, that the meeting mentioned by Petrie was not, strictly speaking, a General Assembly, but a conference of the leading Protestants, brought about by Knox, who had been instructed, by the last Assembly, to receive the Answers of the Queen to their Articles. No mention is made of an intermediate meet-

ing, in the Buik of the Universal Kirk, nor in Calderwood's large MS. In both, the Answers of the Queen, and the Replies of the Assembly, are inserted in the minutes of the meeting, which took place, according to appointment, on the twenty-fifth of December.

This Assembly was held at Edinburgh, in the Over-Tolbooth. The invocation of the name of God was made by John Knox, and Erskine of Dun was chosen Moderator. After a few preliminary arguments, "follows the Answer given by the Queen's Majesty to the Articles presentit to her Grace, by the Commissioners of the Assemblies last holdin, the 25 of June 1565."

The First of these Articles required that Popery* should be suppressed, and the Protestant Religion established by Act of Parliament. To this it was answered,—That the Queen could not abandon the religion in which she had been educated, without offending her conscience, and irritating her allies. But she was ready to sanction any law for securing to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion,—a liberty which she claimed for herself.

With regard to the patronage of benefices, the Queen would not divest herself of what formed so great a part of the patrimony of her crown, but was willing that a reasonable stipend should be specially assigned to the Ministers.

The examination of Teachers,—the punishment of impiety and vice,—and the mitigation of tithes, were Articles which the Queen was willing

* In the reign of Edward VI. (1551) some persons were sent from the Privy Council to Capt. Hall, in Essex, the residence of the Princess Mary, to prohibit her or her domestics from using mass, or any other divine service than was set forth by the laws of the realm. The Princess returned a letter to the King, full of affection and loyalty; but firmly asserting her right to worship God according to her conscience, and resolutely declaring that she would rather lay down her life than abandon her religion. Another deputation, with the Lord Chancellor at their head, were equally unsuccessful in their attempts to shake the resolutions of this Princess. Her letter and the subsequent conference may be seen in the valuable illustrations of English History, which have lately been given to the public by Mr Ellis. See Original Letters, Vol. II. p. 176-183.

to refer to Parliament. And as to the maintenance of the poor, she promised to display a reasonable liberality.

These Answers “satisfied not fullie the kirk;” and Mr John Row, Minister at Perth, was appointed to draw up a Reply. In this Reply, the Assembly lament that the Queen should not yet have had her eyes opened to see the impiety of the mass, and represent her embracing of the Protestant Religion as the sure mean of forming an alliance with Him, whose friendship would be more precious than all the aids of her earthly confederates. They profess, that they have no wish to interfere with the rights of the Queen or other patrons; but they think it reasonable, that they should be allowed to enquire into the qualifications of those who are promoted to benefices; and that, as presentation pertains to the patron, so ought collation to pertain to the Church. The retention of benefices for the use of the Queen they pronounce to be ungodly and illegal; and maintain, that in every case of a vacancy, qualified persons should be presented, and a reasonable stipend secured to them. If, after repairing churches, maintaining schools, and relieving the poor, any surplus should remain, it might be applied as her Majesty and Council judged most expedient or necessary. They conclude with praying God, that he would move the Queen and the Estates to grant their reasonable requests.

In the Second Session, a general complaint being made that Ministers could not obtain payment of their stipends, and that some had suffered violence for their fidelity in reproofing vice, it was agreed that a Supplication, craving redress of these things, should be presented to the Queen. The Supplication was drawn up,—Lord Lindsay and David Murray, brother to the Laird of Balvaird, were appointed to lay it before the Queen, and to report her answer to the next Assembly.

From want of encouragement and support, it would appear that Ministers were abandoning their charges; and measures were taken to prevent them; if possible, from doing so. It

was declared to be unlawful for those who had put their hands to the plough to look back, or to leave their heavenly vocation, and return to the profane world. And in order to encourage Ministers to continue in their vocation, Knox was appointed to pen a “comfortable letter,” in the name of the Assembly. This letter is not inserted in the Bulk of the Universal Kirk, nor in the common copies of Calderwood’s large MS. It has been preserved by Wodrow, in the Appendix to his Life of Knox. He says he takes it from a copy of Calderwood’s second draught of his History. The title runs thus—

“The Superintendants, Ministers, and Commissioners of Kirks reformed within the realme of Scotland, Assembled in Edinburgh the 25 day of December 1565;—To the Ministers of Jesus Christ within the same realme, desire grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, with perpetual comfort of the Holy Spirit.”

It is an animated and forcible appeal on the duty and honour of remaining steadfast in their vocation, notwithstanding their discouragements and difficulties. The concluding paragraph may be given as a specimen of the style and argument:

“It is but poverty that as yet doth threaten us, which, if we be not able to contemn, how shall we abide the fury and terror of death, which many thousands before us have suffered, for the testimony of the same truth which we profess and teach, and despised all worldly redemption, as the prophet speaks? This is but a gentle tryal which our heavenly Father taketh of our obedience, which, if we willingly offer unto Him, the bowels of his fatherly compassion will rather cause the ravens, yea, the rocks and rivers, to minister to us things necessary to the body, than that he shall suffer us to perish, if we dedicat our whole lives unto him. Let us be frequent in reading, which, alas! over many despise, and earnest in prayer, diligent in watching over the flock committed to our charge, and let our sobriety and temporal life shame the wicked, and bear example to the godly; and then there is no doubt but the Eternal, our God, shall remedie this our extre-

mitig.—he shall confound our enemies, and shall shortly convert our wars and mourning into joy and mirth, to the glory of his own name and comfort of posterity to come, through the merits and intercession of Jesus Christ our Lord, whose Holy Spirit comfort you and us in the end.”

Although the writer of this letter had not been mentioned, it is so full of the bold spirit and vehement manner of Knox, that there could have been little hesitation in ascribing it to him. At this same Assembly, a request was made that he should be translated from Edinburgh to St. Andrew's. Goodman who had officiated there since 1560, seems about this time to have returned to England. When Knox and Craig were appointed to visit kirks in the summer of 1564, Goodman had preached for them in their absence; and the Commissioners of St. Andrew's now requested that Knox should supply his place with them. The Assembly, however, although Knox was at the time under the heavy displeasure of the Court, refused to listen to their request, and appointed them to choose a Minister from among the members of their University*. Indeed, how useful soever Knox might have been at St. Andrew's, which had been the scene of his first ministry, his presence could not at this crisis be wanted in Edinburgh. The Reformers entertained at this time, and not without cause, the most serious apprehensions of danger to their religion. Under these apprehensions, the Assembly had come to the resolution of appointing a solemn and public fast. The reasons assigned for this measure were, a forgetfulness of former deliverances, and a contempt of present threatenings, the neglect and oppression of the poor among themselves, and the persecution and cruelty exercised, in consequence of the decree of the Council of Trent, upon their Protestant brethren abroad. These are given as the causes of “stooping under the mighty hand of God, and supplicating his protection

and favour.” As this was the first solemnity of the kind which had been observed by the Protestants in Scotland, it was judged necessary and proper to explain, at some length, the nature and advantage of fasting; “lest the Papists should think that they now began to practise that which they had condemned in them, or lest the ignorant, who knew not the commoditie of this most godly exercise, should contemn the same.” The Assembly, therefore, appointed Knox and Craig to “set out the form thereof,” and to cause Robert Likpreveck to print it. The fast was to be observed on the second and third Sunday of May, by which time, probably, the “Form” would be ready to serve as a directory to Ministers and people. The title of it runs, “The ordour and doctrine of the general faste, appointed be the General Assemblie of the Kirke of Scotlande, halden at Edinburgh the 25 day of December 1565.” The treatise is well drawn up, and does honour to the writers, or rather to the writer; for, by a passage in the fifth book of the History which goes by his name, it seems to have been composed by Knox, (Hist. of Ref. p. 390.) It begins with setting forth the nature of fasting in general, and then proceeds to state the causes of this observance in particular. The second and third Sunday of May were not appointed, it is said, “for any religion of time,” but for convenience. The abstinence from food was to be from the evening of Saturday till the afternoon of Sunday; and even then, great temperance was enjoined. Gorgeous apparel was to be avoided during the whole week. The time spent in the public exercises of religion was to be somewhat longer than on ordinary occasions; and the prayers to be said, and the passages of Scripture to be read, were all distinctly set down.

At this Assembly several steps were taken to prevent irregularity in the solemnizing of marriage. Among the questions which were proposed for solution, the following answer may be given as a proof of the mo-

* It would appear, however, that this was not done. At least Wodrow, in his Life of Goodman, seems to think that the person who succeeded him at St. Andrew's was Robert Hamilton, who had been Minister at Mauchline.

deration and liberality of our Reformers.

"If baptisme be administrat be ane Papist Priest, or in the Papistical maner, it sal be reiperat."

"Quhen sick children come to zeirs of understanding, they could be instructed in the doctrine of salvation. The corruption of the Papistrie must be declared to them, quihilk they must publickly damne, before they be admittit to the Lord's table; quihilks if they doc, there needs not the external signe to be reiterat. For no Papist ministers

baptisme without watter and some forme of word, quihilk are the principalls of the external signe. We ourselves were baptized be Papists, whose corruptionis and abusis now we damne, cleaving onlie to the simple ordinance of Jesus Christ, and to the vertue of the Holie Spirit, quihilks makes baptisme to worke in us the proper effects thereof, without any reiteration of the external signe. If such children come never to the knowledge of the true doctrine, they are to be left to the judgment of God."

ANNALS OF SCOTTISH LITERATURE.

No. I.

FROM the intercourse which was carried on between Scotland and the continent of Europe, it has been thought, that printing must have been introduced into this country soon after the invention of the art, Haerlem, Strasburg, and Mentz, have contended for the honour of the invention; and if the claims of Haerlem are to be preferred, the art might very speedily have reached us, for the staple port of Scotland was about that time at Antwerp. There is no evidence, however, that there were any Scottish printers before Chepman and Myllar. The licence which was granted to them, for bringing home a printing-press, "with all stuff belonging thereto," occurs in the Third Book of the Register of the Privy Seal, folio 129. It does not recite or allude to any licence formerly given, and bears date 15th September 1507. It was first made known to the public, by being inserted in the Report of the Depute Clerk Register of Scotland for 1810. It afterwards found a place in the Appendix to the "Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland," which was printed at Edinburgh in 1824. The former of these publications was necessarily limited in circulation, and the sale of the latter was interdicted—consistently enough, it may be, with the ends of law and justice, but very much to the prejudice of those who wish to become acquainted with the literary history of Scotland. As the document is important and interest-

ing, it may not be improper to introduce it here.

"JAMES, &c.—To all and sundry our officiaris, liegis, and subdittis quham it efferis, quahis knowlage thir our lettres sal cum, greting; Wit ye that forsamekill as our Lovittis servitouris, Walter Chepman and Androu Millar, burgessis of our burgh of Edinburgh, has at our instance and request, for our plesour, the honour and profit of our Realme and liegis, takin on thame to furnis and bring hame ane prent, with all stuff belangand tharto, and expert men to use the samyne, for imprinting within our Realme of the bukis of our lawis, actis of parliament, chronicles, mess bukis, and portuus efter the use of our Realme, with additions and legendis of Scottis sanetis, nou gadderit to be ekit tharto, and all utheris bukis that sal be sene necessar, and to sel the sammyn for competent pricis, be our avis and discrecioun, thair labouris and expens being considerit; And becaus we understand that this cannot be perfurnist without ryght greit cost, labour, and expens, we have grantit and promittit to thame that thai sal not be hurt nor prevenit tharon, be any utheris, to tak copyis of ony bukis furth of our Realme, to ger imprint the samyne in utheris cuntreis, to be brocht and sauld agane within our Realme, to cause the said Walter and Androu tyne thair gret labour and expens; And alis, it is divisit and thoct expedient be us and our counsall,

that in tyme cuming mess bukis, manualis, matyne bukis, and portuus bukis, efter our awin Scottis use, and with legendis of Scottis sanctis, as is now gadderit and ekit by ane Reverend Fader in God, and our traist consalour, Williame, bischope of Abirdene and utheris, be usit generally within al our Realme, alsone as the sammyn may be imprentit and providit, and that ne maner of sic bukis of Salusbery use be brocht to be sauld within our Realme in tym cuming; and gif ony dois in the contrar, that thai sal tyne the sammyne; Qubarfor we charge straitle, and commandis you al and sindry, our officiaris, lieges, and subdittis, that nane of you tak upon hand to do ony thing incontrar this our promitt, devise, and ordinance, in tyme cuming, under the pane of escheting of the bukis, and punishing of thair persons, bringaris thair of within our Realme, in contrar this our Statut, with al vigour as offeris. Geven under our preve seel, at Edinburgh, the xv. day of September, and of our Reyue, the xxi. yer."

From a complaint which Chepman had to make of a violation of this privilege, soon after it was granted, it appears, that besides missal books, manuals, portuus and matin books, he had printed "Donatus, Ulric in personas, and uther buikis *." *Acta Dom. Conc.* xxi. 70. But of the productions of this press, only two are now known to exist, namely, a *Collection of Miscellaneous Pieces*, and *The Aberdeen Breviary*. Of the *Miscellaneous Pieces* only one copy, and that an imperfect one, remains. In the Appendix to the *Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland*, (p. 2.) it is said, that "These pamphlets were reprinted lately, under the inspection of Mr David Laing; but as two-thirds of the impression were destroyed by fire, the book will soon be almost as rare as ever." This reprint has not been seen by the writer of these annals; but the original volume was inspected by him in the autumn of last year; and the hasty analysis of

it which follows, is chiefly made from notes taken at that time.

This volume has long been known to bibliographers, and is described in Herbert and Ames, (vol. III. p. 1815,) as "an old book in black letter, sent to the Advocates' Library in 1788, by a gentleman in Ayrshire, and titled on the back, *Treatise of Nobleness*." The volume has since been repaired with much elegance and care. The leaves are inlaid with paper of a quarto size; but, judging from the appearance of the letter press, for no signatures appear, the original form seems to have been octavo. The volume contains eleven different pieces, of which a brief notice may be taken in succession.

The piece which stands first in this Miscellany is entitled "*The Porteous of Nobleness*."

"Porteous" is defined by Skene to be "ane catalogue conteneand the names of the persones indited to the justice-air." In a general sense, Porteous, quasi portez-vous, seems to have signified a vade-mecum, or manual. The word appears to have been particularly applied to books used in the service of the church. During the reign of Edward the VI., it was enacted, that "all books called Antiphoners, Missales, Grailes, Processionalles, Manuales, Legendes, Pies, Portuases, &c., other than such as shall be set forth by the King, should be prohibited." The word occurs, in the same sense, both in the Licence granted to Chepman and Myllar, and in the Complaint against the infringement of that Licence.

The "*Porteous of Nobleness*" is imperfect, but seems evidently to have consisted of a delineation of the several virtues necessary to complete the character of a knightly or noble man. Treatises of this kind were among the first specimens of the type-art. The "*Boke of*" seems to have been published in England so early as 1471. The rules of morality were thus quartered with the devices of heraldry—the spirit of chivalry was purified and exalted—and the true

* This is the most ancient of all printed Grammatical Treatises, and seems for some time to have been commonly used in Scotland.

knight was taught to blazon himself with every virtue. According to the "Porteous of Nobleness," the virtues of "ane nobill man" seem to have been reckoned twelve. Those which remain are, Cleanliness, Liberality, Soberness, and Perseverance. As a specimen of the Scottish language at the period, the following extracts from the concluding chapter on Perseverance are subjoined.

"O! excellent hei and godly vertue! myghty quene and lady, Perseverance: that makis perfitt, fulfillis and endis all thingis. * Thou our cumis all thingis, be thy secure constance, that lives never to suffre. * * * They sulde weil adoure thee, as lady maistres and patrone, sen the end makis al thinge to be louit. * * * They that incontinent and haisty yeildis tham to fortune, that is to adversite, may furwith disavow nobilness, sen the ende in all thingis makis the workis to be louit. O nobil man! thay ar noblis that dispendis thair body and gudis, in treuth and laute, and defendis their lorde, noghte lousande the right knot of thair faith, sen the ende makis all warkis to be louit."

"Noblis, report your matynis in this buke,

And wisely luk ye be not contrefeit;
Nor to retere sen leaute seikis nu nuke,
And God forsake breuilly for to treat
All that fuls ar, and noblis contrefeit."

"Heir endis the Porteous of Nobleness, translated out of Franche in Scottis, be maister Androw Cadiow, imprentit in the south gait of Edinburgh, be Walter Chepman and Androw Myllar, the XX dai of Aperill the yhere of God

"MCCCC and VIII yheris."

Cadiow is the old way of spelling Cadzow, a place near Hamilton, and from which the predecessors of the noble family of Hamilton seem, for some time, to have taken their designation. It afterwards became a common surname. In a Council which was held at Stirling in the reign of James the II., A. D. 1440; among others, "Maister John of Cadiow, Commissioner of Burrowes," is mentioned as being present. In the Parliament at Edinburgh, in the reign of James the IV., A. D. 1504. "M.

Andreas Cadiow, notarius publicus," is witness to a deed by John Earl of Athol, and Neal Stewart of Fothergill, promising to abide the pains of the law on a summons of treason. About the same time, it is thought, a person of this name is mentioned in the Chartulary of Glasgow as holding some office in the Cathedral. But whether either of them were the translator of the "Porteous of Nobleness," it is impossible to determine.

Watson, who published a history of printing about the commencement of the last century, is of opinion that the art must have come to Scotland from Holland. His arguments in support of this opinion are drawn from "our cases and presses being all of the Dutch make till of late years, from our manner of working; in distributing the letter on hand with the face from us, and the nick downwards; and from our making ink as the printers there do, to this day." There is great reason, however, to think, that the press and workmen brought to this country by Chepman and Myllar were from France. On the verse of the last leaf of "The Porteous of Nobleness," in a quadrangular compartment, is the figure of a wind-mill, with a stair or ladder to ascend, up which a man is toiling, with a load upon his back. Suspended from the mill is a shield, heart-shaped, in which is a mark or device somewhat resembling the ciphers employed by the old alchemists. In the two upper corners of the quadrangular compartment are three fleurs de lis on a shield; in one of the lower corners is a flower, and from the other rises the ladder to the mill. The mill is evidently assumed in allusion to the name of Myllar. This was very common with the early Parisian printers. Thus Michael Le Noir assumed two black figures to support his shield, which was surmounted by a Moor's head for a crest. The same thing, it is true, was done by the printers of other countries. Thus, the device of John Fowler, an Englishman, who printed at Antwerp in this same century, was a tree with crows flying about it, and the legend "Respicite volatilia cœli et pullos corvorum." But the fleurs de lis in the device of Myllar point evidently to the French

origin of his press. What tends to strengthen this opinion is, that the device of Chepman, which may be seen on the Fourth piece in this Miscellany, and also on the Aberdeen Breviary, is exactly the same with that of Philippe Pigouchet, who printed at Paris about that time. It is a wooden print, representing two

savages at full length; their heads adorned with flowers, and in their hands flower-stalks; their bodies clothed with the skins of wild beasts, with a girdle of flowers; their legs bare from the ankle downwards. They stand one on each side of a tree, from which is suspended a shield sable, with the cipher argent.

OBJECTIONS TO CLASSICAL LEARNING AS AN OBJECT OF GENERAL PURSUIT.

To the Editor.

SIR,

Your Journal is a compound both of the Magazine and the Review; and the idea is a good one, because, though almost all Reviews are now in truth *Essays*, it would be formal to call them so; and the learned disquisitions proceed far more lightly and trippingly, under the idea of their being criticisms on other men's treatises, than if they assumed that rank and dignity themselves. It must be admitted, however, that some of your ablest brethren scarcely have right to the appellation of Reviewers at all, from their slight notice of the books which they say they submit to their ordeals, or from their forgetting in many instances to mention them in any manner. Be that as it may, the title of a book referred to, like a red lion, or a black bull, or a white horse, over the door of an inn, is a good *sign-post*, to denote that entertainment is offered in the papers which follow them; though that entertainment may frequently have as little connection with the book said to be reviewed, as many sermons have with their texts; or as either lions, or bulls, or horses, have with the good cheer to be had at the taverns which are marked by their pictures.

The book with its title, which I adopt on this occasion, and which is noted below*, is extremely appropriate to my purpose, and, in the sequel, your readers shall hear more of the merits of that spirited pamphlet, and will read some good quo-

tations from it. I proceed with my subject, and remark, that every educated man finds that he has spent a great deal of time in attaining and pursuing what classical learning he may be possessed of; and if he be a person of reflection, he is apt to ask the serious question "*cui bono*" or to what good effect has it been? In discussions on the subject, he may be told that he would not have understood his own living language without a knowledge of the dead ones; and at first sight the remark is a little staggering, but there is in reality nothing in it. Our well-instructed women are generally ignorant of the learned languages; and yet we, who are the lords of the creation, often cannot write better, or talk better, or so well as they. A peasant in a russet coat, without a word of Latin, knows the meaning of the term "*agriculture*" as well as the parson of his parish, though he cannot dissect it, and resolve it into its component parts, *ager and colo*; and a sailor is acquainted with the import of the word *navigation* as well as his Admiral, though he knows nothing of its radical *navis*. But let us remark, that though many of our words come from the ancient Greek and Roman languages, very many of them also, (as a glance of Johnson's Dictionary will show,) come from the Saxon, the Welsh, the Dutch, the Spanish, the Icelandic, and other tongues; and if there is any thing in the reason now men-

* A Letter to the Patrons of the High School, and the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, on the Abuse of Classical Education, and on the Formation of a National School, adapted to the spirit of the age, the wants of Scotsmen, and the fair claims of other branches of Education. By Peter Reid. M.D. Edinburgh. Brown, 1824.

tioned, for wasting our younger years, in gaining one or two sets of crabbed words, we may just as well employ our time in acquiring the others. Without teasing ourselves with the *unde derivatur*s of vocables, that come from the Saxon or the Icelandic, we know perfectly their actual meaning; and we should do the same, with as little trouble, and as satisfactorily, with regard to those from Greek or Latin roots, were we to cease spending so many valuable years, as most of us now do, in painfully digging in those difficult languages where such roots grow.

The same thing is demonstrable also by a reference to the French language; and I have often amused myself with composing whole paragraphs in words of our own country, but which, though almost wholly *French*, persons here, unacquainted with that language, considered it to be all native English or Scotch vocables.

But not only does instruction, in ancient languages, contribute less than might be imagined to a knowledge of our own: I have to add, that it does not aid us in its composition; for the structures of the tongues are so different, that whatever sentence in English is shaped on the model of the ancient languages, must be far from elegant; and Dugald Stewart actually admits, that "the *deranged collocation* of the words in Latin renders that language an *inconvenient* medium of philosophical communication, as well as an *inconvenient* instrument of accurate thought."—See his *Elements of the Philosophy of the Mind*, p. 201.

And here, "*Rerum dignoscere causas*," we naturally come to enquire how it has happened that our sprightly youths have been subjected to such bondage; and what has entailed on them seven or eight years hard labour, almost as bad as beating hemp, in the acquisition of those languages? The answer is, that while Modern Europe, during the middle ages, was lying in the dreary state of ignorance, in which the overthrow of the Roman Empire had placed it, the revival of letters introduced a general study of the ancient languages, because some books, composed in them, had been preserved

amid the rubbish of centuries; and those were not only better written, but contained more knowledge than the barbarism of those times afforded. Hence arose all the *fuss* about classical learning; the Latin being studied most early, on account of its having in it the Pandects and other collections of the civil law; and the Greek more late, at the time of the Reformation, when it became requisite to resort to the originals of the New Testament books, to vanquish the Roman Catholics.

But how proper soever this might be *then*, do those things afford any good reason for a continuation of the same devotion to the old-world tongues *now*, when the books in them have been all well translated,—when the modern languages have far excelled them, for all purposes useful and ornamental,—and when the Ancients have been found to be mere children when compared to the Moderns in all kinds of knowledge? But let us examine the matter somewhat more minutely. Take almost any one of a hundred of us, who have had Latin and Greek beat into the one end of us, and lectured into the other, and ask him the simple question,—*What he has really gained by them?* If he is a candid man, he will admit that he has got very little advantage from them. The power of smattering a few old isolated words is of no consequence. He may tell you, however, that he was taught to read the poets and orators in them. But then ask him (and let him answer the question *bona fide*) if he *can really do so*, with such ease as to afford him any pleasure, and he will almost certainly say *No!* Turn up the authors to him,—try him *ad aperturam libri*, and, except in some thread-bare sentences, you will find him toil through among their difficult passages like a man walking over plowed land, and with as little satisfaction to himself. But what else will he say that he gets from them? does he read in them any systems of chemistry, or true astronomy, or political economy, or any accounts of rail-roads, or gas-lights, or steam-boats, or steam-carriages, which are to travel at the rate of twelve miles an hour along the highway? *No*,—because

they contain nothing of the kind. But, further, ask him if he has acquired his knowledge of even Grecian and Roman history by reading Greek and Latin, and even there he will say *No*: but, he will add, that he got it from *English* authors, or at most from *translations*; the original texts, notwithstanding all his education, having remained as to him, in truth, very little more than dead letters.

It has been alleged, that good classical scholars are generally well-informed men, and the *ergo* said to arise from that proposition is, that classical learning produces knowledge; but this is quite illogical,—it is merely mistaking the relation of concomitants for that of cause and effects; and the inference I think has already been demonstrated to be without foundation. All well-accomplished gentlemen were formerly wont to be taught to dance the minuet, to fence, and ride the menage-horse; but whatever our old friends *Strange* and *Angelo* may have said to it, those cavaliers acquired the actual and useful knowledge which they possessed, just about as much from those sources, as the well-informed persons alluded to got theirs from Latin and Greek “nouns, pronouns, verbs, participles, adverbs, prepositions, interjections, and conjunctions.” It is indeed a truth, I could prove, if required, that some of the most enlightened, and intelligent, and well-read men, I have ever known, never learned one syllable of either Greek or Latin in their lives. But let us apply here to the lesson of history. *Alfred* the Great found it necessary to cultivate the ancient languages, because the modern ones were then barbarous; and that may also account for the classical lore of our own sapient *James VI.* His kinswoman, Queen *Elizabeth*, on some occasions, and for the same reason probably, addressed foreign ambassadors in a learned tongue; and on concluding her spirited reply to the Polish envoy, turning round to her courtiers,—“By God’s death, (said she, for, as *Hume* observes, she was a great swearer,) I have been forced this day to scour up my old Latin.” But, in later times, when the modern languages had been improved,

the study of the ancient ones was little necessary; and it is certain, that the accomplished *Louis XIV.* was totally ignorant of Latin, which he never could learn; and than which, *Voltaire* remarks, that “nothing is more *useless* to kings.”—See his *Anecdotes sur Louis XIV.*

One argument more is often urged against these our views. The business of classical learning, it is said, fills up early youth; and it is asked,—but for it, how should we occupy the age of boyhood? Now, *a priori*, it must be evident, that Providence, in making such intermediate period, had no intention that it should be taken up with learning dead languages, which are altogether factitious, and of which the prevalence arose from events not founded in nature. But we surely cannot say that we are more energetic than those gallant Athenians who conquered at Marathon, or those noble Spartans who fell at Thermopylæ, or that we are abler than Plato, or more eloquent than Demosthenes; and yet we are not aware that they ever learned any other tongues than their own. The truth is, that no dead languages were then cultivated, and the Persian, the only good living one at the time beside the Greek, was not studied, having, as far as we know, no literature in it worth the attending to. The Grecian youth studied *things*, and not *words*; and even from the earliest time of life, the days of children, in all countries, might be wholly occupied in pursuits at once healthful and instructive, instead of being spent in occupations and studies little conducive to either health or knowledge.

And here let us not proceed without book, but refer to authorities both old and new. We wish that we had room to quote at length all that the great *Locke* says on the subject, when he wonders that parents should insist (and enforce their arguments with many blows) on their poor boys learning that which, whenever they leave school and college, they throw at their heels; and that they should cram them most painfully with Latin, when they are to follow trades and business where it is of no earthly use. But let us not neglect our *sign-post*, but from Dr

Reid's very excellent little work give some short quotations in point.

"Six years at the High School, (says he) and two or three afterwards at the College, chiefly occupied in learning the words of a dead language, which, you all know, are in a thousand instances forgotten for one in which they are remembered, and seldom then to any useful purpose, is a nuisance which the good sense of the age can no longer bear. If it be a poor attainment at the best, it is still worse as a mental exercise; for the mere getting of words is certainly the driest and poorest effort of the human understanding. It does not call into play any habit that can be of any use in human life; it neither exercises the judgment, refines the taste, rectifies the will, nor purifies the affections,—it is the education of a parrot, not of a man. If it be true that that is the best education which best fits us for the duties of after life, nothing can be more useless than classical education, as it is commonly conducted. Parents would do well, therefore, to weigh the cost, before they subject themselves to such a heavy expense, and their children to such an useless drudgery, while they rob them of such an invaluable portion of human life.

"Every one propagates the delusion, otherwise it is not conceivable how so much of the short span of human life should be so absurdly thrown away, merely that a few of our youth might read two or three authors; and this, too, at a time when we are so oppressed with books of first-rate talent in our own language, that no one but a perfect book-worm can expect to read one twentieth part of them, far less to study them to any good purpose. Indeed, the pressing and infinitely more important demands of modern literature, which "comes home to our hearts and bosoms," leave no time for this classical trilling. And this, too, is merely to tickle the ear with the jingle of words; for all the thoughts of the ancients, that are worth any thing, have been so often translated, quoted, and imitated, with a spirit equal to the originals, that they are now become trite as Joe Miller's jests, and are generally resorted to by the same size of heads, as tell you capital good jokes out of the said capital good book."

"Every man is best taught in his own language. The language in which he thinks, (if he ever thinks to any purpose,) acts, and feels, which is connected with all his early associations, and is

animated with innumerable graces and delicate allusions, which living manners only can explain, is infinitely more important to him than any other. It bears the same relation to all other languages which the study of human nature does to all other studies, as Warburton justly remarks.

"It is idle to talk of many great men, who were classical scholars—Nature had made them great, and the Classics could not spoil them. But they even hung heavily now and then on the sublime pinion of Milton; they extinguished Gray after a flash or two; and they made Johnson butcher the idiom of his native tongue. They seem at present only used as a kind of spoon-meat for children, who generally reject them as soon as they smack the flavour of their native literature, which goes down like their mother's milk, and is the only food that can support the strength of full-grown men."

But besides the general arguments for the supposed advantages of classical pursuits, it has been said that our youth, in the course of their learned education, acquire great benefit from the perusal which, in the course of it, they make of portions of those ancient authors, parts of whose works are read by them at school and college; and this leads me to a very short consideration of those boasted writers, and of the probable consequences of such reading to young minds.

To proceed methodically: in considering the value of any writings, we enquire into the religion which they teach, the morality which they inculcate, and the general tendency which they are likely to have. Now, what sort of beings were the *DEITIES*, mentioned in those books, to whose honour the refined nations of antiquity built temples, slew victims, poured out libations, and piped, and danced, and sung? In the aggregate, they were but little better than our own fairies of old; and, separately, they were much worse; for, to begin with the ladies among them, —Queen *Juno* (who should have set a good example to all the females, divine and mortal, through her wide dominions) was a downright scold; *Lucina*, a gossiping midwife: *Diana*, a perfect poacher: and even the pretty *Venus* herself was no better than she should be; for, though

married to a worthy old blacksmith in heaven, she had no objection to a little mortal intriguing upon earth, with that handsome fellow Anchises, the father of Æneas, as well as with many other lovers; and besides this, she had her famous affair with Mars, when Phœbus discovered them, and Vulcan caught them in a net. Again, as to the gentlemen gods: that very *Mars* was, like Flash in the farce, a mere braggadocio: *Mercury*, a protector of thieves: *Apollo*, little else than a Welsh harper: *Bacchus*, a drunkard: and the *Thunderer himself* was the master-debauchee of both heaven and earth, changing himself, like another Proteus, into every imaginable shape, for his own licentious purposes. Now, what kind of MORALITY could be expected in countries where such were the divinities? Let us inquire into this from the very books which are put into the hands of our lads in all the parts of what is termed their classical education.

At a pretty early period, in perusing those books, their youthful minds are seduced by the idolatrous and immoral stories of *Ovid*. In their boyhood, they follow *Cæsar* into Gaul, where they witness him forming his armies for the subjugation of his country; and they see him going on to accomplish that nefarious purpose, in attending him to his civil war. Nor do all the graces of his style, or supposed information derived from him, atone for this. Indeed I never could discover what great instruction men could find in his commentaries who were not to be soldiers; and as Hume compared the Wars of the Heptarchy to the battles of rooks, *Cæsar's* proceedings in Gaul may be assimilated to the course of a cormorant. When a little further advanced, the pages of *Sallust* tell the youths of the frauds, the murders, and the horrors of the Jugurthine contest; and they next introduce them to rare companions—*Cataline*, with *Piso*, and *Curius*, and *Lentulus*, and *Cethegus*, and his other most wicked and desperate associates; and there are, besides, the

females of the party. Among these are *Fulvia*, and the blue-stocking *Sempronia*,—two demireps; of the latter of whom, that writer says, that “she was well instructed in Greek and Latin literature, and that she danced and sung more elegantly than became a modest woman.” “*Literis Græcis atque, Latinis docta: psallere, saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probæ* *.”

Besides all this, those very youngsters who had been previously holding *Cæsar* in the high estimation which bravery and bloodshed always produce in raw and enthusiastic minds, learn from the same author (*Sallust*) that he was a perfect infidel, believing in neither heaven nor hell. “*Mortem*,” he had said, “*cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curæ neque gaudii locum esse* †;” and this is a doctrine which, coming from such a quarter, is not very favourable to their own future faith and comfort.

The lads then advance to puberty, a far more interesting time of life than any which they have yet seen: when the croaking voice and downy chin denote approaching manhood, and when it ought to be the anxious care of both fathers and tutors “to lead them not into temptation.” But what is the study which the school curriculum has ready for them at this very important crisis? Surely one of a most inflammatory kind for such pupils; for it consists of the fascinating odes and episodes of *Horace*, who was the genteelst and most accomplished rake of all the Augustian age. And who, again, are the company to whom that seducing writer introduces them? not truly to the *Lucretias* and *Cornelias* of the day; but to *Chloris*, and *Lydia*, and *Pyrre*, and *Glycera*, and *Barine*, all of whom were either actual prostitutes, or kept mistresses. The males of the set, again, are such men of pleasure as *Thaliarchus*, and *Sertius*, and *Xantheus Phocius*, with whom, as well as with the ladies, the youths may, in imagination, drink the *Cæcuban*, the *Tuscan*, and the *Falerian* wines, until they are all *you*.

* Bell. Catal. c. 25.

† See his celebrated speech in the Senate regarding the disposal of the Conspirators.

"Quo me Bacche rapis, tui
Plenum".

"Prome reconditum
Lyde strenua Cæcubum.

"Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus."

But let works bear witness as to the effects of such reading in some instances. Bishop Burnet, who was as pious and learned a person as ever existed, but devoid of all knowledge of the world, tells us (with not a little foolish commendation of those authors) what great proficiency his friend Lord Rochester had made in them in his youth, and what delight he took in them in his after years. But the innocent prelate did not see that that was the very school in which his Lordship had become the greatest profligate of his time.

Next, and in addition to the morals commonly so called, to be found in those books, let us observe what kind of PUBLIC CONDUCT and POLITICS are taught in them. We there find, that Alexander the Great learned from Homer to be a savage in imitation of Achilles; and because that that barbarian had hauled the dead body of the vanquished Hector around the walls of Troy, his Macedonian imitator dragged, at his chariot, the gallant Butis, *while still alive*, around those of Gaza, which he had defended from him with the utmost bravery. Besides, much as Rome is admired by all schoolmasters and school-boys, did not Tacitus admit, that it was a sink of every thing impure? and was it not, even in its best times, generally a nest of sedition? in fact, were not the Gracchi, and even Brutus and Cassius, and the whole crowd of those *would-be patriots*, just such a set of radical fellows as, had they appeared in Scotland in 1792, would have been sent trooping off to Botany Bay, with Muir, and Gerald, and Fische Palmer, who were much better men?

But what, after all, do those wise men of modern Europe now see in

those Greek and Latin writers, which is not to be found far better in their own mother tongues? It is true, that they may learn from Virgil, that *filth* alone can generate living creatures of the most wonderful anatomical curiosity: from Livy they may be informed, that *cows* occasionally spoke: from Justin they may hear of noble *mares*, with flowing manes, having been brought forth by the east wind; and in Herodotus, they may get *fabulæ aniles* nearly as good as those our own old wivcs tell in "braid Scotch;" but what the better would they be of such things?

My time, and my room, and, I suppose, the patience of my gentle readers, are all exhausted, and I must draw this my epistle to a close; but I do it with not a little apprehension, from the host of enemies which I have probably raised up against myself; for I may be attacked by the tongues of Professors, and the *tause* and birchen rods of schoolmasters, who may argue with me, both *a priori* and *a posteriori*, and make me rue the day that I ever meddled with them. However, I am not yet assailed; and as the organist in an English Church, or Chapel, always concludes the service by *playing out* the congregation, I shall dismiss my readers with a stanza or two from the muse of our poet Burns, wherein, if any of them finds a cap which fits his "*developments*," he may put it on:

"What's a' the jargon o' your schools,
Your Latin names for horns and stools,
If honest Nature made you fools,

What sair your grammars?
You'd better ta'en up spades and shoals,
Or knappin hammers.

A set o' dull conceited hashes,
Confuse your brains wi' college classes,
Ye gang in stirks and come out asses,
Plain truth to speak,

And syne ye think to mouut Parnassus
By dint o' Greek.

I am Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Scotus.

* My learned readers will please to observe how aptly our Scottish word "*fou*" answers for the translation of *plenum* here. "*Full*," in English, would not have suited. Indeed *fou* and *full* have quite different meanings on this subject; and this is one proof more, besides what we already have, of the expressive excellency of our vernacular tongue.

This paper, which we have just received, has the signature of *Scotus*, denoting, probably, that the sentiments expressed it are more generally entertained in Scotland than among educated persons in England, who cultivate classical knowledge

more than we do. We are aware that the doctrines will be considered *Heterodox* among most of the learned in both countries; but as they are produced pretty forcibly, we give them a place; and shall be happy, *audire alteram partem*.

Ed.

NOTES ON PISA—LEGHORN—PRESENT STATE OF TUSCANY. EXTRACTED FROM MY PORTFOLIO.

No. III.

Journey from Florence to Pisa.

Our party in Florence was now assembled, and in readiness to proceed on our journey to Pisa and Leghorn. Sir George's features relaxed into a smile, on observing the number of horses attached to the carriage. He had travelled to Florence under the good services of a Vetturino, or, as we would say, with job-horses; and was unprepared for the long array of ponies, mules, and postilions, which now met his eye. In Italy, the Sovereign, by whatever title designated, whether Pope, Prince, or Grand Duke, though not master of the post*, is nevertheless lord of the post-horses, and reaps the product of their labour, without farming them out. Hence, upon the good old principle of making the most of every thing within one's power, edicts prevail, regulating the number of these animals to be employed by travellers. The rule is simple—there must be as many brutes as there are men. Our party consisting of eight, we had a corresponding number of horses, with four postilions to guide them—one to every couple. The sight is rather discouraging to him who is a novice in Italian travelling, as auguring either the wretched condition of the roads, or the feeble condition of the beasts. In reality, however, the rapacity of Government is the cause of this superabundance of equestrian power. Bidding adieu to our Locanda, we rolled past the palaces on the Lung-arno, and soon were at the barrier. Our Parisian friend, Monsieur l'Avocat,

was in high spirits, and actually seemed as if he would chatter out the four sides of the coach. Scarcely had we passed the gate, when his feeling of departure, perhaps for the last time, from a city in which he had spent so many happy hours, roused his wonted garrulity; and, indulging his penchant to antiquarianism, he proceeded to review successively the various accounts which authors have transmitted to us of its origin and ancient state. In other circumstances I should have been glad to avail myself of his lequacity, as the information he possessed was extensive, and his discourse instructive. He was often happy in the choice of his subjects, and discussed them with the characteristic ease and conversational power of his countrymen. But in travelling over new ground, I like to use my eyes, especially when amid the attractions of magnificent scenery; and for my own part, I was inclined to listen to him, while he detailed his researches into the pristine condition of the city. The origin of Florence, like that of other towns of note in Italy, is hid in the darkness of remote ages; and regarding it authors have had very little better to feed upon than conjecture. Numerous writers have made this point the subject of inquiry; several are specious, most of them differ, so many of them must be wrong. The most plausible account, perhaps, is that of Machiavelli. He ascribes its origin to the inhabitants of Fiesole, who, as they held their markets in the plains below that



* The officer whose duty it is to furnish relays of horses to travellers at the different stages of their route.

town, built houses for their accommodation, and Florence insensibly arose. This also was the belief of Dante, who calls the Florentines a people, “*che discese da Fiesole, ab antico.*” All the Florentine historians are peculiarly ambitious to trace its high antiquity, ascribing to it a more remote origin than other authors are willing to allow. But “*Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut, miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat.*” It is impossible to say which, or even whether any of the various accounts which have been given of Florence is correct. That the city, without pretending to mix *humana divinis*, is ancient, is undoubted. In 393, St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, consecrated the church of Santa Croce. The Florentines, in former times, had not only a capitol and forum, but splendid theatres, baths, and aqueducts, and exhibited all the indicia of greatness. It is not to antiquity, however, that Florence owes its celebrity, important as it formerly may have been. It is estimable in our eyes as the birth-place of regenerated civilization, and the cradle of those arts which diffuse so humanizing an influence over society.

The scenery through which we passed on our road to Pisa was never uninteresting, and sometimes singularly bold and beautiful. Unfortunately it began to drizzle soon after we left the gates, and rain fell copiously during the greater part of our journey. But to make amends, we were above a good road, though not the workmanship of Macadam; and the smoothness and celerity with which we rolled along, banished the small remnant of faith we might have in the augury from the horses. After accomplishing nearly a third of our journey, in a mountainous country, we were fairly closed in by the Sub-Appennines; our ascents became high, amidst scenery of a bold character and shifting aspect. The road in many places was cut out of the side of the hill, in the form of a terrace, and appeared to hang over the Arno. Among these hills the most commanding situations were commonly surmounted with high towers, and one eminence in particular was crowned by an old castle, visible

during thirty miles of our journey. The mountains gradually opened, receding as we descended to a beautiful plain, bordered by the Arno, which still kept us company. Beyond the river were round hills, clothed with trees, and studded with houses and villages, and now and then a town. Over, and beyond all, rose the peaky Appennines, forming a noble background.

As we approached Pisa, the luxuriant plain which we were traversing, became more extensive, stretching itself far to the left, while, on the right, the high grounds still dominated in the distance, and glimpses of the Arno were occasionally seen. Such was the general outline of the scenery during our route. The views presented were of varied beauty, often charmingly picturesque; and, in spite of the unseasonable weather, I could not but admire a country which was richer than England in our neighbourhood, and wilder than Scotland in the distance. The level parts appeared to be cultivated with the most minute industry. The ground was divided into small fields by ditches, lined on each side by poplars, willows, oaks, elms, or olives. As these trees are annually lopped, they are not beautiful individually, but, collectively, their appearance, contrasting with the unpruned wood, is not unpicturesque, and the rich foliage which over-spreads them affords a “boundless contiguity of shade.” Each of them supports a vine, and the festoons which are formed between them may be taken, according to the train of thought in the spectator, for a decoration or a fence. But real fences are here unnecessary, for there is no pasture land. Every inch of ground, even between the closely-planted trees, and into the margin of the ditches, is cultivated with care. The farm-houses which we passed on the road had almost all two stories, and were of comparatively large dimensions. The windows were not glazed, the climate rendering glazing unnecessary, but the walls were plastered without, and painted with some regard to elegance. In all respects, indeed, these houses appeared even more comfortable, and certainly more tasteful, than our modern farm-stead-

ings in Scotland. Of cottages, or cabins, I saw few or none; and I could form no idea where the poor labourers lived. The churches, monasteries, and convents—the villas, villages, and towns, had all the appearance of being built by prosperous people. Many of them, indeed, were not kept up in a corresponding style; but many of them, too, were neat and tasteful, and preserved in good repair. The peasantry whom we saw were decently dressed, and the beggars not numerous, except at one or two stages, where they were disagreeably clamorous.

Pisa is a fine old city, with an air of decayed grandeur, and of a deserted and melancholy aspect. Remaining here a few days, we examined such objects as are worthy of attention. The *Duomo* and its appendages, the *Campo Santo*, *Leaning Tower*, and *Baptistery*, we often visited and admired. I do not recollect to have any where seen, so closely raised together, so many edifices of such richly-sculptured marble, and elegant architecture. Even in Italy, the *Duomo* is considered magnificent, and, compared to any thing in England, it certainly is so; this I say very deliberately, having *St. Paul's* full in my recollection. In reference to plan and magnitude, I do not speak; but, admitting the inferiority of the Cathedral of *Pisa* in both these respects, surely the superiority of its materials and decorations give it a decided preference. Can there be any comparison between hewn-stone and the most finely-polished marble,—between mason's work and the work of eminent sculptors,—between ceilings bare, or simply white-washed, and such as are painted by the best artists, or carved and gilded in the richest style? This Cathedral is esteemed the most elegant and splendidly-decorated church in Tuscany. It contains many pictures, some by old artists, others by artists living. But we always found ourselves unable to examine them properly, from their unfavourable position; besides which, the windows of the church are so small, and so many of them have painted glass, admitting only a "dim, religious light," that in the gloomy weather which prevailed du-

ring our stay at *Pisa*, great part of the area, and all the aisles, where the paintings chiefly are, were left in comparative darkness. On leaving the Cathedral, the *Leaning Tower* attracted our regard. This tower is celebrated, and why? chiefly because it leans—as if this were a point of architectural praise. It would be a fine thing if it did not lean; though, even in this case, its general design, and mixture of architectural order, would not to me be pleasing. But I was quite provoked to see what little beauty it possessed converted into deformity, in order to frighten children, and astonish the vulgar. Does "difficulty overcome" constitute excellence in the Fine Arts? Upon this question, Monsieur had much discourse, and many sage remarks; but it will not bear a handling. It gave him occasion, however, to advert to his own travels in Scotland, from which he had lately returned, and many circumstances of which he had already detailed to us in the course of recent conversations. Among other particulars, he mentioned, that while in the west part of that country, it chanced him to visit a certain Royal Burgh of great antiquity. His letters procuring him introductions to personages of the place, high in municipal authority, he soon became knowing in the politics of the burgh. As in all Parliaments there is an opposition, so the petty parliament or council of this provincial town had its opposition also. "But what do you think," said he, "was the bone of contention during the whole period of my sojourn? Nothing more than an old ugly spire, or steeple, similar to the one before us, inasmuch as it leaned, though in less degree; but as dissimilar as possible to this noble pile, in point of architectural beauty. But for this steeple, I verily believe the councillors of this little city would have ossified through inactivity. It served for the night and morning palaver of the burgh potentates while I tarried among them. The question was, and for year years had been, whether it should stand or fall,—a most important question, upon which the wits of the corporation were daily exercised with a keenness worthy of a better cause. I took a rough draught of

provincial Scotch rulers from the model which this town afforded me ; but on submitting it to friends of discernment, they questioned its verisimilitude on general application. I therefore, deferring to them, expunged the passage from my journal, and better experience informed me they were in the right. Our garrulous companion having touched this new chord, strung with associations of a country with which, in the main, he had often declared himself highly delighted, would have run on *ad infinitum*, to the total exclusion of objects present, had we not broken in upon his train of thought, by hurrying him away to the Baptistery. Not, however, did we effect this, till he chanted forth, to our favourite air of the Legacy, some scraps of Latin doggerel, bearing upon the subject of his discourse. I could only catch the last verse, in which he still stuck to the steeple, humming,

“ Hi decreverunt rem agendam,
Clarius luce hoc constat,
Pyramidem urbis diruendam,
—Pyramis attamen adhuc stat ! ”

In this merry mood, Monsieur followed us, as we issued from under the grand pyramid of Pisa, and entered its noble *Baptistry*. This building is famous, and it well deserves its fame. Its lofty pillars, of granite, and other enduring materials, and its exquisite small columns of the most valuable marbles, the decorations of its front, the fine bas-reliefs of its pulpits, its soft and sonorous echo, and its circular gallery aloft, are well worthy of more attentive examination than we bestowed upon them. The mellowest sound in music I ever heard, excepting the heavenly tones of the *Misere* in the Sistine Chapel at Rome, was produced by the echo returned to a note sung in the Baptistery by our guide.

The *Campo-Santo*, which we next visited, has power to chain the spectator to the spot, in spite of the whole legion of “ the miseries of human life.” A *Campo-Santo* is a burying-ground, and, accordingly, there is

here the space of a moderately-sized churchyard, surrounded by a very lofty wall. This wall is completely cased, and richly adorned with sculptured marble on the outside, while on the inside it is covered with ancient paintings. This forms the outer enclosure, which is in the form of a parallelogram. Within this exterior building, at the distance of perhaps thirty feet, a parapet wall runs parallel to it all round, and supports a colonnade ; and the entablature of this colonnade, again, supports a shed-formed roof, which slopes down upon it from the outer wall. The pillars are very light, and are connected together by tracery-work, and arches, exhibiting an appearance similar to the windows of a Gothic Cathedral, destitute of glass. This *Campo-Santo* has thus two compartments—an extensive and richly-decorated corridor, roofed and paved with marble, and containing more than six hundred proud monuments of the great—and an unroofed area of turf in the middle, appropriated to the undistinguished graves of the poor. Several of the monuments are fine ; but the fresco paintings which cover the inside of the outer wall are the chief attractions of the place. The latest of these paintings was finished before the year 1500, and many of them were executed immediately after the completion of the building, in the end of the thirteenth century. They are the work of some of the greatest masters of those times, the restorers of the art, and they would therefore be invaluable to the antiquarian painter, but that they are unfortunately much defaced by time. The wall may contain about sixty compartments, painted by about a dozen of masters. The whole may admit of a brief general criticism, without mention being made of each painter, or of every picture.

In general, it may be remarked, that the conception of these paintings is much superior to the execution ; so that an explanation of each design would do more than justice to the merit of each picture. I have had

* We understand that this bone of contention is now reduced to dust ; but we hope our French friend will, ere long, communicate the contents of his journal to the public, and, with his usual versatility of genius, alternately rise to elevated matter, and descend to amusing trifles, even “ light as air.”

occasion to observe, in a former paper, that modern, and, as it is styled, improved art, exhibits an opposite excellence, the execution commonly surpassing the design. Excellence in both is absolutely necessary to the production of a masterpiece. Happy as are the pictures of this Campo Santo in respect to conception, one egregious fault constantly recurs. Each one compartment ought evidently to tell only one story, and no more; and yet a single one often represents four or five successive exploits of the same worthy, whose figure is repeated as many times, to the great embarrassment of the spectator, who might be tempted to suspect a similar stratagem to that practised by Henry IV. in his battle with Hotspur.

The general defect in the execution is, that every part of each piece is equally prominent and remarkable. There are no such distinctions as those of foreground and background, of principal groups and accessories. An ignorance of lineal, and particularly of aerial perspective, causes all the figures to appear in the same plain—and an ignorance of light and shade on the large scale, and of the principle of massing and degradation, makes every corner of the piece appear equally crowded, and equally obtruding upon our notice. In these respects, the paintings in this building resemble bas-reliefs more than pictures. Modern art has signally improved in all these particulars; indeed, the principles of good execution may now be said to be at least thoroughly understood, if they are not invariably practised by painters.

But, on the other hand, as if compensating for defects in the execution, the design of the pictures in this Campo-Santo is sometimes grand as a whole, and often extremely happy in its separate parts. A great elevation and comprehension, and a still greater originality and fecundity of ideas, are displayed. Several of the compositions are perfect magazines of fine and curious thoughts. One compartment, for instance, represents "God embracing the world."

An immense circle contains within it a series of other concentric circles, or zones, which are known, by their respective emblems, to denote the

seven heavens, the solar system within these, and the earth in the centre of all: and God Almighty is supposed to stand behind and embrace this universe with outstretched arms, his head being seen above the zenith, his feet at the Nadir, and his hands at the two sides. What sort of fancy is this? To the eye, the effect is poor and ludicrous; and as ocular impressions are strong, a first view of the piece, before the mind becomes busy in tracing in the work the creative imagination of the painter, suggests an unfair estimate of its value, and a hearty contempt for those authors who have commended it for sublimity. But a prolonged study of it gives scope to thought, the design comes to be appreciated, and the talent of the artist rises in our estimation. Another remarkable compartment represents the triumph of Death. The grim tyrant, with his scythe, stands over a heap of slain; their souls issue from their mouths, and are immediately seized upon, according to their deeds in life, by angels or devils. These heavenly and infernal ministers are depicted in the form of naked infants. A group of wretches, composed of the blind, the lame, and the starving, appear to invoke Death; but he turns his back upon them. Another group, consisting of happy lovers, jolly hunters, and merry feasters, seem to have no thought of him; but he is just about to smite them. A third group is made up of holy monks and Carmelites, who, "on a mountain, sit apart," and view with saintly indifference the horrors of the grim king. There are many more fine fancies in this and other compartments by the same author, who seems to have been to Dante what Wilkie is to Burns. This analogy may be traced, not only in their beauties, but in their faults, of which the most revolting appears to me to be a fondness for *ludicrous horrors*. In a picture of hell, for example, a sinner is spitted over a hot fire; the sharp end of the spit is fixed in the mouth of another sinner; and at the other end, the devil is seen busily employed as turnspit. A sceptic, in the belief of the close alliance of the sublime with the ridiculous, will have

his doubts removed by visiting the Campo-Santo at Pisa.

Though the execution of these old pictures is generally of an inferior cast, and the colours much defaced, there are still visible some fine old countenances, and some very noble attitudes. I may particularize the figure of a female representing affected Modesty, who covers her face with her spread fingers, so as *not* to conceal her eyes; and that of our Saviour pronouncing sentence on the reprobate, the attitude of which is said to have been copied by Michael Angelo. I was also much pleased with an Isaac, because I think that in his countenance is accomplished, what most painters consider impossible, the representation of a compound feeling. He appears terrified at the coming stroke of the knife, yet intensely curious to know when it will come. Terror would prompt him to avert his eyes, but anxiety causes him to revert them. The painter has hit upon a *je ne sais quoi*, between these two feelings, which seems to indicate both. He appears to have completely succeeded in bringing into evidence the intended mingled expression. This picture is infinitely superior, in every respect, except execution, to one in the Gallery of Florence, representing the same subject.

Leghorn.

To-day we made a pilgrimage to the English burying-ground near Leghorn, called by the natives the Campo-Santo Inglese. In the middle of a flat field, a little beyond the walls, a moderate space is enclosed by a high iron rail, and that again is surmounted by an inner enclosure of yews, regular and thick-set, and promising to be "august vegetables" when they are better grown. At present, they do not serve to mask the crowd of dazzling white monuments sufficiently to take off the glare, and give a proper solemnity to the scene. "Marbles should be seen among the trees, not trees among the marbles*." To those,

however, who classically prefer a gay cemetery to a gloomy one, this Campo-Santo will be perfectly agreeable. Almost every grave is honoured with a sarcophagus, a pillar, an obelisk, or some other monument of marble, and though many of these are poorly executed, some are in very good taste. The whole assemblage is singular and imposing. We were shewn the obelisk which marks the supposed grave of Smollet, and viewed with sincere respect the memorial of Horner. After wandering for some time among these memorials of our countrymen, we bade adieu to the mansions of the dead, and returned to those of the living—to Leghorn, the Babel of cities, peopled by men of every nation and of every tongue.

We entered the Arsenal on our way home, and examined a monument worthy of observation. It consists of a colossal statue of white marble, placed on a lofty pedestal, at each of the four corners of the foot of which is a statue of bronze. The marble statue is in armour, and heavily draped, so as to afford little room for the display of the artist's skill. But the four bronze statues, which are also of colossal size, are nudes, and executed so as to give a very full, and, I think, a very just and masterly exhibition of the anatomy of the figures. In the countenance and attitude of the marble statue are expressed martial pride, haughtiness, and intrepidity. In order, however, to read the expression of the group, it may be necessary to know the story. The Mediterranean, in days of yore, was infested by a band of pirates, whose lawless aggressions impeded the trade of the adjacent ports, and kept the mariners of peaceful vessels in continual dread and danger. These pirates were commanded by a Moor and his three sons, whom tradition records to have been of gigantic stature, Herculean strength, and daring courage. The eldest son of the Grand Duke of those days, stimulated by a noble ardour for his country's welfare, resolved to extirpate the robbers. He equipped

* Such were the words of one of my travelling companions on seeing this beautiful burying ground, unconscious then how soon his own bones were to mingle with its clay, and his own monument should add another to the number he beheld.

galleys, and with a body of young volunteers, from his own companions, went in pursuit of them. He succeeded in coming to an engagement, and after an obstinate struggle, took, or destroyed, the ships of the marauders. He made prisoners of their leaders, the father and his three sons, whom he resolved to carry home with him, bound in chains. Returning, elated with victory, in his eagerness to lay his captives at his father's feet, he violated the quarantine laws. The father accepted the spoils, praised the prowess of his son, but forgave not his fault. The heroic prince was condemned and executed. Brutus was severe, but this Grand Duke was more so. The citizens of Florence, exulting in their freedom from ferocious robbers, and out of gratitude to their deliverer, erected to his memory the statues in the Arsenal. The marble statue which crowns the pedestal is that of the prince, and the four bronze figures at its foot are his captives. The African nativity of the latter is marked by the dark colour of the metal, contrasted with the white of the marble. Each of the Moors is chained to the pedestal, with his hands bound behind his back. The captive father has an expression of suppressed rage and fierceness in his countenance. One of the sons appears to be overwhelmed with despair. Of another the countenance is fallen, indicating deep dejection at his exiled and ignominious condition. The expression of the third seemed to be more difficult to read, though perhaps connoisseurs might pronounce it the finest statue of the whole assemblage. He is represented as sullen and dogged, and has an air of cool desperation. This piece of sculpture is comparatively lost in the Arsenal, surrounded as it is with the bustle and obstructions of the place. It would appear to more advantage in the Piazza Grande. I must mention, that other accounts are given of the occasion of this monument; and I am afraid that little faith may be placed in the popular one which I have repeated. If true, it ought to occupy a conspicuous place in the page of history; but I am not aware of any such exploit being recorded. There is no inscription on the pedestal;

even the artist's name I could not learn.

The Arsenal itself, in which this group is placed, will not detain the attention of any one who has seen the truly wonderful docks on the Thames. Three or four gun-boats rot in it, and constitute, I believe, the whole of the Tuscan navy. Buonaparte had plans for rendering it a place of consequence, and it were not difficult to do this, such are the local advantages; but, if Tuscan report may be credited, the Grand Duke has to supply too liberally his brother of Austria, to have any thing to spare for improvements within his own dominions.

Accustomed as I had been to hear the Tuscans extolled by every author as a virtuous, honourable, and industrious people, I was surprised to hear the English in Leghorn concur in representing the merchants there as possessed, in general, of neither good faith nor common honesty. In the public offices they are most corruptible. So consummately skilled are they in the practice of receiving bribes, that while with one hand they pocket the *douceur*, they with the other present a letter for your signature, in which they are commended for the manner in which they have discharged their public duty, and regret is expressed that they will not accept any remuneration. On reflection, however, we must not regard the appearances of this kind at Leghorn as participating properly in Tuscan character. This city, from its advantageous situation as a depository of Levantine and European goods, and from the commercial freedom enjoyed here, is peopled by the natives of almost every country engaged in trade. The number of foreigners busied in mercantile pursuits exceeds that of the Tuscans. Hence, whatever be the character of the citizens of Leghorn as traders, it ought not to be predicated in general of the natives of Tuscany. Let us rather lean to the engaging delineation of this people as sketched by Madame de Staël, whose exquisite imagination, even in its most excursive moments, while it represents the fairest points of beauty in her subject, is yet tempered by a just conception of the reality and

never loosens the foundations of truth. Her sketches of character are like sculptured portraits ennobled by the talent of the artist. She adheres to her object in its great and characteristic outlines, while she invests it with an appropriate loveliness, the creation of her own genius.

Present State of Tuscany.

The government of Tuscany, though a simple despotism, is, under the present Grand Duke, so extremely mild, that it is scarcely felt as a government at all. The Tuscans, indeed, have no cause to complain of their present situation; but that government is radically bad, and ought to be exploded, which renders the people dependent on the virtues or the vices of an individual ruler.

The revenue of Tuscany arises in a great measure from the domains of the crown. About four millions of dollars are raised by duties on different commodities, and by a monopoly on tobacco and salt, which is very rigidly enforced. There are no direct taxes, except for municipal purposes; and those of that kind are chiefly comprised of a house-duty. Light as these imposts are, however, the people here seem unable to account for the disposal of the revenue. The court of the Grand Duke is penurious rather than splendid. The army consists of three or four thousand men, and the navy of three or four gunboats; and a stop is said to have been put to all public internal improvements. Publicity is not given to the finances, so that we must be contented with the suspicion, instead of the certainty, that the coffers of Austria are the depositaries of part of the Tuscan revenue. Whether for this or for other reasons I know not, but the Emperor of Austria is no favourite with the people of Tuscany. He was in Leghorn not long ago, and met with a very cold reception from the inhabitants.

The resident English here seem, in general, well pleased with the civil jurisprudence. If the tribunals, of which there is a series from Leghorn to Pisa, and from Pisa to the Supreme Court at Florence, should fail to do justice, or if a more summary process is desired than these tribunals afford, an individual is permitted to

write directly to the Grand Duke with a detail of his case, who immediately interferes to see justice speedily administered. How would my Lord President of our Court of Session relish this practice?

The universal complaint against the criminal jurisprudence is that of excessive lenity. Crimes, which in England would be accounted atrocious, are punished in an arbitrary and inadequate manner. During the French domination, the police was omnipresent, and every crime was detected, and the offender dealt with according to the law. Now, though there is abundance of police officers, a general slackness prevails in the pursuit of delinquents, and even when they are apprehended and convicted, the punishments are not severe enough. For minor offences, a very short confinement is accounted sufficient. For greater crimes, the system of Beccaria is still followed. I will not pretend to condemn the criminal code of Tuscany, which, modelled upon the principles of Beccaria, has little chance of being bad. But the defective execution of the laws is what is blamable, and this is attributable to the sovereign, who prevents their full operation through mistaken lenity. This disposition in the Grand Duke to strip the law of its severity, accords well, indeed, with the character of the people, who, contented and industrious, are seldom guilty of great crimes. A man must have been resident a considerable time in Tuscany if he can speak of three or four murders. The officers of justice are useless here, says Count Carli, in his *Saggio Politico ed Economico Sopra la Toscana*; but tractable as the people are, the policy of the Grand Duke, in abolishing capital punishments—for their rarity is almost equivalent to an abolition—is somewhat questionable. Crimes are still committed, though not frequently, and the punishment of them is inadequate. Only one man has been punished with death during this reign. He had committed no less than sixteen murders; and yet, after his execution, the conscience of the Grand Duke smote him so sorely, for consenting to the spilling of blood, that he threatened to dismiss the

Minister who advised him against pardoning, and publicly did penance, and was absolved of the sin. Another wretch, a baker, thrust his wife and child into his oven, and baked them over a slow fire. Their horrid screams were heard by their neighbours, and their bodies were found reduced to cinders. What punishment is sufficient for such a crime? Yet, after ten years of labour as a scavenger, will this miscreant, the baker, be again turned loose on society. Condemnation to the galleys is the usual punishment for the greater crimes; but this consists, in reality, in being merely imprisoned during the night, and led out in chains during the day, to clean the streets, or perform other public drudgery. I have seen criminals thus at work, and was at first inclined to approve

of this mode of punishment, as economical and exemplary. But I have heard, and can easily believe, that it completely effaces pride, shame, friendship, emulation, and all the other aids of virtue; so that when the period of confinement expires, culprits come forth to the world ready-made assassins. Probably the punishment of the galleys, as thus administered, is the nursery of those banditti who so much infest some parts of Italy.

My conscience, Mr Editor, now whispers to me that your patience is exhausted with my pot-hooks; so I cease my extracts for the present, and bid you adieu. The next time we hold converse with each other may probably be amidst the ruins of the forum, or in the ball of St. Peter's.

OPENING OF THE DARLINGTON AND STOCKTON RAILWAY.

On Tuesday, 11th Oct. that great work, the Darlington and Stockton Rail-way, was formally opened by the proprietors for the use of the public. It is a single railway of twenty-five miles in length, and will open the London market to the colliers in the western part of the county of Durham, as well as facilitate the obtaining of fuel to the country along its line, and the northern parts of Yorkshire. The line of railway extends from the collieries in a direction nearly from west to east from Witton Park, and Etherly, near West Auckland, to Stockton-upon-Tees, with branches to Darlington, Yarm, &c. and is chiefly composed of malleable iron rails. At the western extremity of the line a deep ravine occurs at the river Gaundless, on the summit of the hills, on each side of which, permanent steam-engines are fixed for the purpose of conveying the goods across the two ridges. The engine on the western side of the vale is called the Etherly engine, and that on the eastern side the Brusselton engine; the latter of which, in addition to conveying the goods up from West Auckland, also continues the transit down the eastern side of the ridge; below this, to the east, the country, though undulating, is pretty flat, and the conveyance is performed by locomotive engines.

To give eclat to the public opening of the road, a *programme* was issued, stating that the proprietors would assemble at the permanent steam-engine below Brusselton Tower, about nine miles west of Darlington, at eight o'clock. Accordingly, the committee, after inspecting the Etherly engine plane, assembled at the bottom of Brusselton engine plane, near West Auckland, and here the carriages loaded with coals and merchandize were drawn up the eastern ridge by the Brusselton engine, a distance of 1960 yards, in seven and a-half minutes, and then lowered down the plane on the east side of the hill 880 yards in five minutes. At the foot of the plane, the locomotive engine was ready to receive the carriages, and here the novelty of the scene and the fineness of the day had attracted an immense concourse of spectators,—the fields on each side of the railway being literally covered with ladies and gentlemen on horseback, and pedestrians of all kinds. The train of carriages were then attached to a locomotive engine of the most improved construction, and built by Mr George Stephenson, in the following order:—1. Locomotive engine with the engineer (Mr Stephenson) and assistants—2. Tender, with coals and water—next, six waggons loaded

with coals and flour—then an elegant covered coach, with the committee and other proprietors of the railway—then twenty-one waggons, fitted up on the occasion for passengers—and, last of all, six waggons loaded with coals, making altogether a train of thirty-eight carriages, exclusive of the engine and tender. Tickets were distributed to the number of near 300, for those which it was intended should occupy the coach and waggons; but such was the pressure and crowd, that both loaded and empty carriages were instantly filled with passengers. The signal being given, the engine started off with this immense train of carriages, and here the scene became most interesting—the horsemen galloping across the fields to accompany the engine, and the people on foot running on each side of the road endeavouring in vain to keep up with the cavalcade. The railway descending with a gentle inclination towards Darlington, though not uniform, the rate of speed was consequently variable. On this part of the railway it was intended to ascertain at what rate of speed the engine could travel with safety. In some parts the speed was frequently twelve miles per hour; and in one place, for a short distance, near Darlington, fifteen miles per hour; and, at that time, the number of passengers were counted to 450, which, together with the coals, merchandise, and carriages, would amount to near ninety tons. After some little delay in arranging the procession, the engine, with her load, arrived at Darlington, a distance of eight miles and three-quarters, in sixty-five minutes, exclusive of stops, averaging about eight miles an hour. Six carriages, loaded with coals, intended for Darlington, were then left behind; and, after obtaining a fresh supply of water, and arranging the procession to accommodate a band of music and passengers from Darlington, the engine set off again. Part of the railway from Darlington to Stockton has little declivity, and in one place is quite level; and, as in the upper part, it was intended to try the speed of the engine, in this part it was intended to prove her capability of dragging a heavy load, and certainly the perfor-

mance excited the astonishment of all present, and exceeded the most sanguine expectations of every one conversant with the subject. The engine arrived at Stockton in three hours and seven minutes after leaving Darlington, including stops, the distance being nearly twelve miles, which is at the rate of four miles an hour; and upon the level part of the railway, the number of passengers in the waggons were counted about 550, and several more clung to the carriages on each side, so that the whole number could not be less than six hundred, which, with the other load, would amount to about eighty tons.

Nothing could exceed the beauty and grandeur of the scene. Throughout the whole distance, the fields and lanes were covered with elegantly dressed females, and all descriptions of spectators. The bridges, under which the procession, in some places, darted through with astonishing rapidity, lined with spectators cheering and waving their hats, had a grand effect. At Darlington the whole inhabitants of the town were out to witness the procession. But though all along the line people on foot crowded the fields on each side, and here and there a lady or gentleman on horseback, yet the cavalcade was not joined by many horses and carriages until they approached within a few miles of Stockton; and here the situation of the railway, which runs parallel and close to the turnpike road, leading from Darlington to Yarm and Stockton, gave them a fine opportunity of viewing the procession. Numerous horses, carriages, gigs, carts, and other vehicles, travelled along with the engine and her immense train of carriages, in some places within a few yards, without seeming the least frightened; and at one time, the passengers by the engine had the pleasure of accompanying and cheering their brother passengers by the stage coach which passed alongside, and of observing the striking contrast exhibited by the power of the engine and horses—the engine with her six hundred passengers and load, and the coach with four horses and only sixteen passengers.

In contemplating the events of the day, either in a national point of

view, or as the efforts of a company of individuals furnishing a speedy, efficacious, and certain means of traffic, to a wide and extended district, it alike excites the deepest interest and admiration; and the immense train of carriages covered with people, forming a load of from eighty to ninety tons, gliding, as it were, smoothly and majestically along the railway through files of spectators,

at such an astonishing rate of speed, left an impression on those who witnessed it that never will be forgot. Part of the workmen were entertained at Stockton, and part at Yarm, and there was a grand dinner for the proprietors and their more distinguished guests at the Town Hall, in Stockton. Mr Meynell, of Yarm, was in the chair, and the Mayor of the town acted as vice-president.

THE MODERN TRAVELLER *.

THERE are few literary tasks more arduous to execute, or even to plan well, than history, or a collection of voyages and travels. To exhibit within a moderate compass the result of the numberless peregrinations of modern times, through the varied regions of the globe, is a Herculean undertaking. There are only two modes by which it may be if attempted. The author, or editor, may republish entire the narratives of the principal modern travellers and navigators, illustrated, perhaps, by an introduction and notes; or he may weave into an abridged narrative of his own, the substance of all those relations which contain any thing valuable. Both these methods have disadvantages difficult to obviate. In the former, we are involved in endless and rambling repetition, and very ample limits are filled, while only a small portion of the good existing materials have yet been included. On the other hand, upon the plan of abridgment, we lose the animation and authenticity, which can only be completely afforded by a narrative, couched in the express words of the author himself. In this dilemma, the collections hitherto made do not seem to have been able to extricate themselves.

The earlier collections are conducted entirely upon the first plan, the narratives being inserted, either from printed originals, or perhaps for the first time, but always entire. At that period, indeed, the number of good relations was not such as,

when put all together, to make a work of very enormous bulk. Travellers to even distant parts of the world were not then so prompt in flying to the press; nor were those liberal booksellers always at hand, to give handsome copyrights for whatever promised to attract public attention. The earliest known collection, being that superintended by Grynæus, and bearing the title of *Novus Orbis*, was merely an assemblage of the principal relations concerning America, the discovery and conquest of which then occupied, in an extraordinary manner, the attention of mankind. This was followed, on a much greater scale, by the famous collection of De Bry, which, when it comprises the great and the little voyages, and unites all the minute appendages executed by the Bibliomaniac, is by him prized at somewhat more than its weight in gold. It combines most of the standard voyages of that day, which, however, are all, or certainly almost all to be found either separate, or in other collections. The most characteristic feature consists in the numerous plates, which are executed with great spirit, by the clever artist whose name the collection bears, but do not convey the least idea of the objects which they are intended to represent. We need only look at them, to see that the artist drew from the description which he found in the narratives, aided by his own imagination, and that not one of the drawings was made from the life.

* The Modern Traveller; or a Popular Description, Geographical, Historical, and Topographical, of the various Countries of the Globe. Published in Monthly Parts at 2s. 6d.—Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Mexico, Columbia, Brazil, already published.

The Negro and the Samoyede, the Chinese and the American savage, are given under the very same form and features. The three plain, unornamented folios of Ramusio, are of more real value. The learned editor, living at Venice, the centre of naval intelligence, not only collected or translated from the Spanish the best works then existing, but procured some valuable originals, and illustrated his works by ingenious dissertations.

England, which so soon took an active share in maritime discovery, and at length became foremost in it, was not likely to want long a collection of voyages. Parkhurst undertook this task, and produced one as curious, perhaps, as has ever been written. His work can by no means be considered as a mere compilation; it is a sort of book of odds and ends. He seems to have gone round to the ship captains, and obtained their journals, or taken down the narrative from their rude diction, and thus collected or saved many valuable fragments, that would otherwise have perished. He was followed, after the lapse of less than half a century, by Purchas, who, embarrassed by accumulating materials, felt the necessity, with the view of making a complete work, to adopt some summary process. He extracts, compiles, abridges, using sometimes too great freedoms, but proceeding always in a quaint, lively, agreeable style. He seems to have sought access to every source of information, and has produced an almost inexhaustible mine of every thing connected with navigation and discovery known in his age.

Churchill, early in the last century, published a collection in eight folio volumes, in which the system of simple republication was adhered to; but he had access to extensive collections of manuscripts, out of which he drew a number of valuable pieces that had never seen the light. Thus his work, when combined with the two volumes drawn out of the Harleian, acquires a great original importance. About twelve years after, another collection was put forth under the name of Astley. It was the first that proceeded entirely upon the system of analysis,

and its plan is certainly marked by very great industry. The writer, whose name was Green, divides his account of each region into two parts, in the first of which he gives a narrative of the adventures of the several successive travellers; while in the second, he collects from all of them a full description of the country and people. The idea is plausible, but the effect does not altogether fulfil the object. The descriptions do not produce the same effect, nor is their bearing even so distinctly discerned, when separated from their place in the traveller's narrative. Such as the plan is, however, it is executed with very great diligence; and these four volumes concentrate, perhaps, a greater mass of information than is comprised within the same space in any similar work. Unluckily the style is mean and vulgar, which, with the defects above observed in the plan, caused it to fall at the end of the fourth volume, though only Africa and a part of Asia had been then completed.

The French had not hitherto much bestirred themselves in this branch of writing, though valuable detached collections had been published by Bergeron and Thevenot. A translation, however, of Astley's collection was now undertaken by the Abbé Prevost, under the imposing title of *Histoire Generale des Voyages*. It was more successful than the original work, but the abrupt cessation of the latter threw Prevost upon his own resources. The *Histoire Generale*, however, was still continued with spirit, though on a less elaborate plan. Prevost was a man of genius, and went on giving lively, though not very accurate analyses of the most remarkable works of this description, relative to the countries not reached by Astley. This history, or collection, has become rather the standard one in the absence of any other that is complete, or of a date at all recent.

In going over the different plans upon which such collections have been written, it may not be amiss to mention that of Laparte, who undertook to weave into a fictitious narrative the result of the varied observations of real travellers. The collec-

tion constructed upon this plan extended to forty-two duodecimo volumes, and, among a people with whom amusement is a primary object, had a momentary success. The public, however, soon felt the unsatisfactory and illusory character of information embodied in this shape, and it never acquired any standard reputation. Yet the Spanish Editors of the *Piagero Universal* adopted it as the basis of their extensive undertaking. They soon discovered their error, but never lighted upon any good plan in its room. They professed to take in only recent voyages and travels, so as to exhibit the actual state of each country, and ended at last in mere statistical description. That part, however, which related to Spanish America, possessed considerable value, in consequence of their having access to materials from which national jealousy excluded the rest of Europe.

In Britain, an extensive collection has recently been produced, bearing the somewhat eminent name of Pinkerton. The system of mere reprint has here been most rigidly adhered to, the learned writer having neither curtailed his originals, nor illustrated them by preface, dissertation, or even note of any description. The collection certainly possesses value in so far as it affords a handsome, and comparatively cheap edition of a number of standard voyages and travels. As a work, however, it does not answer to the reputation of the author, supported as it was by the liberal spirit of the publishers.

The work which we are now to notice, without aspiring at the extensive and elaborate character of those now enumerated, aims to give a familiar and popular view of all the recent discoveries in every quarter of the globe. The plan is somewhat original, constructed so as to endeavour to escape the dilemma in which we have observed the Editor of every such work to be involved. A line of tour is fixed upon by which the reader is conducted from one end of each country to another. He goes, however, neither in the company of the Editor, nor of any one traveller; but now one, now another, according as his account in that particular instance is considered the best, is called up to

tell his story in his own words. The body of the work consists thus of extracts from various travellers, the narrative of the Editor being little more than the thread by which they are held together. The plan is certainly ingenious, and possesses advantages which cannot be united in any other; yet we cannot so far flatter the Editor as to say that he has escaped all the difficulties to which such an undertaking is liable. By taking a passage now out of one writer, and now out of another, without any ground to place them upon, the book is rendered too much a thing of shreds and patches; it loses that continuity which carries the reader smoothly along, and causes the narrative to make a full and single impression. However, as we observed, there was only a choice of difficulties; and though we do not say that this is the best possible plan, it is perhaps as good as any that has yet been devised. The editor, without making any pretensions to deep or early research, has put together the modern materials with very commendable diligence, and so as to exhibit a satisfactory view of the present state of the various regions of the globe. The book is very neat and very cheap; it is not beyond the reach of those of humble fortune, while the richest collector need not disdain to purchase it. As matters stand, therefore, it seems one of the best vehicles now afloat for meeting the wants of the numerous classes who wish for the information which it contains.

The publishers, with a very allowable accommodation to the taste of their readers, have set out with the countries to which the interest and curiosity of the public have been peculiarly directed. Such are Palestine and Syria, which the spirit of the age, and a number of recent pilgrimages, have brought into peculiar notice. Thence they have taken a mighty leap across the Atlantic, to the regions of South America, which of late certainly have attracted a peculiar and pre-eminent interest. We do not exactly know how the work is to be finally arranged, and divided into volumes; this, we suppose, is to be left to the reader's discretion.

It must be difficult by extracts to give any idea of a publication put to-

gether as this is. The following account of Damascus, extracted from the very recent travels of Dr. Richardson, appears to give a very lively idea of that celebrated eastern capital.

The streets in Damascus are narrow and irregular, and consequently well shaded from the sun. Broad streets are no luxury in warm climates; and I felt here the full force of the remark of Tacitus, that Nero spoiled Rome by broad streets. The shops abounded with fruit and vegetables. The peaches, nectarines, and apicots, were excellent: a species of the latter, which they called *lousi*, possess the most exquisite and delicious flavour. But what we found most agreeable of all, was the great abundance of iced water exposed for sale in every quarter of the town. It is generally mixed with the juice of figs or currants, and forms an agreeable and refreshing beverage, in which the Damascenes indulge to profusion. Of the shopkeepers, I would say in general, that I never saw a more comfortable-looking class of people in their station of life. They are clean, well-dressed, of an excellent habit of body, and so extremely civil to strangers, that if they have not the articles you wish to purchase, they will, unsolicited, walk with you to the place where you can be suited, and not leave you till you say "This will do: this is good."

In Damascus, as in Cairo, each class of commodities has its own class of bazars. There are whole streets in which nothing but shoes and boots are sold; others in which nothing but ready-made clothes are sold; others for the silks of Constantinople, which are by far the finest and the most valued. But the articles generally worn in Syria are of the manufacture of Damascus, and are a mixture of silk and cotton: they are extremely durable, and some of the patterns remarkably handsome. There is one large bazar for the goldsmiths, where we saw no fewer than two hundred of them seated together in one room, each with his anvil, hammer, and drawers before him; but this should rather be called a manufactory than a bazar, for, on entering it, a person was stunned with noise, as if he had been in a foundry. There are also bazars for swords and military accoutrements; but the character of Damascus blades is much declined from what it was in former times. Each country seems to think that it possesses the art in an equal degree of perfection. Constantinople regards her manufacture of swords as the best; and Cairo, Aleppo, and Bagdat, all put forth a claim to the same distinction.

The bazars in Damascus are better lighted, and have a more elegant and airy appearance than those in Cairo or Constantinople. The bazars for ready-made clothes, which are near the palace of the Pasha, form an agreeable lounging-place, where the traveller is certain of seeing a constant crowd of people passing and repassing in all the different costumes of the country, which are those of the Turk, the Bedouin Arab, the Druse, and the Syrian Christian. The first is dressed in the most brilliant colours; but the craftan and the red shachsheers are more frequent than the shalwars. The Bedouin Arab is dressed in unbleached cotton cloth, with a grey or blue and white abba in large cross stripes. He wears a leathern girdle about his waist, and a green and yellow handkerchief on his head, which, in the country, hangs down loose over his cheeks, but when he comes into town, he generally ties it tight round his head. They rarely wear turbans. The dress of the Christians is of a graver complexion than that of the Mussulmans, though not quite so dismal in Damascus as it is in Grand Cairo. The turbans are red, and of the same species of manufacture; but is much larger, and hangs down in a bag from the crown of the head. The turban is of small checkered silk, red, blue, and yellow, tied so as to give a full square shape in front, and to make the countenance look full and bold. The effect of the Mameluke turban is to make the countenance of a lowering and unkindly aspect, as if it belonged to an assassin or a thief. The abba is quite different in shape, pattern, and manufacture. It is worsted, and wrought in small stripes, red and black. It is worn much shorter, and is every way smaller; and when viewed behind, looks like a man's coat worn by a woman above her petticoats. The black abba, however, already described, is a dress of much higher consequence than the one which I have just mentioned: it is the full dress of the sheikh, as the other is of his son. Here, it is called *mashlah*, and not abba, which is the name reserved for the striped robe. The *beniss* is also in general use here; and there is much more style and elegance among the people in general than we found in Cairo, which arises from their greater intercourse with Constantinople, and from a greater number of the inhabitants being gentlemen by birth and education. The females in Damascus wear universally the large white robe which covers their head and shoulders; but such of them as we see in the bazars are generally past the prime of life, and never walk about in company with gentlemen, as in the Christian towns of Eu-

rope. The men wear beards or mustachios, with the cheek, head, and part of the chin, completely shaved.

In the Christian families in Damascus, the ladies present themselves in the same manner as in Cairo or Jerusalem; but, although they occasionally serve the visitor, they are not such slavish menials to him as there. The Christian families here have much intercourse with each other, and balls and entertainments frequently occur. The ladies wear the large white robe; but the *takeel* and *akos* are not common among the inhabitants of Damascus: they seem to be more peculiarly the dress of the country villagers. The ladies wear upon their forehead a frontlet, composed of several strings of sequins, or gold coins, fitted to each other, forming a broad imbricated surface like a coat of mail, nearly as broad as the palm of the hand, rising up, and projecting forward.

By the *cafés* in Damascus, which have been so much celebrated, are generally understood those that are situated on the banks of the river; for the *cafés* in the interior of the town are mere smoking-houses, and have nothing particular to recommend them; but the others are remarkably well adapted to the climate. They are formed so as to exclude the rays of the sun, while they admit the breeze, and gratify the eye with the delightful sight of luxuriant vegetation, while the ear is pleased with the rushing sound of artificial cascades. In order to secure the enjoyment of so many luxuries, these *cafés* are situated in the skirts of the town, on the edge of that branch of the Barrada which supplies the gardens. These *cafés* are all constructed of wood, and consist of a high pavilion roof, supported with wooden pillars, and partially covered with mats, evergreens, and creepers. They are far from being elegant or expensive; but they are cool, and admit an agreeable and softened light, that forms a charming contrast with the intense glare of the sun glancing upon the waters, or reflected from the whitened walls of the houses of the town. The floor is of wood or earth, generally the former, and is regularly watered. All round are raised high, broad-bottomed wooden seats like sofas, for the frequenters to sit on, after the fashion of their country, and smoke, drink coffee, talk, and enjoy themselves. As a place of public resort, I must confess, these *cafés* appeared to me both dull and uncomfortable, and the company generally of a very ordinary description. There are no public papers, no magazines, no reviews, nothing to keep up either a general or a national interest. Sometimes a person, like

a hawker, reads or recites a tale, that may chance to be listened to; it by no means follows as a matter of course. The company are commonly remarkably still and silent, and seem as if, being over-fatigued, they went hither to indulge in a little repose. Each person, as he enters, calls for a hooka and a cup of coffee, which are immediately brought to him. There are no long pipes in the *cafés* at Damascus, and the hooka is such a hideous and unwieldy instrument, that nothing but the most determined resolution to smoke could make it at all tolerable. In these words, I am not to be understood as abusing the elegant smoking apparatus usually known in this country by the name of hooka, (which, with its handsome argill and snake, deserves to be spoken of in terms of commendation,) but a most infamous substitute, to which the *cafétiers* of Damascus have most unwarrantably given the same name. It consists of a head that somewhat resembles the hooka, and a small bit of hollow cane, about two feet and a half long, stuck into the side of it for a shaft. It has no amber mouth piece; it is lighted in the same way as the hooka, but the stalk is too short to let it rest on the ground; and it is so difficult to draw, that the novice in smoking is obliged to keep pulling, and balancing, and making such efforts as greatly to endanger the safety of his brain and respiratory organs: and all for what? To obtain a whiff of tobacco through a drop of dirty water!

The same traveller, in virtue of peculiar circumstances, gained admission to the mosque of Omar, the most splendid edifice in Jerusalem, and built on the supposed site of the ancient temple. As this is a privilege which had been denied to former travellers, his description of it seems to merit insertion.

Laying aside his white burnouse, that he might not be detected to be a Christian by his colours, he put on a black abba of the Capo Verde's, and, escorted by a black interpreter, ascended the southern slope of Mount Moriah, passed the house of the *cadi*, and entered the *Haram Sche-ref*. "This," continues the doctor, "is the name which is given to the whole space enclosed about the mosque, and is interpreted to mean the grand or noble retirement for devotion. Proceeding forward a few yards, we ascended a flight of steps, and got upon the *Stoa Sakhara*, an elevated platform, floored with marble all round the mosque; from the door of which we were now distant but a few paces. On our arrival at the door, a gentle

knock brought up the sacristan, who, apprised of our arrival, was waiting within to receive us. He demanded, rather sternly, who we were; and was answered by my black conductor in tones not less consequential than his own. The door immediately edged up, to prevent as much as possible the light from shining out, and we squeezed ourselves in with a light and noiseless step, although there was no person near who could be alarmed by the loudest sound of our bare feet upon the marble floor. The door was no sooner shut than the sacristan, taking a couple of candles in his hand, shewed us all over the interior of this building; pointing, in the pride of his heart, to the elegant marble walls, the beautifully gilded ceiling, the well at which the true worshippers drink and wash, with which we also blessed our palates, and moistened our beards, the paltry reading-desk, with the ancient Koran, the handsome columns, and the green stone, with the wonderful nails. As soon as we had completed this circuit, pulling a key from his girdle, he unlocked the door of the railing which separates the outer from the inner part of the mosque, which, with an elevation of two or three steps, led us into the sacred recess. Here he pointed out the patches of Mosaic in the floor, and the round flat stone which the prophet carried on his arm in battle; directed us to introduce our hand through the hole in the wooden box, to feel the print of the prophet's foot, and through the posts of the wooden rail, to feel, as well as to see, the marks of the angel Gabriel's fingers, into which I carefully put my own, in the sacred stone that occupies the centre of the mosque, and from which it derives the name of Sakhara, or locked-up; (over it is suspended a fine cloth of green and red satin, but this was so covered with dust, that, but for the information of my guide, I should not have been able to tell the composing colours;) and, finally, he pointed to the door that leads into the small cavern below, of which he had not the key. I looked up to the interior of the dome; but there being few lamps burning, the light was not sufficient to shew me any of its beauty, further than a general glance.

The dimensions of this noble enclosure, as furnished me by the cousin of Omar Effendi, are in length six hundred and sixty pecks of Constantinople, that is, about one thousand four hundred and eighty-nine feet, measuring from the arch of prayer in El Aksa to the Bab El Salam, or Gate of Peace, which is the name of the gate on the opposite end. In breadth it is four hundred and forty pecks, or nine hundred and ninety-five

feet, measuring from Allah dien to the gate Beseri on the west.

This spacious square is enclosed on the east and on the south by the wall of the city; through which there is only one gate, and that leads into El Aksa on the south. There were formerly two gates on the east side, and the gate of Tobet, Bal el Tobe, both of which are now built up. The other two sides of the square are in the town. The west side is enclosed by a line of Turkish houses, and is entered by five gates; the north side is enclosed partly by a wall, and partly by Turkish houses, and is entered by three gates. Having passed in by either of these gates, the visitor enters what may be called the outer court of the Haram Schereeff, which is a fine smooth level space all round the Stoa Sakhara, falling with a gentle slop towards the east, and covered with a thick sward of grass, with orange, olive, cypress, and other trees, scattered over it in different places, but no where forming a thicket.

In the sacred retirement of this charming spot the followers of the prophet delight to saunter or repose as in the Elysium of their devotion, and arrayed in the gorgeous costume of the East, add much to the beauty, the interest, and solemn stillness of the scene, which they seem loth to quit either in going to or coming from the house of prayer. In the midst of this court, but nearer to the west and south sides, there is an elevated platform, which is about four hundred and fifty feet square, and is called Stoa Sakhara; some parts of it are higher than others, as the ground on which it is erected is more or less elevated, but it may be said to average about twelve or fourteen feet above the level of the grassy court. It is accessible on all sides by a number of spacious stairs, that appear to have answered originally to exterior gates of entrance into the Haram Schereeff. There are three on the west side, two on the north, one on the east side, and two on the south: that on the east fronts the obstructed golden gate; it is more worn than any of the rest, and much in want of repair. These stairs are all surmounted at the top with lofty arches; some of them have four arches, so that one stair leads to four entrances into the Stoa Sakhara, and has a most magnificent and triumphal appearance.

The platform, or Stoa Sakhara, is paved with fine polished marble, chiefly white, with a shade of blue; some of the stones look very old, are curiously wrought and carved, and have evidently belonged to a former building. There are no trees on the Stoa Sakhara, but there are tufts of

grass in many places, from the careless manner in which it is kept, which afford great relief to the eye from the intense glare of light and heat reflected from the marble pavement. Round the edge of the Stoa Sakhara there are numbers of small houses; five of which on the north side are occupied by santones, or religious ascetics; one on the south is for the doctors of the law to hold their consultations in; one on the west for containing the oil for painting the brick and tile for the repair of the Sakhara; the rest are places of private prayer for the different sects of Mussulmans or believers, which is the meaning of the word.

But the great beauty of the platform, as well as of the whole enclosure, is the Sakhara itself, which is nearly in the middle of the platform, and but a little removed from the south side: it is a regular octagon of about sixty feet a side, and is entered by four spacious doors. Bab el Garb on the west; Bab el Sherq, or Bab Nebbe Daoud, or gate of the prophet David, on the east; Bab el Kabla, or gate towards which the Mussulman turns his face in prayer, on the south; and Bab el Jenne, or gate of the garden, on the north. Each of these doors is adorned with a porch, which projects from the line of the building, and rises considerably up on the wall. The lower story of the Sakhara is faced with marble, the blocks of which are of different sizes, and many of them evidently resting on the side or narrowest surface. They look much older on a close inspection than they do when viewed from a distance, and their disintegration indicates a much greater age than the stones of the houses, said to have been built in the time of the mother of Constantine the Great; and probably both they, and the aged stones in the flooring on the Stoa Sakhara, formed part of the splendid temple that was destroyed by the Romans. Each side of the Sakhara is pannelled; the centre stone

of one pannel is square, of another it is octagonal, and thus they alternate all round; the sides of each pannel run down the angles of the building like a plain pilaster, and give the appearance as if the whole side of the edifice was set in a frame. The marble is white, with a considerable tinge of blue, and square pieces of blue marble are introduced in different places, so as to give the whole a pleasing effect. There are no windows in the marble part or lower story of the building. The upper story of this elegant building is faced with small tiles of about eight or nine inches square; they are painted of different colours, white, yellow, green, and blue, but blue prevails throughout. They are covered with sentences from the Koran; though of this fact I could not be certain on account of the height, and my imperfect knowledge of the character. There are seven well-proportioned windows on each side, except where the porch rises high, and then there are only six, one of which is generally built up, so that only five are effective. The whole is extremely light and beautiful; and from the mixture of the soft colours above, and the pannelled work and blue and white tinge of the marble below, the eye is more delighted with beholding it than any building I ever saw.

The admiration excited by the appearance of the exterior was not diminished by a view of the interior, the arrangements of which are so managed as to preserve throughout the octagonal form, agreeably to the ground-plan of the building. The inside of the wall is white, without any ornament, and I confess I am one of those who think ornaments misplaced in a house of prayer, or any thing tending to distract the mind when it comes there to hold converse with its God. The floor is of gray marble, and was then much covered with dust, from some repairs that were executing on the dome.

MEMOIRS OF MR WILLIAM VEITCH AND GEORGE BRYSSON *.

"SOME may be of opinion," says Dr McCrie, in the Preface of this volume, "that unnecessary pains have been taken in editing the work; but having undertaken to superintend the publication of these

memorials, and considering them to be valuable, I reckoned it incumbent on me to do them as much justice as possible. With a little more labour, a connected history of the period might have been produced, but I

* *Memoirs of Mr William Veitch and George Brysson, written by themselves: with other Narratives illustrative of the History of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution. To which are added, Biographical Sketches and Notes, by Thomas McCrie, D.D. Edinburgh: Blackwood 1825.*

an persuaded that no account which I could draw up would present so graphic a picture of the men and measures of that time, as is exhibited in the following historical pieces." P. viii.

We are very much mistaken indeed if the Rev. Doctor has not here anticipated an objection which is likely to be felt by every reader of these Memoirs; and we are by no means convinced that what he has said will be deemed sufficient to remove it. In the first place, we think he has formed a most exaggerated notion of the value of these Memoirs, as illustrative of the history of the troubled period to which they refer. Most of the writers were persons in the humbler walks of life; and though, by the force of circumstances, they were occasionally called upon to play a part in the politico-religious drama that was then acting, they had little opportunity of becoming thoroughly acquainted with "the men and measures of that time," and were disqualified, by their passions and prejudices, for forming a calm judgment of either. Much as we revere the character of the Covenanters, and greatly as we consider ourselves indebted to the noble stand they made in behalf of public liberty, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that, though acting from the purest motives, they were generally men of narrow views and confined understandings, who united the rancour of sectarian intolerance and political animosity with the natural feelings of indignant resentment, roused into fury by a long course of tyranny and oppression. We do not mention this for the purpose of casting any imputation on their memory; on the contrary, their errors and prejudices are chiefly to be ascribed to the baneful and exasperating influence of a form of tyranny which attempted to fasten the fetters of servitude on the mind as well as the body,—and, not content with wholesale oppression, pursued men to the sanctuary of their hearths and homes, invaded the most sacred and undoubted rights of the nation, and, with a strange infatuation in evil, left no stone unturned to rouse an indignant, yet long-suffering people, to resistance. But while we are prepared to admit all

this, and more, we are equally ready to maintain, that the men who resisted unto blood, striving against political and religious tyranny, were neither very enlightened nor very liberal; that they hated their enemies as cordially as they were hated in return; that they gave a willing ear to every tale calculated to blacken the character or impeach the memory of those whom they considered oppressors; that they believed the judgments of God arrayed on their side, and almost ready to fall on the heads of the guilty at their pleasure; and that credulity and fanaticism were strangely blended with the nobler and more attractive attributes of their character. It is not on the testimony of men thus circumstanced that History will place implicit reliance, when she attempts to describe "the men and measures of that time." That testimony is not without its value; but it must be taken with vast allowances in regard to whatever concerns the adverse party. What would become of the Puritans of England, were we to seek for their character in the ribald effusions of the Cavaliers? And, on the other hand, what opinion would we form of the brave and loyal men who so freely shed their blood to uphold the monarchy, were the cool and deliberate falsifications of the Puritans to be admitted as unimpeachable evidence at the tribunal of history? But this is not all. Men, such as those whose Memoirs Dr M'Crie has now published, could necessarily know but little of the secret springs by which the machine of Government was moved, or of the real views and interests that prompted the decisions of individuals or parties. They were not cool spectators, but actors in the scene,—and actors of subordinate parts too, whose observation was necessarily confined to a very narrow space. Of all that happened within that space they are of course the best and only witnesses; beyond it we must receive with distrust and suspicion whatever they tell us. The common soldier can give us much interesting information, and perhaps many curious anecdotes, concerning his own company, or even his own regiment, in the day of battle; within that nar-

row sphere he is a competent witness, and we will listen to him with patience, probably with pleasure: but when he attempts to describe the plan of the combat, to detail the manœuvres of the General, and to decide the circumstances or accidents that turned the scale of victory, we laugh at his conceit, despise his presumption, and pity his folly. And why? Because he presumes to describe what he had no opportunity of knowing, and what he could not probably have comprehended if he had. In like manner, when such persons as Veitch and Brysson confine themselves to an account of their own adventures, we can believe them, and feel interested in the narratives they give, the anecdotes they relate, or the characteristic pictures they sketch; but when they go beyond their sphere, and dip into matters which they could not know, and recount dramatic tales of the poisoning of one prince by another, and pretend to lay open the *arcana* of courts, and factions, and partizans—credibility is outraged; we turn with loathing from such presumptuous folly, and instead of considering such legends fitted to throw light upon an important period of history, we at once pronounce them the sources by which it may be contaminated and vitiated. The reader will see immediately that we have not been putting an imaginary case.

In the next place, we most sincerely regret that Dr M'Crie did not bestow "a little more labour," and produce "a connected history of the period," which, we are sure, would have been infinitely more acceptable to the public, than "the unnecessary pains" he has taken in elaborating the long and operose notes with which these Memoirs are illustrated. We are well aware that he is not altogether unprejudiced; but with his profound knowledge of every part of Scottish history, his unwearied industry, and his skill in arranging his materials, he could hardly have failed to produce a useful and valuable work, on a period which, as he himself justly remarks, "still admits of farther illustration." But the Doctor is persuaded that no account which he could draw up would present so graphic a picture of the men

and measures of that period, as is exhibited in these Memoirs; and accordingly, in his anxiety to do every possible justice to the publication which he had undertaken to superintend, he has overlaid the text with a mass of annotation, comprising a great deal of curious information, which, however, is expended to little purpose, from the shape—"if shape it may be called, that shape has none"—in which it is thrown together. The Doctor's errors, therefore, are chiefly errors of commission. He does too much. He spends his ammunition with a prodigality indicative rather of great resources than of the prudence necessary to manage them with discretion. The minutest circumstances connected with the history of the obscure men whom he has hustled up into a late and posthumous notoriety, are illustrated with the most painful and curious elaboration. The text is suffocated by the notes, and the notes are not always interesting. It cannot be said of them, *materiam superabat opus*; the value of the materials is unquestionable, that of the workmanship—as the reader may take it. "A little more labour," and a little less reverence for the fusty relics of these good but dull men, would have procured us a very different sort of book—"a connected history of the period,"—which is still wanted, and which no man alive, perhaps, could have executed better than Dr M'Crie.

But while we think that the Doctor has, generally speaking, done a great deal too much, there are some instances in which he has done nothing at all; an omission (such is the waywardness of our disposition) with which we feel inclined to reproach him. An example will best explain our meaning. In the Memoirs of Veitch, we find the following account of the circumstances which led to the poisoning of Charles II. by his brother the Duke of York!

The king's business with Allington was this—to take his advice, he being a wise man, and one of his greatest confidants at that time, about what measures he should make use of to prevent the Duke of York and his cabal's destroying of him; for he saw now it was inevitably a-coming. To which Allington replied, "Sir, you

have brought it upon yourself, by your turning out Monmouth out of all his places, especially his command over the guards about your person, and suffering such to be put in who were York's creatures." "But what shall I do now?" said the king. "Sir," said he, "I neither can nor dare advise you in that matter; for if it be heard, as likely it will, it may hasten both our ruins." The king promised solemnly to keep it secret, and would not part with him till he told him, and that he would presently put them in execution; and whatever befel him he should never discover or wrong Allington; and they paroled upon it. "Now," says he, "Sir, my advice is this, that seeing within a few weeks the appointed time will be that the Duke of York is obliged to go to Scotland, to hold the next session of his parliament, take care to give his commission, and send him timeously away; and when he is there, send for Monmouth, restore him to all his places, and remove from the court all persons that are suspected to favour York's interest, as also, out of your guards, and double them. When this is once done, he being in Scotland, we will see then what is farther to be done."

This proved a costly advice to them both, for no doubt but there were some overhearing behind the curtain, who told all to York, as appears by the event. A little after, the king sends for his brother, telling him he must make ready to go down for Scotland, the time drawing near for his keeping the next session of their parliament, he would presently expedite his commission, and upon such a day he must take journey. At which discourse the duke seemed to be much displeased, telling his Majesty, it was a thing he could not at all undertake at this juncture; for he having a great trade at Calais, and other foreign places, and many years accounts to clear with these foreign factors, wherein he and other great merchants in the city were concerned, being now upon their journey, he must needs stay to clear with them, and therefore desired earnestly to be excused. To which the king replied, "James, either you must go, or I must go." And speaking these words with a kind of question, the duke as briskly replied, "He would not go;" and so took his leave. Then going home, and calling his friends and cabal, he told them what passed; and that he perceived the king was resolved to follow Allington's measures. After which, his cabal he trusted in resolved among themselves, that they would go to their houses, and put themselves in such a posture as that they might return within so many hours;

no doubt, to such a secret place where they might sit without parting, until they had defeated the king's resolutions, and brought their purposes, if possible, to the intended issue. And if the information be true, which the event seems to make probable, they all unanimously resolved to begin with Allington, and see if they could take him off by poison, which they did by bribing his cook and master-household; which took place, and, if my memory fail not, says the relator, he either died on the Friday's night or morning. For York had a spy to tell him so soon as ever his breath went out; and the cabal resolved, that if the business took, the Duke of York should be the first that should carry the news to the king, lamenting such a heavy loss, to blind the matter. And it is said that he made such haste, for fear any should be before him, that he ran to the court at the highest, with one of his shoes down in the heel, and one of his stockings untied. Yet he was prevented, for one of my lord's servants had just come in before him, and told that his master was dead suddenly, and undoubtedly poisoned. York coming in in the mean time, not hearing this, made his lamentation that Allington, his friend, was dead; a very sad stroke to the court. "Aye," says the king, "and his servant thinks he was poisoned: I wish you have not a hand in it, of which, if I were sure, you should presently go to the Tower, for I am like to be next." But the duke intreating his majesty to have no such thoughts, and acknowledging his fault in refusing to go to Scotland at their last meeting, said, he was now resolved to comply with his majesty's commands, and take journey next week for Scotland, come of his business what would; and therefore desired his majesty to expedite his commission next week, that he might not be hindered. Now these were the words that he and his cabal had concerted further to blind the king withal, that so they might better effectuate their next resolution.

The king believing him to speak seriously, and that he might yet accomplish what Allington had advised him, when the duke was gone for Scotland, ordered his commission to be instantly drawn, that he might go down to hold the foresaid parliament. In the mean time, the Duchess of Portsmouth, his present mistress, or whore, that the king of France had sent him, and who influenced him as she pleased, to the French measures, not being pleased with the Duke of York's maltreating the king in refusing to go to Scotland, his cabal thought fit that the duke should go to her and acknowledge his rashness.

with the king, and beg that she would interpose for their amicable reconciliation, which she promised to do; and telling her that, he being to go away upon Monday or Tuesday next to obey his majesty's commands in Scotland, the best way and time to do it was to sup with her grace on Sabbath night, and she might invite any of the court there that she thought fit; to which she consented. When he came back, and told his cabal what was done, they said, "Then our business is like to do." So they ordered the duke to send a good quantity of all sorts of wines and good liquors, especially claret; which the king loved; that so she might be induced to entertain them liberally and long that night. And the king, being sotted with drink, it being usual, in such a case, to drink a good deal of coffee for a cure, they had liberally bribed his coffee-man to poison his coffee; and some of York's faction, in that case, when he was so drunk, was to advise the duchess to keep him all night, to save him the trouble of going to his own room. Likewise knowing that, in the morning, when he first awaked, he made use of much snuff, they hired the duchess's chambermaid to put in the poisoned snuff into his box, and take out what was in it before. And so nothing doubting but their design now would take place, they ordered a spy to give an account of his carriage when he awaked, timeously, before any of the court should know of it. When he awaked, he cried out "he was deadly sick," and calling for his snuff-box, he took a deal of it; but still growing worse, he sent for his servants to put on his clothes, which when they were doing he staggered. So he got to the window, and leaned upon it, crying, "I'm gone, I'm poisoned; have me quickly into my chamber."

The duke getting notice, came running in haste, all undrest, to lament his brother's fate, saying, "Alas! Sir, what's the matter?" who answered, "O, you know too well," and was in great passion at him. In the mean time, he called for his closet keeper to fetch him out an antidote against poison, that a German mountebank had given him, and assured him it would instantly cure him whenever he suspected it, but it could not be found, neither his physicians, being, as it was thought, sent out of town. When he saw all these things fail him, being enraged at his brother, he made at him; but he having secured all the entries to the court, that the sentry should tell, if any courtiers or bishops, upon the news, should offer to come in to see how the king was. They were to tell them that

he was gone to bed out of order, and had discharged all access to him, that he might be quiet. And in the mean time, the duke seeing him in such a rage, and that the poison was not likely to do so quickly, set four ruffians upon him, at which he crying out so as he was heard, they presently choked him in his cravat, and so beat him in the head that he instantly died. It is said that his head swelled bigger than two heads; and also that his body stunk so with the poison and other things, that none could stay in the room. And it is said, that in the dead of the night they were forced to carry him out and bury him *incognito*.

However the room was kept quiet, that none had access to the supposed sick king, as if he had been lying still in bed. None was admitted to that room but those who were true friends to York, who made the people believe he was still alive, but dangerously ill. And when his council met, and had concerted what measures to follow upon the supposition of his death, (an embargo being laid upon all ships for that time, that none might carry abroad the rumour of his sickness,) then they gave out the news of his being just now dead toward the latter end of the week; and, as they had concerted in council, the duke of York was proclaimed king. One that was at court at this time, and was a friend of Monmouth's, brought him over this account, affirming it to be true.

The duke of York was no sooner proclaimed king, but he sent over instantly an express to the prince of Orange, his good-son, to apprehend the duke of Monmouth, and send him over prisoner to England. It was a strange providence, that the duke, upon the prince's invitation some months before, had gone up to visit him, and was that night in his lodgings when the express came. The prince being surprised with the news at first, upon second thoughts managed the business very well. He dispatched the express, and when all his household was gone to bed, he put on his nightgown, and went up to the duke of Monmouth's bed-chamber; and letting him see the surprising news, both with respect to the king and himself, he advised him to get up and go away before day-break, to any place where he thought he might be most secure, for he had no mind to meddle with him. Which he did, and came to Rotterdam before five in the morning, to his friend and factor's house, Mr Washington's, who kept the great brewery at the sign of the Peacock, and, sending for several of his friends who were there, told them the strange news, asking their advice what was best for him to do.

They, being all struck with amazement, knew not what advice to give him. He told them that the Marquis de Grana, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, being his intimate acquaintance at the English court, had by a message invited him up to divert himself a while with him at Brussels. He thought now he was called to go there, since he was not admitted to stay where the prince of Orange had any power, lest it might beget a mistake between him and his father-in-law. His friends thought it a good providence that he should take the occasion, which he did; and going through several garrison towns which were in his way thither, with his camels, sumpters, and servants attending him, he was complimented in his passage by the magistrates and governors of these places.

But how strange is it to think, that some days ere he came there, there came a message and order from the king of Spain to the marquis, giving him an account, that if he heard by this time of the king of England's death, he should take care to apprehend the duke of Monmouth if he were in his territories! They were both surprised at their meeting, and condoled one another's fate; the one that he had got such an order, that, cost him what it would, he would not execute; the other, that he should have come now to put him in such a lock. So in that very night he was forced to disguise himself, and one of his trustiest servants, in a common soldier's habit, and return again, sometimes by land and sometimes by water, until he landed at Dort, where two spies, Englishmen, following them to the inn as suspected persons, the master going up stairs to a room, and his servant going into the cookery to see what meat was for eating, he heard them saying to one another in French, "That fellow that went up stairs looked very like the duke of Monmouth." Upon which the servant took up bread and drink, paying for it; and they went out by a back door, when they had done, and took a waggon, which brought them to Rotterdam, where they told their friends what was befallen them.

What is above said seems to make it very evident that the king's death was a fore-contrived thing. For if the king of Spain knew of it before his messenger was dispatched, as the story evinceth, so the popish princes in other countries could not but be acquainted also, as well as the papists in England; for it seems to have been an universally laid thing, to hasten the duke of York to the crown of England for advancing the Catholic cause. After this, Monmouth was obliged to lurk some-

times in Rotterdam, sometimes elsewhere, until they had perfected that concert of Argyll's coming into Scotland and Monmouth's into England, where their friends in both nations promised to appear with them, for retrieving, if possible, the Protestant interest that was now perishing; and their last meeting for that effect was at Rotterdam.

That this story is a gross and atrocious fabrication from beginning to end, no one in the slightest degree acquainted with the history of the period either will or can dispute. King Charles II. died of a shock of apoplexy, after lingering for a few days in a very deplorable condition; and though, as usually happens when princes are suddenly cut off, suspicions of poison were entertained, not a tittle of evidence was ever produced to establish the fact that poison had been administered, far less to implicate the Duke of York as guilty of an abominable fratricide. Burnet, who believed every lying spirit of his faction, tells, indeed, a cock-and-a-bull story of some black spots that were observed on the king's body after his death,—as if these might not have been produced by the extravasation of blood that always accompanies apoplectic attacks; but he adds, with more honesty than might reasonably have been expected of him, "Since I have mentioned the suspicions of poison, as the cause of his (the King's) death, I must add, that I NEVER HEARD ANY LAY THOSE SUSPICIONS ON HIS BROTHER!" Vol. II. p. 337. What Burnet "*never heard*," however, seems, if we believe him, to have been known in all its details to Mr William Veitch, preacher, whose account is now given to the world without one word of qualification or explanation—without a line to caution the reader against receiving implicitly a tale of fratricide upon the testimony of an individual who could not possibly have known the circumstances, had they been as true as they are undoubtedly false. Now this, we take it, is by no means fair-dealing, or the way in which history is to be rendered a school of practical philosophy. We admire the character of James VII. as little as Dr Mc'Crie can possibly do; but we would not

wantonly accumulate unmerited infamy on the memory of the unfortunate. He was a weak, misguided bigot—"un très bon homme qui quit-tait trois royaumes pour une messe"—but he was an honest and, as princes go, a virtuous man; ready, indeed, to persecute to the death in behalf of that damnable faith which he had espoused, but utterly incapable of the atrocious crime here laid to his charge. The fraternal affection subsisting between the royal brothers was, in fact, quite remarkable, considering the political relation in which they stood to each other, and might have been discredited as a hollow assumption, had not our own time produced a case in every respect parallel, and proving that the best affections of the heart are not so apt to be blighted by a crown and the hopes of a crown, as some cynical moralists would wish us to believe. Burnet (*ubi supra*) informs us, that the king, in his dying moments, "gathered all his strength to speak his last words to the Duke;" that "he expressed his kindness to him, and that he now delivered all over to him with great joy." Charles had a short time previous to this resolved to remove his brother from his presence, in order to allay the heats that were kindled in the nation regarding both the influence and religion of James. But if he had felt the workings of poison within him, it would have been natural to suspect his brother of having a hand in administering it; and, if a suspicion of this sort had ever crossed his mind, it is inconsistent with every principle of human nature to suppose, that, with death staring him in the face, and all the harrowing recollections of an ill-spent life mustered in array, to aggravate its horrors, and envenom its bitterness,—it is quite impossible, we say, that, in these circumstances, the king could have "expressed his kindness" to his brother, and declared "that he now delivered all over to him with joy," had he believed or even imagined that that brother had mingled the poisoned bowl, to rob him at once of his crown and his life, and to hurry him, with all his imperfections on his head, before that fearful tribunal, where the prince and the slave must appear

upon an equal footing. Let the improbability of the charge, then, be taken in conjunction with the absence of all evidence in support of it, and with the declaration of Burnet, the inveterate enemy of the House of Stuart, that "he never heard any lay those suspicions on the Duke of York;" and we can only arrive at one conclusion, namely, that it is a malignant fabrication, invented and circulated by men who were never weary of heaping calumny on their opponents, but who, having gained the victory, should have been superior to the cowardly meanness of levelling a foul blow at the fallen. Burnet, indeed, says, that the king's "dying so critically, as it were, in the minute in which he seemed to begin a turn of affairs, made it (the poisoning) be generally the more believed, and that the Papists had done it, either by means of some of Lady Portsmouth's servants, or, as some fancied, by poisoned snuff; for so many of the small veins of the brain were burst, that the brain was in great disorder, and no judgment could be made concerning it." (*ubi supra*.) But the worthy Bishop has forgotten that the Papists could have no motive for poisoning the king, who, as he had shown a little before, was a staunch Papist himself, and in his last moments received the sacrament in that communion, having obstinately refused to take it according to the ritual of the Church of England. With regard to the state of the royal brain, which the Bishop considers another suspicious circumstance, or at least one of the circumstances that gave rise to the suspicion of poison, every medical man must at once perceive, that it is precisely the state in which that organ would have appeared had the king died of apoplexy, which there is every reason to believe was really the cause of his death.

In Veitch's Memoirs there is a curious account of the escape of the Earl of Argyll, which, as it fell under his own observation, we shall insert here.* Veitch had been living at Berwick in a state of quasi-expatriation; but having dreamed that his house was suddenly burned to the ground, he mounted his horse, and set out homewards. He had

heard previously of Argyll's having effected his escape.

About a mile and a half from his own house, as he was going up a lane, he sees two men and three fine horses meeting him. The foremost of whom, when he perceived who it was, came riding fast up to him, (it was Torwoodlee's man,) saying, "O, Sir, you are long looked for at your house;" which made him ask, "What is the matter? is my wife and family well?" "Yes," says he, "but there is a stranger longs to see you, viz. Argyll; and your wife and he have been sending about the country these two days to find you." Then he saw that the dream was a clear call to bring him home.

After their meeting, and talking about matters, Mr Veitch, with his wife's consent, who was then near her time, undertook to do his best for bringing him safe to London, and advised to send his two servants to-morrow morning, being the Sabbath, to Newcastle, to stay there until further orders.

He took Argyll, now called Mr Hope, in disguise, along with him to Millburn Grange, where he was to preach all that Sabbath day. On Monday morning he took him to a friend's house between Newcastle and Newburn, where he left him, until he went on to Newcastle and bought three horses for him and his two servants, which cost him about £27 Sterling, which Mr Veitch paid out of his own pocket, finding Mr Hope scarce of money. Having done this, he ordered Mr Hope's two servants to go to a change-house in the way to Leeds, seventeen miles from Newcastle; and he and Mr Hope crossed Tyne at Newburn, and went to a by-inn over-against Durham. They called next day for the servants, and took them along. On Thursday night they came to Leeds, where Mr Veitch was well acquainted. The next day they went toward Roderam, thinking to lodge four or five miles beyond it that night; but the day being very rainy, and he complaining he was wet to the skin, and seeing we must needs take up at Roderam, we resolved to take the post-house, as least suspected, rather than a by-inn.

We were not well in our chamber, and had got some faggots to dry us, when a liveryman, well mounted, and calling for the hostler, asked briskly, "Come there not here some gentlemen shortly?" which put us all in fear. But, after inquiry, it was some gentleman's servant, who, having seen us before them upon the road, and thinking we might call at the

post-house and take up the best rooms, had sent this fellow to see. Mr Veitch, calling for a flaggon of ale and a bottle of wine, and some bread, called for the landlord and landlady to drink with them, and talked a little, asking for several gentry in the country, how far they lived from that place, telling them that they were relations to some of his neighbour gentry in Northumberland. This he did, that the landlord and landlady might know they were Englishmen, which happened well; for while we were at supper, the postboy, coming in from Doncaster, gave his master a letter from that postmaster, which, after he had read, he at length reached it up to the table-head to Mr Veitch, who was sitting there as the chief gentleman of the company, having Argyll's page, now in disguise, standing at his back. After Mr Veitch had read it at great leisure, he was almost nonplussed what to think or say; for the narrative of the letter was to tell, that Argyll was escaped out of the castle, and that there was £500 Sterling bid for him; whosoever should apprehend him. "If you find him," [said the postmaster in his letter] "and apprehend him in your road, let me go snips with you; and if I find him, you shall go snips with me." He [Mr Veitch] broke out by way of laughter, and said, "Mr Hope, here are admirable good news for you and me. The Earl of Argyll is escaped, by these news; we that are travelling southward may come to hit upon him; for if he be come to England, he will readily take byways, and if we hit upon him, £500 reward will do us good service; only I fear he ride much these moonlight mornings. I could find in my heart to give my landlord a bottle of sack, to let his hostler direct us early in the way to Clown, and I promise him, if we find the prize he shall share of the reward." To which the landlord replied, "The hostler is at your honour's service." So Mr Veitch called for a bottle of sack to drink to their good success. They went early in the morning away, and searched the house, but found not one lodger. Ere they came to Clown they dismissed the hostler, and breakfasted at that place. After which Mr Veitch sent the servants to the Plume of Feathers at Nottingham, and set Argyll upon the horse that carried the cloak-bag. So they rode that Saturday's night to Mr Willie's house at Glapwell, and staid there till Monday. It was one of Mr Veitch's haunts, and he preached all the Sabbath to the meeting.

In the mean time Mr Veitch, thinking upon the alarm given, and that

things looked more dangerous and difficult like, he thought fit to advise with an honest old Oliverian captain, Lockyer, (one of Colonel Blood's complices at that time,) about their safe getting to London, who generously offered to conduct my Lord Argyll safely thither; which he did, bringing him first to Battersea, four miles above London, to Mr Smith's, a sugar-baker's house, whose lady was a very pious, wise, and generous gentlewoman. They were rich, and had no children. The servants sent to Nottingham were ordered for London, to a place where they should stay till further orders. Madam Smith being informed who Mr Hope was, concealed it from her husband and all others, and he passed for an ordinary Scots gentleman.

Within a day or two she sends down a note to Major Holmes, one of her great trustees in the city, to provide two chambers at a good distance from one another, where two friends of hers might be quiet and retired for a while; and when he sent her word they were ready, she sent them to the Major's lodgings in the night-time. None of them knew the Major, but they being set in an outer room to wait for his coming down, whenever the Major came into the room he knew Argyll, and getting him in his arms, said, "My dear Lord Argyll, you are most welcome to me." At which my lord seemed to be concerned, and said, "Pray, Sir, where did you know me?" "My lord," says he, "I knew you since that day that I took you prisoner in the Highlands, when you were Lord Lorn, and brought you to the Castle of Edinburgh. But now we are on one side, and I will venture all that is dear to me to save you;" and so sent each of them to their several chambers, where they lurked a considerable while.

None knew Mr Hope's lodgings but Major Holmes and Mr Veitch. After some days, Mr Veitch being acquainted with the Earl of Shaftesbury, went to pay him a visit. When he saw him, he took him into his bed-chamber, and sitting down together, he asked him, what was become of my Lord Argyll? He replied, "How should I know any thing of that, my lord?" Says he, "I no sooner saw your face, but I was persuaded you had brought him to the city. For when I heard of his escape, and considered with myself he could not be so safe any where as in London, it was cast in my mind that you were the person that could safest conduct him thither." Upon which Mr Veitch told him that he was in town, but his lordship behaved to keep it secret; which he promised to

do, and said he would serve him to his power.

Brysson strictly confines himself to the relation of what fell under his own observation, and as he accompanied Argyll in that ill-fated expedition, which led to the capture and condemnation of that nobleman on his former sentence, he has been enabled to give some particulars respecting it, which cannot fail to be interesting. After the affair of Loudonhill, where Claverhouse was defeated, Brysson joined the Hill-men, and was present at Bothwell Bridge, where the Covenanters were routed in their turn. Upon this, he was forced to go into hiding, —skulked for a while near his own residence,—then went to London, and being discovered there, took shipping for Holland, the refuge of the oppressed, whence he returned with Argyll, of whose expedition he has given a very lively account. We have only room for the following extract, relative to what occurred after Argyll descended to the low country.

But on our weary march (to Glasgow by the village of Kilmarnock) as night came on us, and we began to set our watches, and to take some rest, behold, a party of the king's forces appeared in our view! Whereupon the drums were beat, and all were called to arms immediately; and so we were deprived of any rest, which would have been very refreshing to us. We began to conclude that these troops we had seen were only some of the militia gentlemen, and that it could not be the king's forces; so we marched all that night towards Glasgow. Being hungry and faint, we appointed some men out of every company to go to several parts of the country about to bring us provision, and we were to rest in the moor till they returned; but before ever they went away, the enemy began to appear in our sight; so that we were frustrated of that design, and were forced to keep our weapons, till we got meat for them. And then we drew up upon a moor-side; there being a water betwixt us and the enemy. We were firmly resolved to fight them, come of it what would, if they attacked us, though we were far inferior to them. However, we lay there all that day; but they never approached towards us. So when it began to grow dark, there was a council of war holden, and it was resolved that we should march away in the night-time; and to make the enemy believe that we were

still keeping our ground, every company were commanded to put on great bales of fire, there being abundance of peats, and turfs, and heather, in the place; and when we had done this, we took our march.

I do not mind what regiment took the leading, but, however, they led us all wrong, for they brought us into a moss, which broke us all from one another; and although we were a very good army at night, we were so dispersed that there was not above 500 of us together on the morrow. All people being wonderfully discouraged, took the opportunity to leave us in the night; but those that came together on the morrow came to Kirkpatrick. For, indeed, we lost many brave men by reason of the darkness of the night, who would have been loth to have left us; especially one Rumbold, an Englishman, who came from Holland with us.

We resolved then to cross Clyde. But behold there was a troop of horse lying on the other side of the water, which made our passage most difficult. However, Sir John Cochrane said, "Gentlemen, it is not time for us to delay, for whenever the enemy does miss us in the morning, they will pursue; therefore, let us force our passage over the water." There were two boats; Sir John entered the one with about ten or twelve men. Polwart got into the other with as many men. The troop sent down four or five of their men on foot to the side of an old boat that lay at the side of the river. Our men would have fired at them, but Sir John would not suffer them, because they had the old boat to be a defence to them; but desired them to forbear till they were nearer the side of the water. And then said, "I think our shot will now reach the body of their troop, so fire at them;" which was accordingly done. And one of their horses being shot dead, and some wounded, the five men that lay at the side of the old boat, firing at us, made haste to get to their horses, and so the whole troop fled; and we got ashore as fast as we could, and pursued them. They rode more than a mile before they stinted, and so drew up upon the top of a hill. So we sent the boats to and again, till we had brought over about 150 men. The Earl of Argyll, and the rest, refused to come over.

There was a gentleman, whose house stood upon the water-side, who had provided a brewing of good ale, and a batch of oat loaves, to serve the king's forces, as we were informed. The gentleman being with the forces himself, we went in and refreshed ourselves; and, indeed, we had great need, for some of us had eaten very little for three days, being still pursued by the enemy, and had slept none

all that time. I tied up three loaves in my napkin, thinking to keep myself from such a strait for some time as I had been in before; and I tied them to my belt, but, through sleepiness and weariness, I lost all.

After this, we resolved to mount ourselves with horses, (being all well armed,) and to ride straight toward England, where we doubted not but Monmouth was prospering. But that troop of horse, which we had put from the water-side, got other two troops of militia, and so came upon us, and disappointed us of our design. They coming within our view, we marched up to a stead that stood upon the top of a brae, where there was a very pretty thorn hedge enclosing a garden, into which we entered, and resolved there to stand for our defence. When we had waited a considerable time, and saw no appearance of their approach, Sir John says, "These cowardly rogues dare not come and attack us in this strength. Come let us go out and fight them in the open fields." So he divided his 150 men into three companies: himself to command one; and Polwart, another; and Major Henderson, the third. So we marched directly towards them, who were drawn up in a plain, a little below the house; who, at the very first appearance of us, fled, and went quite out of our sight. So we saw no more of them till it was afternoon; by which time they had got other two troops, the one commanded by my lord Ross, the other by Captain Cleland. These two, being trained forces, were more forward than the country gentlemen. They observed the way that we took, and so cast about an hill, and came just before us, and met us as we were coming up the hill. We were marching in two men rank, the small company that was then of us, for by this time we were decreased to three-score and ten, many dropping off as they had opportunity. When we were advanced a good way up the hill, they came suddenly upon us, and after firing, thought to have ridden us down; but Sir John cries, "Come up, my lads, and stand to it, and through God's grace I will bring you off." Though there was little appearance thereof, yet we took courage, knowing the worst of it. And after we had received their fire, we discharged upon them again very vigorously, and then betook us to our halberts, (for every man of us had a halbert, besides special firelocks,) so that we made them retire. There was no harm done on either side at the first fire; only Mr Thomas Archer, a young gentleman on our side, received a dangerous wound in

the back, by which he was disabled, and left lying on the ground.

Then my lord Ross sent one to treat with us, who told us, "We were pretty men: why would we throw away our lives? would we not take quarters?" To which Sir John said, "We disdain your quarters! for we are appearing here for the Protestant Religion, and ye are fighting for Popery, for which ye ought to be ashamed." So he returned with his answer. In the meantime, we got into an old stone-fold, which was a little defence to us. Sir John took the whole command upon him, and so divided us, and set one half on his right hand, and the other on his left, and gave orders to all to "charge and make ready," and ordered those on his right hand first to receive the enemy's fire, and after that not to fire till he gave them a sign by his napkin, and after the sign, to fire briskly, and then to take their halberds in their hands, in case the enemy should attempt to come over the little stone-dyke, and to defend themselves bravely; and ordered those on his left not to fire when those on his right fired, till once he gave them another sign, and then to fire close upon the enemy, and after fire, to take their halberds and defend themselves from being trodden down.

The enemy approached, and we received their fire, but fired none again till they came very near; and then Sir John gave the sign to those on his right hand, who gave a very close fire. The enemy, not knowing but our shot had been done, attempted to come over the dyke, and break in amongst us, but the lads on the right hand defended bravely. Then Sir John gave the sign to those on the left, who fired furiously upon the enemy, so that several of their saddles were emptied, and amongst the rest Captain Cleland was shot dead at the very dyke-side, so that they were forced to wheel again. One of our lads stept over the dyke and pulled Cleland's scarlet coat off him, and put it upon the top of his halbert, and waved it for against the enemy. They staid a considerable time before they made another assault; and we put ourselves in a posture of defence, and loaded our pieces, and made ourselves ready to receive them. We were ordered to behave ourselves as at the former onset. Sir John said, "They have now lost some blood; therefore they will make a vigorous assault; and, therefore, lads, take courage, and stand to it, for our cause is good." So at length they approached again, and we received them as formerly, and beat them from the dyke with the loss of more of their men. And

if my lord Ross had not had on harness, he would have gone the same way Cleland went; for the ball broke upon his harness, and hurt him on the neck. They were so affrighted that they durst not give us the fourth onset. The dyke did us good service, and defended us much from their shot, for we were below them. We had none killed in all this action, except one man, who was shot through the head, and two more wounded; besides Mr Archer, who was wounded at the first fire, before we came into the fold. After this, they went to an old stone-dyke, and the dragoons lighted from their horses, and stood behind the dyke, where they continued pluffing and shooting without any harm to us, except that Sir John had two shot which lighted upon his buff-coat, which smarted very much, but did not pierce his coat. After they were weary with shooting they gave over. Then Sir John said, "It becomes us to bless God for our wonderful preservation." He desired we would be all in a watchful posture; and, in the mean time, to go about the worship of God. And so he took a book and sang the forty-sixth Psalm throughout, and after that prayed pertinently. By this time our enemies had guard'd us round as a ring, but without reach of our shot. It was an exceeding cold day as ever I saw at that time of the year. I had thrown off my big coat when we first engaged; and being cold, I went to seek it, where I found Mr Archer groaning in his wounds. When I knew it was he, I was exceedingly troubled; he being an eminent Christian, and my intimate. He was almost dead, what for want of blood and for cold. He desired me to lift him to the bield of a dyke, and cast something over him, which I did; and got a cloakbag and put under his head, and laid a cloak about him. I told him I could do no more for him at present, and that we were all yet still in hazard of our lives; for we were surrounded by the enemy. When I returned, I told Sir John that Mr Archer was dying of his wounds, who ordered several to go alongst and carry him to a herd's house which was hard by, and give the people of the house money, desiring them to take care of him. They received him very kindly; from which place he was carried afterwards by the enemy to Edinburgh, where he was executed in the Grassmarket; whose speech and testimony are in record amongst the rest of the worthies who suffered for owning the truth.

After this, when it began to grow dark, Sir John said, "What think ye of these cowardly rogues! They dare not fight us,

for as small a number as we are, but have a mind to guard us in till to-morrow, that the body of the king's forces come and cut us off; therefore let us still behave ourselves like men; (for indeed there were very pretty men amongst us, that were expert both with sword and gun,) let us, therefore, charge our pieces well, and let us go off the field in a close body together, with as little noise as we can. If we escape them in the dark, it is well; if not, let us fight our way through them."

We buried our dead man, and so made ready for a march, and so went off the field in a close body, but saw none of our enemies, for they were more afraid of us than we were of them; for whenever it was dark, they had left their ground and fled into Kilmarnock, as if there had been an host pursuing them, as the country folk told us afterwards. So when we had marched very hard for about a mile, Sir John said, "I think we are safely by them now;" we apprehending them to be still keeping their ground. So we began to consider what to do next. And because many had left us the day before, Sir John took an oath of us, that we should not put one from another, without leave asked and given; and then asked, who amongst us knew the ground to be our guide. There were none amongst us that knew it except himself, it being his father's ground that we were then on; so he took the guiding of us himself. And so we marched exceeding hard all that night, that so we might be a good way off from the enemy; but when day began to appear, that we saw about us, behold we had gone the round, and were come back within two miles of the place where we engaged the enemy! Sir John said, "Woe is me! I have led you into a snare. I know not now what to do for it; for if we keep the field the whole body of the forces will be upon us: so come of us what will, we must lodge in some house."

There was a stead hard by, where two of his father's tenants lived. He caused us all sit down upon the ground, till he sent Major Henderson to acquaint the people that Sir John was there, and a company of men with him, and desired they might give us quarters; and to tell them, that, if they were quarrelled for it, we were a stronger party than they, and would take it by force; but they most willingly received us. And there was a wonderful providence in our being so near the place of engagement, for when they ranged all the country about, they came never near that place. The Major had travelled all that night with a bullet shot

in his left shoulder, and sticking like a plum within the skin, none knowing of it but himself, which was cut out when we came to the house. We knew not whether meat or sleep was most desirable, for that was the fourth night we had been without sleep, and with very little meat. There was one of our company dropt asleep on the ground where we had been sitting. When we came to the house we did not miss him, his halbert and his gun being with him. After we were all lodged in the house, he slept on, till some people, passing by, could not awaken him, but carried him sleeping to the first house they came to, and set down his halbert and gun in the house beside him, there being some lambs in the house for spean- ing. He slept there till it was well afternoon, and then he awakened, but knew not how he came there. He thought we were either all taken prisoners, or then killed. So he lay down to take the other nap, till there came a man to take out the lambs, who said, "Friend, you lie not well here, you would lie better amongst your neighbours!" He said, "Where are they?" So the man brought him to us. But he never knew who had carried him to the house, his sleep was so great. Then Polwart said, after we had got some meat, "I know ye have all need of sleep, but of necessity four of you must watch, two at each barn-door, in case we be surprised by the enemy, to give warning to the rest. And the honest men will watch without, and give you notice if they see any hazard." I offered myself for one, and other three did the like. And he desired that within two hours we would awaken him, and he would cause relieve us, which accordingly was done. We lay there all that day very safely, and saw regiments passing by within two miles, but none came near us. So at night we took our march again, having sent before to provide quarters for us. So we got a guide, who conducted us safe to the place where we tarried next day, and sent some friends to inquire if they could get any account of the Earl of Argyll, who would not come along with us over the Clyde. In the evening they brought us word that he was taken prisoner. Then Sir John called us all together, and told us, "That my lord was taken, and that we were now free from our oath, and every one of us might shift for himself the best way we could." So we had a lamentable parting. All this time, though we had been about five or six weeks in the kingdom, we had got no account of Monmouth.

We have not left ourselves room for

noticing Colonel Wallace's Narrative of the Rising suppressed at Pentland, or the Narrative of the Rising suppressed at Bognwell Bridge, by James Ure of Shavarton, who acted a prominent part on that occasion, but must content ourselves with referring to the volume itself, which doubtless will have many readers. We had several minute criticisms to make upon the notes of the Editor, which we must also postpone. Before concluding, however, we must protest against any inference being drawn from the foregoing observations, which would imply any unkindly feelings either to the Editor, or the party whose history he

has so ably and skilfully illustrated. The Biographer of Knox and Melville must ever hold a distinguished rank in the historical literature of this country; and with regard to the covenanters, though a vast deal more has been said about them than was either necessary or deserved, they were undoubtedly honest and intrepid men, who stood firm for the liberties of their country, when these were endangered, and who, in spite of all their cant, fanaticism, and intolerance, have the strongest claims to the respect and gratitude of every man who wishes well to the best interests of his species.

7.

SURENNE'S FRENCH GRAMMATOLOGY, &c. *.

THE study of the French language has now, for a considerable time, been regarded in this country as an indispensable part of good education for both sexes; and certainly this ought not to surprise us, when we consider the number and variety of the motives which render a knowledge of French not only desirable, but even necessary. First of all, there is the all-powerful constraint of fashion, which has established it as a necessary acquirement for high and low, for rich and poor; then we may remark what a rich and delightful field of literature is laid open to the scholar, by a knowledge of French; and, next, that it is now almost universally the language of diplomacy, and very generally the medium of foreign correspondence in commerce. And besides these considerations, we may add, that the close and frequent intercourse which is maintained by travelling between this country and the continent, holds out a most powerful inducement to acquire that language, which is understood, and spoken, in a greater or less degree, from Stockholm to Palermo.

It is therefore not to be wondered at, that French teachers and Grammars should abound among us in the present day, beyond all former precedent: we remember the time—and that but a few years since—when

three, or, at the most, four, French teachers sufficed for this metropolis; but now the case is widely different; they have increased to as many dozens.

Among these persons there are many able and intelligent men, and the competition for employment thus created, has given birth to a great variety of systems of teaching. There is indeed nothing of more importance in teaching a foreign language, in order to facilitate the tasks both of the teacher and of the scholar, than to follow a system, clear, simple, and comprehensive, which, while it familiarizes the memory with all the necessary, yet laboriously-acquired rudiments, relieves and informs the mind, by unfolding the genius of the language, and by remarking the differences between it and the learner's native tongue. There is scarcely one French Grammar now in use in the schools which communicates knowledge on these principles. Nothing can well be imagined more dry and uninteresting than they generally are. Scott's Grammar has been most in use here for many years, and with all its faults, it is decidedly superior to most of the more modern works of the kind which have appeared; but its arrangement is confused and immethodical, and it teaches, as French Grammar, several points

* French Grammar, or a Course of French. 3 Volumes. By Gabriel Surenne, Teacher of French, Edinburgh. Oliver & Boyd. 1824.

A Practical Grammar of French Rhetoric, by G. Surenne. Oliver & Boyd. 1825.

which more modern grammarians have demonstrated to be errors. Grave objections could also be stated against the Grammars of Hallard, Bellocour, Wanostrocht, &c., which are chiefly in use, besides Scott's, in this end of the island.

We have therefore long been of opinion, that a well-arranged French Grammar was quite a desideratum among books of education. But until we met with the works placed at the beginning of this article, we have seen nothing of the kind which was either original or useful.

The ingenious author of these works has for several years taught French very successfully in this city. He found that the necessity of employing many different, and differing books in his classes, occasioned much confusion in teaching. He says in his Preface*: "This confusion, as proved by experience, arises from a want of concord and analogy in the three different books a teacher is obliged to employ in his classes, namely, a Vocabulary to speak, a Collection of Extracts to read, and a Grammar to write. As it happens, unfortunately, that the three books are in general written by different authors, it follows, in the *first* place, that they can have no reference whatever to each other: in the *second* place, that the principles promulgated by one of these works are frequently disavowed by the two others, thus producing jarring theories, and an unconnected practice, the result of which must inevitably be disadvantageous both to the learner and the teacher."

To remedy these defects, with which all who are acquainted with teaching must be quite familiar, M. Surenne projected and executed the work which we have first cited. It is entitled *Grammatology*, or a Course of French, and consists of three volumes. *Grammatology*, the author candidly confesses, is a word of his own coining, and he states his reason for doing so to be, that as his course was to include not only the rules of Grammar and pronouncing, but likewise exercises in dialogues, reading, &c., the simple word *Grammar* was not comprehensive enough.

This apology we can scarcely receive as sufficient. We conceive that our own language is copious enough for all purposes, particularly for all literary or philological purposes, and therefore we cannot approve of our author's minting such a variety of new words as he has done in the several works before us, for, in addition to *Grammatology*, we have *Orthophony*, *cacography*, *cacology*, and a great many more equally strange and unheard-of appellatives; but as these uncouth words are not likely to creep into our common Vocabularies, and into common use, we shall pass them over, and confine our attention to the merits of our author's system.

After a deliberate review of the *Grammatology*, we feel no hesitation in stating our conviction, that M. Surenne has rendered an essential service to the cause of education, by simplifying the mode of communicating the Rudiments of the French tongue, and by rendering the acquisition of it both more easy and more interesting. We cannot hope to carry the attention of our readers along with us in a detailed and critical examination of these volumes, we shall therefore not attempt it, but content ourselves with a rapid glance at the several topics which they embrace, and their order, which will convey a pretty accurate idea of the ingenuity and research displayed by the author.

The First Volume is called *The Pronouncing Instructor*. M. Surenne considers that it is, first of all, important to impress a learner with correct ideas as to French Pronunciation; and in this volume he unfolds all the various rules which regulate it, giving such examples and illustrations as to make it a very simple acquisition. The *Pronouncing Instructor* is divided into two Parts. The first gives a full explanation of the pronunciation of all the different elements of the French language, as vowels, consonants, &c., together with simple and intelligible rules for reading and speaking. A vocabulary is subjoined, in which the words are written both naturally, and also according to the pronun-

ciation, which must greatly facilitate the acquisition of a proper pronunciation; indeed, without such a help we cannot conceive how a correct pronunciation of French can be acquired by foreigners. In this Vocabulary the words are written thus—

Forefathers, aïeux—pronounced a-ïeu.

A man, un homme—u-no'-mm.

The wife, la femme—la fa'-mm.

In this way the pronunciation is made very easy and familiar. The Second Part of this volume contains a great number of dialogues, to familiarize the scholar with the phrases in common use, for the ordinary purposes of life; a list of idiomatical phrases, which sets the different genius of our own language and the French in various very interesting and instructive lights; and it closes with a great variety of the best styles of epistolary composition, which we regard as a very valuable addition, because it shows, not only the idiomatic phrases of letter-writing, but likewise the form and manner in use among our polished neighbours.

The Second Volume of the course is entitled *The Reading Instructor*, and is composed of exercises in reading, selected from the best authors, with much taste and judgment. It is interspersed with many useful rules, as to the manner of reading with grace and effect. There is one peculiarity very observable in this collection, which is, that the pieces are short, and they are so arranged, that the scholar begins with these that are quite easy and simple, and is carried on by degrees to the most difficult and refined writers. We have examined the extracts, and find they comprise some of the finest passages in French literature, and all selected with the most scrupulous attention to morality and religion. We should have thought that this volume would more properly have formed the *last* of the course than the *second*.

The Third Volume is called the *Grammatical Instructor*, and is also divided into two Parts: the *first* of which is devoted to explain the etymology and use of the various parts of speech, and the *second*, to lay down the rules of syntax. Both Parts are filled with exercises, in order to

familiarize the scholar with the doctrines delivered. There are many original and curious views given by the author, but we have room to notice only one, as to the number of regular conjugations in French. M. Surenne admits of only one regular conjugation of the verbs, viz., verbs ending in *er*, in the infinitive, as *aimer*, *parler*, &c. All verbs ending in *ir*, *oir*, and *re*, he regards as *irregular*. It is very curious to observe the great difference of opinion which has prevailed among French grammarians on this point. A list is given of *thirty-four* different grammarians, all of whom have delivered their opinions as to the number of regular conjugations. Some, even of great eminence, as Dunavier and Hamel, admit as many as twelve; others of eleven, and ten, and eight, and six. A considerable number state them to be four, and others two. Those who fix them at two, confine the regular conjugation to verbs ending in *er* and in *ir*, such as *parler* and *fuir*. But M. Surenne states reasons to prove, that verbs in *re* are irregular, either in their primitives or derivations, and therefore they cannot be considered as regular.

With the assistance of such guides as we have now described, it must be the fault of teachers and scholars themselves if they do not, in a short time, either impart or acquire the knowledge of the French. To teachers in particular, who are not natives, these volumes are very valuable, from the system of pronunciation adopted, which places it on a clear and intelligible footing.

The work we have cited *second* is of a higher and more ambitious character than that we have now noticed. It is entitled, a *Practical Grammar of French Rhetoric*. We shall allow Mr Surenne himself to state the purpose of his book. In the Introduction, he says,

Rhetoricians have divided the theory of Rhetoric into four heads,—namely, *Invention*, *Disposition*, *Elocution*, and *Delivery*, or *Pronunciation*. The object of the *first* is to find out the means of conviction or persuasion. Of the *second*, to arrange the matter in proper order, so as to produce the best effect; of the *third*, to clothe it with elegant expressions, and proper and apposite figures; and the ob-

ject of delivery or pronunciation is to accompany the expression with a suitable tone, proper gestures, and a correct representation of the passions.

It is not our intention, in the following pages, to present the public with a Rhetorical Grammar, framed according to the above four divisions of Rhetoric; and it not being our object to teach eloquence, the two first divisions, namely, Invention and Disposition, will be omitted. Thus the present Grammar will treat merely of the other two divisions of Rhetoric, viz., Elocution, and Pronunciation or Delivery. Under these two heads are understood, in general,—1st, Every thing connected with composition; as grammatical constructions, figures of speech, species of styles, &c. And, 2d, Whatever relates to pronunciation; as the theory of sounds, accent, emphasis, inflexion, and gestures.

In this volume, accordingly, we have very fully and distinctly detailed the laws of French Pronunciation, Prosody, Accentuation, Punctuation, Versification, and Composition, together with the rules for reading and speaking well. The illustrations and examples are often very amusing. We shall just cite one instance, that our readers may judge for themselves. We take it at random.

In speaking of defects of style, our author says,

The preciseness and perspicuity of words are among essential requisites of composition,—those which ought to rivet the attention of all speakers and writers: for, as Quintillian says, “Those words which express correctly our thoughts, and which produce in the mind of the hearer the effect intended, are the best.” No defects of language, as barbarisms, sole-

cisms, improper expressions, &c., are tolerated. “But the French nation,” says Gerard, “is more severe than any other. He who speaks incorrectly, appears to us ridiculous; we are shocked at the defective manner of rendering good ideas; and such is our delicacy in language, that vicious thoughts appear less objectionable than vicious language.”

This last sentiment we are disposed to consider as rather characteristic of French morality. Then follows an enumeration of the chief defects of style.

Under the head of *Bombastic style*, we have the following amusing account and illustration of Gasconade:

There is a province of France called Gascony, which seems to be the cradle of bombast, and the natives, although the most enlightened individuals in France, cannot utter a phrase without clothing it in a bombastic style: hence the origin of *Gasconade*. To satisfy our readers as to its nature, an example shall be given.

“Un Gascon et un Parisien avaient pris querelle ensemble; quelqu'un les accomoda sur le chaut. Vous êtes bien-heureux dit le Gascon au Parisien, de m'avoir surpris pacifique: si vous m'eussiez fâché d'un cran de plus, je vous eusse jette si haut en l'air que les mouches auraient eu le temps de vous manger avant que vous fussiez revenu à terre *.”—*Rhetoric*, p. 268.

We have merely to add, that both works are written in plain and perspicuous English. A Gallicism, indeed, occasionally occurs, to betray that the author is a Frenchman, but that does not at all injure the sense or meaning of his sentences.

LETTERS OF A SOUTH-AMERICAN SEAMAN.

(Continued from page 178.)

Letter VII.

Bahia, Oct. 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

As there is nothing of any importance, in a political point of view, stirring here, the city being in quiet possession of the Portuguese, and apparently less infected with the spirit of independence than Pernambuco, for want of better to commu-

nicate, I shall give you some description of the place. The city is built on a hill, and seen from the sea, whence I had the first view of it, nothing can be more beautiful than the convents and churches, with their tall white spires rising above the green fruit-trees, by which they are encircled, and reflecting the rays of the rising sun. The buildings on the side of the hill next the sea are

* La Harpe's Cours de Littérature, p. 228.

intermingled with a variety of trees, whose green foliage relieves the eye, and gives the city a fine fresh, healthy appearance. On a nearer approach to the town, however, I could not help remembering Byron's account of Lishon, in the first canto of *Childe Harold*:

"But whoso entereth within this town,
Which sheening far celestial seems to be,
Disconsolate will wander up and down
'Mid many things unsightly to strange eyes,
For hut and palace shew like filthily,
The dingy denizens are rear'd in dirt."

I cannot apply the conclusion of the stanza to the inhabitants, that they care not for "cleanness of surtout or shirt;" for, amid all the filth and abominable smells with which mine eyes and nostrils were annoyed on first landing on the custom-house stairs, I saw numbers of well-dressed people passing to and fro, with that quick step, and business-like air of bustle and activity, by which the citizens of a commercial town are distinguished. The numbers of seamen, and slaves, and clerks, and custom-house officers, employed in lading and unlading the merchant-ships, appeared to indicate that commerce was flourishing, and fortunes were making, and gold was to be gathered, even in this intolerable region of suffocation. The whole line of the lower street, lying close along the wharves, is occupied by the offices of the chief merchants, on account of its vicinity to the shipping; and what with the filthy sewers running down into it from the houses and streets of the hill above, the disagreeable effluvia exhaled from the bodies of the black slaves, and the hundreds of them still passing and repassing, amidst the collected filth of the sewers fermenting in the burning sun, the lower streets of Bahia, to the nostrils of a stranger, are more disagreeable than can be imagined. Yet there the merchants contrive to pass the day, poring over their ledgers, and calculating their profits. Those who have made fortunes generally have a house in the country, to which they retire when the labours of the day are over, to inhale the fresh breeze, breathing among the fruit-trees; but the poor clerks, who have not yet had the good fortune of getting into partnership, must live day and night in

lodgings beside the offices,—sleep there, for fear of any attempt being made by thieves or robbers to break the house that holds their master's golden treasure,—and many of them turn pale, and lose their health, from being obliged continually to breathe an atmosphere of corrupted air. From the lower street to the upper part of the town, towards the top of the hill, the ascent is very steep, so much so, that it is very dangerous to ride down the flinty pavements on horseback, and very difficult to climb up on foot. Although the hill be no great height, a person in the heat of the day cannot ascend to the top of it without great fatigue and breathlessness, even with the assistance of a staff, though he have no burden; yet up the steep ascent the poor slaves are constantly employed bearing their heavy burdens, till their skins are covered with dust and sweat, and their limbs shaking and trembling beneath the weight of their oppressive loads; and as if all this were not enough, when they commit a fault, or displease their masters, to make their punishment still severer, they are obliged to bear the same burdens, under the additional load of heavy chains, clanking around their necks and limbs. I have seen a dozen of them thus carrying burdens up hill, chained together in couples like dogs, but with chains as heavy as the harness of a horse when drawing the plough. Some were chained together by the wrists,—others wore single chains round the legs,—and in all, the links were so long and so heavy, that walking was not only impeded by their weight, but also by the continued infliction of pain, from the pressure of the angular pieces of iron around their naked limbs. Had they been composed of thin short links, they would have been more pliable, and comparatively easy to drag along; but all the chains I have seen, to the best of my recollection, are composed of long, massy, unwieldy links, such as you may have seen at home attached to that part of a horse-tether next to the collar, made heavy and strong, to prevent their being broken, when trampled on by his feet. When two or three slaves are fastened together, such are the chains they are obliged

to carry; and there is always a sufficient number of these long, ponderous links left between them, to make their burden so heavy that they can hardly drag it along. Nor are the chains the only iron load of affliction they are obliged to bear. There is another way of punishing them, by fastening *iron collars* round their necks, and making them wear them *night and day*, till their spirits are broken, and the iron literally "enters into their souls." This iron collar you would suppose to have been at first a long rod of malleable metal, bent round their necks by main force, till the two ends of it met behind, and were twisted up into long sharp prongs, the points bent so as always to pierce their necks and their heads, when they attempt to walk upright and at ease. You can scarcely walk over the city in any direction without meeting some of those miserable victims in iron bondage, carrying the same burdens in those fetters of captivity, which they were wont to bear when they had the free use of all their limbs.

There is very little pleasure in walking the streets here, on account of the steep ascents, the burning sun, and the rough and irregular pavements. Few people of any distinction are to be seen walking, either male or female. They move from place to place, and pay their visits in a covered conveyance, called a *cadeira*. The *cadeira* is borne on the shoulders of black slaves, by means of a long pole passing through its roof, at each end of which are one or two slaves, according to the rank or fortune of the possessor. The roof or canopy of this vehicle is made of board, as are also the bottom and the two ends; the sides are generally open, but hung with rich curtains, that may be closed or drawn aside at pleasure. There is sufficient room inside for a sofa, on which one, or sometimes two persons may sit or recline at their ease; and when one is seated inside, he feels as if he were reclining on a moveable couch. Nothing can be more pleasant for a person, when in a lazy, indolent humour, than to be borne away in one of them, from the noise and confusion of the city, to some of the country-houses in the neighbourhood

—to draw aside the silk curtains and enjoy the beauty of the hedges, and the fruit-trees bending beneath their clusters, while lolling on a sofa, till almost rocked asleep. They are to be found for hire at the end of almost every street, much the same as the hackney-coaches in London, and you may have two of the blacks to carry you through the rich scenery of the woods and gardens two or three hours for the value of an English crown.

You have no opportunity of seeing the ladies as they pass along, unless they choose to draw aside their curtains, and afford you a momentary glimpse of their dark eyes and unveiled bosoms, as they recline on their embroidered sofas. In this luxurious posture they generally contrive to display the symmetry of a fine ankle to great advantage,—a richly-embroidered silk stocking,—a neat little foot,—and a pretty shoe of red or yellow shamois leather. So far as I am able to judge from appearances, voluptuousness seems to be their prevailing character. There is abundance of softness in the expression of their countenances, but there is a want of vivacity, and fire, and playfulness, and animation. Their feelings spring up like hot-house plants beneath the genial influences of this glowing atmosphere; but their minds remain through their whole lives in a state of childishness and imbecility, fettered and cramped by Roman Catholic superstition. The books they read are selected by the priests; they are in a great measure strangers to what is going on in this world; but, to compensate for that small defect, they have a very intimate acquaintance with all the canonized saints, into whose society they are to be introduced in the next. Ladies of this description may do very well for the inmates of a nunnery, but they would be of very little use to any man of sense, in the arrangement and superintendence of a domestic establishment. And as for their companionship, I cannot fancy what they have got to talk about, after the honey-moon is over, except the counting of their beads, and repeating their paternosters. They do seem to be greatly at a loss how to kill time, for they may be seen at all hours of

the day lolling half-naked over their balconies, casting their listless gaze on the passengers on the streets; but it is a very rare thing to see them sitting at their windows, engaged either with a book or a needle. They enter the churches, however, with great apparent devotion; neither giggling, nor stirring, nor impertinent conversation, is indulged in there; indeed I do not remember of ever seeing the ladies speak to one another within a church. They have their faces generally muffled up, either in a veil, or some sort of black head-dress; they approach the altar and kneel down on the bare pavement, at a respectful distance. Their eyes, in the time of their devotion, are directed, either towards an image of the Crucifixion, or of the Virgin Mary. I have seen no such thing as joining in a general prayer, repeated by the priest, except, I think, on high holidays, when he repeats the formal petitions of the service in Latin, generally accompanied with music. On these occasions, they join in responses, but whether they understand what they are saying, I know not. But even though they do not understand the Latin prayers and hymns, being accustomed to them from their infancy, they have a sufficient number of sacred associations with the place, the pomp, and the ceremony, and the sweetness of the music, to produce a powerful, though undefinable effect on their feelings, which may very easily be mistaken, by those of warm imaginations, for the raptures of true devotion, and the enlightening influences of the Holy Spirit. The general tendency of the Roman Catholic religion, from what I have seen of it, is to address the feelings of the ignorant, and kindle their imaginations, till their powers of reason and reflection be consumed in the flame. There is something splendid and imposing in the interior of their churches. Their roofs and walls are covered with images of saints and martyrs, angels and arch-angels; the expanded wings of cherubim and seraphim descend from the Throne of Glory, and hover round the Babe, whose brow is encircled with a shining crown of celestial rays. Far in the distance, where wax-lights are twinkling like

stars, in that holy of holies around the altar, where none, save the priest in his beautiful vestments, is permitted to enter, suspended above the shrines of massy silver, and encircled by the brilliance of a hundred burning tapers, is seen the image of the Saviour on the cross. This image is in general as large as the life; and the blood is seen distinctly trickling down the neck from beneath the crown of thorns: the dark-red stream is also seen issuing from the side pierced by the spear, running down till the knee appears literally to be dyed with blood. The wrists and the ankles, through which the nails are driven, are likewise stained with the red drops bursting forth from the wounds; and the whole body appears to be writhing with pain under the agony of the most acute suffering. I have seen some of the images so natural, that it was impossible to look on them without being deeply affected with the representation. It is thus that the Roman Catholic churches are filled with every thing to awaken devotional feelings; the inside of one of them, to a person of any imagination, preaches a more pathetic sermon on a single glance, than the most eloquent divine could compose, on the sufferings of our Saviour. And where is the harm in all this, if the priests would allow the people the free use of their reason?

Letter VIII.

Bahia, Oct. 1821.

MY DEAR SIR,

In my last letter, I made some remarks on the tendency which the Roman Catholic religion has to make the imagination prevail over the judgment, and to prevent people from thinking freely for themselves. I had some hopes to have met in the book-shops with religious books of various opinions, in which I might have contemplated the spirit of the people, in this age of revolution, in their political and religious controversies. But it seems no books are allowed to be printed here, except either by the priests, or by those who are orthodox believers in the priests' doctrines; of course, it is not to be expected that any thing

like general knowledge will be diffused among the people under the existing Government. I am told that there is a prohibition against the importation of books from England or North America, and none are permitted to be landed till some of the church members have examined whether they be heretical or not. I can very readily believe this, for I have been over all the book-shops in the city, (indeed there are only two or three,) and I have not met with a single English book, though I have found abundance of French; I mean such French books as have been written by Roman Catholics. There does not seem to be much demand for books; in the shops, the shelves are covered with dust, and the volumes there placed seem to be very seldom examined. There are to be found in abundance, translations of French plays, and works of fancy, into the Portuguese language; but I have laid my hands on none tinged with the free principles of the French Revolution. Political discussion is either not relished or not permitted here, at least what political pamphlets are to be found are all on one side of the question. There is only one newspaper published, and it is under the control of the Government. I have heard, however, that there are a great many revolutionary principles afloat in secret; but people are afraid of expressing openly their opinions, and the probability is, that if a revolutionary leader were to spring up, he would have hundreds to flock round his standard. The people here are said to cherish a jealousy against the people of Rio-de-Janeiro, because the seat of Government has been transferred to Rio, which was formerly in this place. I fancy they would have no objections to a king, but then they wish to have a king of their own, and of their own election. The old Portuguese are not liked in general, not from any fault of theirs, but because they are partial to that country where they had their birth, and to that Government under whose administration they have made their fortunes. But then there are thousands of native Brazilians who have not made fortunes; they see the lucrative offices under

Government disposed of to strangers,—they see those strangers waxing rich, becoming imperious, monopolizing the wealth and honours of the country, and tyrannizing over the native inhabitants; all these things have been long experienced,—they begin to be keenly felt; the people, denied the assistance of books, begin to reason from the principles of common sense; and the deductions of all their reasoning is a growing hatred against the yoke of Portugal, under the oppression of which they have so long groaned, and an anxious wish for the opportunity of throwing it off, and establishing a Government of their own. A strong sensation has been excited among people of all classes, by the recent news of the revolutions in Chili and Peru, being kingdoms of the same continent, enslaved and tyrannized over, in similar circumstances, by a Government of distant Europe; a strong fellow-feeling of brotherhood exists between them and Brazil, and it is with heart-felt exultation, if not with public rejoicings, that the news of their glorious independence has been hailed. The natural inference deduced from their success is easily drawn. "Those nations are free—why should not *we* be so likewise?" This is an argument that every one understands, and the full force of it begins to be felt by all who are natives of the country. I am told that there have been secret meetings, and deep drinkings, and some very daring revolutionary toasts given lately in the city. This will soon require the interference of Government, and as soon as it is checked, the flame will spread wider, although it may burn in concealment.

I have been at the theatre. My knowledge of the language was not sufficient to understand all the play, but it is some old affair, of very little interest, transplanted from Portugal. The performance of the principal actors was deplorably bad. There was either no passion in the piece, or else they never caught the spirit of it, for all the speeches were pronounced in the same unvaried sing-song tone of school-boy recitation. Their gesture was disgusting, for it was full of affectation, so much so, that you could scarcely discern a

natural movement, except that which still attracted them towards the box in which the prompter sat. The prompter's box occupies the very front of the stage; his seat is sunk down below it, but his head is sufficiently high to require a small box of wood over it, like the upper part of a sentry-box, to conceal him from the audience in the pit. He is seen distinctly from any of the side-boxes, and his employment is not merely to listen, and help them out with a word in case of difficulty, but he begins and regularly reads the whole play, line after line, very deliberately, in a low voice, while the players catch the line just as the clerk and congregation catch the responses in the Church-of-England service. Their dependance on the prompter checks every thing like freedom of action. None of them can give himself up to the impulse of any strong passion, when he is ignorant of the words in which it is to flow forth; and nothing can be more disgusting than to see them capering and cutting a swell for half a minute on the back part of the stage, and still moving, as if some invisible agent had linked them to the front of it. Among the actresses I saw no pretty women, though there were two or three of them passable enough; there were also two or three of them remarkably ugly. They were old, and becoming so corpulent and unwieldy, that they were fitter for being carried about in a cadeira or sedan, than appearing in any scene where personal agility was required. Two or three young ones, however, went through some very difficult and somewhat indelicate dances, with great life and spirit, after the play was over. They wore muslin trowsers, and it was very fortunate, for their petticoats were of little use.

The audience, however, had all the appearance of being well pleased, even highly delighted with the performance, such as it was; I suppose because they never had an opportunity of witnessing any thing better. It was amusing enough to contemplate the countenances of the ladies when there was any thing tragic going on. They seemed to have no idea of coming to a theatre to be melted into tears by scenes of tragic

distress. There was one of the chief characters killed, stabbed, and left weltering in his blood, and his dead body carried across the stage before their eyes. All this appeared to be matter of excellent mirth and amusement to the ladies, for I saw many of them laughing heartily. What they saw to excite their mirth I could not discover; I suppose it must have been at the ridiculous appearance of their favourite actor in the character of a dead man, when they saw him act the part so imperfectly. The performance, wretched as it was, was a good criterion whereby to feel the pulse of public taste; and as far as either nature, or delicacy, or refinement goes, the people here are surely very far behind. There was nothing like optical deception in their scenery; you could not imagine for a moment that you saw the living features of a landscape relieved in the distance; the disagreeable reality of dirty daubing on coarse canvass still intruded itself, and convinced you that this was no Drury-Lane. In pantomime, where Harlequin and the white-bearded magician awake all the wonders of fairy land—the golden sands, the singing trees, and the angelic paradise of the Pteris, by a single stroke of their wand of enchantment—they contrive to make their gods descend, in the theatre here, upon a piece of painted board, let down by pulleys, which they call a *cloud*; but his godship looks so frightened, when descending on his cloud, that you are always in terror lest he tumble down and break his neck; and as soon as he has got his foot firm upon the earth, he does not give a stamp, and convulse the elements with earthquakes, and thunder, and lightning, but he works himself *edgeways* across the stage, till he contrive to place himself as near the prompter as possible, and then he tries to make a set speech as well as he can. I never saw grown-up people amused before with an exhibition so perfectly *childish* as their theatrical performance is; but they seem quite pleased, and that is enough. When any deed of murder is to be committed, they never think of doing it behind the scenes, lest the ladies should faint. I remember a scene

in which a ruffian drove a poniard into the breast of an interesting young lady on the very front of the stage ; one part of the audience applauded, and another part laughed, and I could not help thinking they all looked remarkably foolish ; none of them seemed in any degree shocked ; they appeared to have come there for the express purpose of laughing, and they found matter of amusement in every thing, whether good or bad. The farce was the only thing worth witnessing, the picturesque appearance of some of the chief characters, and the droll way they were dressed, were laughable of themselves.

From all that I can learn, there is as little intercourse between the Brazilians and the English here, as at Pernambuco. There are a number of rich English merchants in this place, several of them with families, but having had their education in England, the ladies do not feel much inclination to cultivate the society of Brazilian females. Indeed, considering their general ignorance, their loose morals, and their want of delicacy and taste, their society ceases to be very desirable. There are to be found exceptions among the respectable part of them ; but their manners, even when they mean no harm, are not considered perfectly accordant with English notions of propriety and decorum. The English have a very limited, but very select circle here among themselves ; and when any stranger from their native country, either male or female, settles among them, with a respectable introduction, his or her presence is considered a great acquisition to their little society. When an English man-of-war arrives here, there is no end of invitations to the officers to balls, and dinners, and parties of pleasure. Since our arrival, all has been gaiety, and mirth, and festivity among the English. The consul keeps open house for naval officers, and there is music and dancing once a-week. If you do not choose to dance, there are always two or three end tables, at which you may take your chance at whist, if you have a mind to form a party. If you do not choose cards, you may try backgammon ; if

you do not like that, there is a billiard-table standing ready for you ; and if none of all these suit your taste, there are abundance of books, new poems, pamphlets, new novels, and the latest Magazines and Newspapers from France and England. I never liked dancing in my life, and less than ever in this hot climate. I have no taste for gambling, and no money to lose, and I generally amuse myself among the books ; or when I pick up a new acquaintance of my own way of thinking, we have some fine strolls among the fruit-trees. What I like the English of this place for is, that they give their entertainments on a liberal and elegant scale ; there is nothing like either constraint or affectation ; there are a variety of amusements, and you may do as you like. If you feel warm with dancing or walking, there is always a table covered with cold fowls, and bread, and fruits, and excellent wines, at which you may regale yourself at pleasure ; and if you happen to have a pretty lady for a partner in the dance, or a companion in your walk, you enjoy the cooling repast doubly, by sharing it with her. Such is the way in which I am sauntering away my idle hours at present. I am afraid it will not be long.

Farewell for a little.

Letter IX.

Bahia, Nov. 1821.

MY DEAR SIR,

In a country where there are so many convents and nunneries, you will of course expect that I should pay them a visit, and give you some account of them. There are several in this neighbourhood, but there is nothing of any importance to be seen, unless you could gain admission into the *sanctum sanctorum*, where the nuns dwell ; but this is impossible. I should like of all things to see one of those stainless virgins in her retreat, for out of the nunneries, such a thing is said to be in this place as rare a bird on the earth as a black swan. I fancy it must be for the sake of preserving "a remnant" that the nunneries have been erected in these warm countries, and they are surely an excellent contrivance. They are like cities of refuge, where the frail sis-

terhood may preserve their virtue safe, in spite of all the assaults of temptation. The only convent I have paid a visit to in this place is "The Flower Convent." This is the general name it goes by. The nuns employ what part of their time they have to spare from spiritual exercises in making artificial flowers of feathers; and they have carried this art to such perfection, that their flowers are esteemed valuable curiosities, for the delicacy of their workmanship, and their close resemblance to nature, not only all round this coast, but in all the countries whither they are carried. The plumage of the South-American birds is remarkably beautiful, and their feathers are wrought into flowers and buds of every variety of colour and hue. The nuns of this convent are the only ones in this country who know the art of making them, and their workmanship is considered superior to any thing of the kind known, except in one of the Western Islands. It is common for strangers who visit Bahía to make a purchase of artificial flowers from the nuns, to present to their friends at home; and for the sake of the flowers and the nuns, a young friend of mine, a few days since, made a pilgrimage on foot to the Flower Convent. The day was remarkably hot, and we had about three miles to walk; but we amused and cooled ourselves by the way, with going into all the churches we could find open, when there was nobody at prayer, whom we were in danger of disturbing. The priests, or padres, as they are called, were remarkably civil, and indeed anxious to shew us all that was to be seen inside their Cathedrals. On nothing did they dwell with greater delight than the pictures and images of the saints, with which the walls were adorned. We had a very full and particular account of several extraordinary miracles their patron saints had performed; and here and there, around the walls, they pointed out to us small pieces of written paper, pasted on as I have seen advertisements on the country church-doors in Scotland. When we came to examine these advertisements, they generally contained an account of some miracle; the saint had healed some person very suddenly,—he had

made the blind to see, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear, or the lame to walk, and he had done all these things, *because* his worshipper, on some particular occasion, had prayed to him with great fervency, and given *his alms* with great liberality; and then the padres always took care to point out to us a *small box*, just under the advertisement, into which we might contribute *our alms*, if we were inclined to propitiate the favour of the saint. I was nothing astonished to find the interior of the churches hung round with prints and paintings from scripture-history, but I did not expect to find in the side galleries, and outer courts of a Cathedral, the walls decorated with a great variety of prints from heathen mythology. A number of this description I saw, however, chiefly French, some of them very indelicate,—naked Venuses, and Psyches, and Cupids, and a variety of female figures, as much exposed as you may have seen the figures in some of the old prints in a French edition of Ovid's Art of Love, or the Poems of Catullus. Then these were relieved at intervals by prints of Hannibal and Scipio, Hector and Andromache, and, to the best of my remembrance, Joseph and Potiphar's wife, and David and Solomon, and the Twelve Apostles. What a strange mixture of devotional assistants! What would John Knox have said had he seen all this? I had been struck before with the number of indelicate French prints in private houses, public offices, &c., but I never imagined they had found their way into places of Christian worship. As you pass along the streets, you may see exposed in the windows for sale, publicly, and without a blush, French snuff-boxes, with the most disgusting pictures on the lids; and it is one of the marks of a young man of fashion to have one of these boxes to present you with a snuff, when he means to recommend himself to your good graces as being something of a blood, and possessed of a fine spirit of taste and gallantry. Such society is one of the finest schools imaginable for an English boy, of perhaps fifteen or sixteen years of age, who comes out to settle as a clerk in some of the counting-houses of this place. Unless he

have friends or relations, who take him to live with them in the country, or possess a firmness of principle, and a strength of mind, that can find enjoyment independent of society, his morals are sure to be ruined. The clerks here, so long as they are clerks, are kept at a very respectful distance from their employers. Except when they get an occasional invitation to dine with them at their country houses, very little of their leisure time is spent in the society of their superiors. Of course they form a society among their own class, in which their hours of relaxation are spent; and feeling themselves perfectly free from the control of either friends or superiors, at an age when passion begins to exert its sway, generally with money enough in their pockets to reach the limits of every illicit gratification, unveiled females and rich wine tempting them on all hands, it is scarcely to be wondered at, that they soon give way to every immoral indulgence. The consequence is, that you find many of them with their principles poisoned, their mental faculties paralysed, and their health ruined, before they reach their twentieth year; and it is unfortunate that their immorality has but very little tendency to lessen them in the esteem of their masters; so long as they are able to do their duty through the day, they may do *at night* what they choose, provided they take care that the office is not broken open. But I forget,—I am writing you a moral lecture, instead of telling you about the nuns in the Flower Convent. We reached the convent about mid-day, and refreshed ourselves with some cool fruits which we found in the neighbourhood. We then went and enquired for the place where the flowers were sold: some black slaves shewed us into a kind of covered court, built, I think, for the accommodation of purchasers, close by one of the iron-grated windows. Here we found ourselves nicely sheltered from the sun; the breeze from the fruit-trees was very refreshing; and being on the top of a hill, we had a fine prospect of the sea, and the city, and the tents, and the shipping. We had not been long seated till some of the black girls belonging to the convent brought us

out, in baskets, some hundreds of artificial flowers, of all hues and patterns, and placed them beside us; that we might make a selection. Nothing in the world could be so difficult as to make a satisfactory selection, for they were all so beautiful; and by the time you had picked out those you fancied prettiest, the black girl had brought another basket, with some new variety, which eclipsed those you had chosen. The delicacy with which the down of feathers is converted into the silk-like leaves of flowers, is inconceivable to any one who has not seen them. Bunches, blossoms, buds, and sprigs, and tendrils, green, white, yellow, scarlet, dark, and of a deep purple, looked so natural, that if you had met them in the woods, flourishing by the foot-path, you would have stopped to pick them up, that you might inhale their fragrance, and taste their honey. Some were expanded like the leaves of a full-blown rose, but those I thought the most beautiful were the red buds just on the eve of bursting. They were to be found of all sizes, from a bud like a primrose or a daisy, to a garland that would encircle the whole head, or a flowery fringe that would surround the still larger circumference of a hoop-petticoat or the bottom of a silk gown. Some of these large blooming wreaths were very rich, and looked remarkably gay, but being extended beyond the size of nature, they did not seem to me so delicate and so pretty as the white flowers, that looked as if they had been pulled separately from the bush. The nuns, evidently, with all their penances, had not mortified their vanity so far as not to take a great pride in the display of their flowery workmanship. As soon as they found that we were taking a deep interest in their beauty, several of the spiritual sisterhood collected round the grating, inside the window, and instead of sending their flowers out to us in the baskets, by the black girls, each of them produced some delicate specimen of *her own* making, and handed it, through the iron grating on a *shovel*, for our examination, as a mark of her particular favour. One of them, with fine dark eyes, looked very knowing, laughed a great deal, and

was remarkably merry, and said some very funny things in Portuguese, as she handed to me some specimens of her manufacture. She appeared to be in such exceedingly good humour, and had such an air of benevolence in her countenance, that I expected she was going to shew her charity by presenting me with one of the prettiest, she handed it through the grating with such an air of gallantry. When I hinted this to her, she shook her head, and exclaimed, "Nada, nada, Senor," and held up three or four of her fingers, as much as to say, she wanted so many dollars for that flower.

In passing the flowers out and in through the iron-grating, it was amusing enough to watch the nuns assembled at the window inside, and mark the difference of their demeanour towards us, when the old Abbess was present, and when she was absent. When she went away for a few minutes, which she did once or twice, they were quite talkative, and very glad to sit at the window and talk to us, and some of them said very queer things; but as soon as the old lady returned, they looked as grave and sedate as possible. It was evident, however, that gravity was not their natural element, for, in spite of the veil, some of their countenances indicated that they loved mirth and mischief in their hearts; and they were evidently not so far spiritualized as to have forgotten that a young man is a far pleasanter companion for a young lady than an old Abbess. The Abbess herself had never been a pretty woman, and I strongly suspect, that, in taking the veil, she had made a virtue of necessity, when she perceived that she was likely to die an unstained virgin, whether she would or not. It was a high treat

to see her receiving the money we gave her for the flowers. She would suffer none of the nuns but herself to come into such close contact with the figure of a man, as to receive silver out of his hand, even through the iron bars of the convent window; and so afraid was she of being contaminated by an unholy touch, that she would not venture to stretch forth her hand to receive it out of mine, but she stretched out the *wandar-shovel*, on which the flowers had been passed out and in, to receive our dollars. Some of the silver pieces required to be exchanged for smaller coins, and all this was carried on by means of the *wandar-shovel*. There was one of the nuns, apparently about forty years of age, over whom the Abbess either had no authority, or whom she considered beyond the reach of temptation, for she permitted her to sit at the window, and chat and laugh with us all the time. She bore no marks whatever of superior sanctity to the ladies we found without the walls; and I am sure if she was a true nun, she would have some additional penances to perform, and some extra beads to count that night, for the trifling worldly discourse in which she spent a great part of the day. I can give no account whatever of the arrangements *inside* the convent. The Abbess once opened the door, and I had very nearly got past her, but she contrived, with the assistance of her slaves, to shut it in my face. It was a powerful door, and the jarring of its ponderous hinges, when it closed, brought to my recollection Milton's account of closing the gates of Pandemonium.

To-morrow I intend to visit the slave-market. We sail for Rio de Janeiro next week.

I remain ever faithfully yours.

Stanzas.

Farewell to the Spring.

FAREWELL, thou childhood of the year,
Whose charms what muse can tell?
Thou season of the smile and tear,
In northern skies, farewell!

The Summer's breeze more softly blows,
Her beams more brightly shine;
The Summer has a fairer rose,
Sweet vernal hour, than thine;

But she with flatterers' artful wiles,
Who some vain god adore,
Still, courtlike, keeps her sunny smiles,
For what was bright before:

Nor can she, in her palmiest hour
A charm like thine display,
When thou hast chas'd the Winter's power,
With generous beams, away.

Then though the Summer round us bloom,
To thee our hopes we turn,
Whose smile came o'er earth's wintry
gloom,
Like joy to them that mourn.

Full oft thy dawn, in skies so blue,
I've join'd the lark to hail;
As often pour'd my sad adieu
On thy departing gale.

But though with everlasting ray
Earth's bloom thou wilt restore,
To me, the insect of a day,
Thou may'st return no more.

My lyre, when next thy breezes blow,
Eolian notes alone may swell,
Even this sad strain it murmurs now
May be a last farewell.

Then will I hope that round yon tomb,
When I am laid beneath,
The loveliest of thy flowers will bloom,
Thy softest sighs will breathe.

That when thy dews begem the green,
Like tear-drops they may shine,
Which seem to weep my closing scene,
As now I mourn for thine.

C. E. J.

PLAN OF THE EDINBURGH ACADEMY.

IN the beginning of last year we gave some account of the formation and purposes of this new Institution. We are glad to learn, that the most sanguine expectations of its founders have been surpassed; and, without wishing in the least to disparage the utility of the Old High School of Edinburgh, to which we heartily wish every success, we may state, that the New Academy, in its second year, has been opened with five hundred boys, a considerable number of whom, we are happy to find, come from the south side of the Tweed. No doubt now remains, that, in the fair field of competition which exists in Edinburgh, there is abundant room for both of our great classical seminaries. We have no intention at present to say one syllable of the comparative merits, or of the individual excellence of these two Institutions. Our sole purpose is to give publicity to a very abridged, although sufficiently explicit statement, which has been privately circulated by the Directors, of the plan of the Academy, embracing a notice of the objects to which the attention of the pupils is directed during a six years' course of study, and, what is of essential consequence to parents, an exact calculation of the whole amount of school fees.

The Edinburgh Academy is a Public Classical Day School for Boys, from eight to fifteen years of age.

It was founded by raising the necessary funds by Proprietary Shares; and the Proprietors were formed into a Body Corporate by a Royal Charter. The superintendence is vested in fifteen Direc-

tors, chosen by the Proprietors from among their own body.

The establishment consists of a Rector; four Classical Masters; a Master for the English Language and Literature; a Master for Arithmetic and Geometry, with two Assistants; and a Writing-Master, with two Assistants.

When a boy commences his Classical Studies at the Academy, he is entered at the First or Junior Class. He continues under the same Master for four years, during which time he belongs to the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Classes, in successive years; and then he enters the Rector's Class, in which he remains two years, which completes the course of instruction, consisting of English, Latin, Greek, Geography, Writing, Arithmetic, and Geometry, as far as time, and the degree of progress of the Class, will allow.

The state of advancement of each Class may be judged of by the following statement of the studies of last year:—

FIRST CLASS.—*Latin*, Ruddiman's Rudiments, and Valpy's Delectus.—*Geography*—Writing.

SECOND CLASS.—*Latin*, Adams' Grammar, Phœdrus, Cornelius Nepos.—*Greek*, Charter-House Rudiments.—*Geography*—Writing.

THIRD CLASS.—*Latin*, Mair's Introduction to Syntax, Cæsar's Commentaries, Ovidii Electa.—*Greek*, Charter-House Rudiments, Sandford's Exercises and Extracts.—*Geography*—Arithmetic—Writing.

FOURTH CLASS.—*Latin*, Æneid, and Composition in Prose, and in Hexameter and Pentameter Verse.—*Greek*, Charter-House Rudiments, Sandford's Exercises and Extracts.—*Geography*—Arithmetic—Writing.

RECTOR'S CLASS.—*Latin*, Sixth and

Ninth Books of the *Æneid*; Four Books of the Odes of Horace; Twenty-first Book of Livy; *Prose Composition*, Composition in Elegiac and Sapphic Measure, and Recitations from Virgil, Horace, and Livy.—*Greek*, Moor's Greek Grammar; Dalzell's *Analecta Minora*; First Book of Xenophon's *Anabasis*; Sandford's Greek Exercises; Adams' Roman Antiquities.—*Geography*, Writing—Arithmetic—and First Book of Euclid.

In all the Classes, a portion of the time is allotted to English Grammar, Reading, and Recitation, and to exercises in *Prose Composition*.

All the Classes in the Academy are under the superintendence and controul of the Rector, the Rev. John Williams, late of Balliol College, Oxford, and Vicar of Lampeter.

The expense of the Academy to each pupil is as follows:—

Every pupil pays annually, in the month of October, an Academy Fee, which is two guineas for the First Class, and three guineas for each subsequent year.

The Fees for instruction are payable at two periods, viz. October and March, in equal sums; and these, together with the Academy Fee, make the whole amount payable annually by each pupil, in the respective Classes, as follows:—

First Class,	£.7	2	0
Second —	8	13	0
Third —	10	17	0
Fourth —	11	9	0
Rector's 1st Year,	10	17	0
———— 2d ditto,	10	9	0
Average expense of the Six Years			
£.9.17.10d.			

There are no other payments for any purpose whatsoever, nor are any presents or gratuities by the pupils permitted.

There are Class Libraries in the Rector's and Fourth Classes, from which the Books are lent out weekly to the pupils, at the discretion of each Master, as a reward for good conduct. Similar Libraries are intended to be provided for the other Classes.

The number of pupils in each Class is limited—in the four Junior Classes to 110 each, and in the Rector's to 160; unless

when, by the union of two Classes, the Rector's exceeds that number; and in that case, no boy coming to the Academy, for the first time, can be allowed to enter at the Rector's Class.

The children and grandchildren of Proprietors have a preference, provided their names are given in to the Secretary three months before the annual opening of the School, after the holidays, on the 1st of October. In all other cases, all that is necessary is to enter the boy's name in the Secretary's book, and he is admitted in the order of application.

The Vacation lasts the whole of the months of August and September; there is also a Vacation of a week at Christmas; but there are no other holidays throughout the year, except occasionally for a single day. The School does not meet for four days in the months of November and May, at the time appointed by the Church of Scotland for the administration of the Sacrament.

There are not at present any boarding-houses attached to the Academy.

Edinburgh, August 1825

Names of the Present Directors of the Edinburgh Academy.

Sir JOHN HAY of Hayston and Smithfield, Bart.

JOHN RUSSEL, Esq. Clerk to the Signet.

ROBERT DUNDAS of Armistoun, Esq.

COLIN MACKENZIE of Portmore, Esq., one of the Principal Clerks of Session.

HENRY COCKBURN, Esq. Advocate.

ALEXANDER WOOD, Esq. Advocate.

Sir ROBERT DUNDAS of Beechwood, Bart.

LEONARD HORNER, Esq. Merchant.

ALEXANDER IRVING, Esq. Advocate.

RICHARD MACKENZIE, Esq. Clerk to the Signet.

Sir WALTER SCOTT of Abbotsford Bart.

ROGER AYTOUN, Esq. Writer to the Signet.

LOUIS H. FERRIER, Esq. Commissioner of Customs.

JAMES MONCRIEFF, Esq. Advocate.

GEORGE WAUCHOPE, Esq. Merchant.

JOHN RUSSEL, C. S. 26 Royal Circus, *Secretary*.

THOMAS KINNEAR, Esq. Banker, Royal Exchange, *Treasurer*.

MOORE'S LIFE OF SHERIDAN *.

THIS is by far the most interesting biographical work which has appeared for many years. When the life of an illustrious poet and statesman is written by a distinguished poet and patriot, it cannot fail highly to excite the public attention. The brilliant, though at last unhappy career of the gifted Sheridan, is depicted in this volume with the pen of truth: his virtues are not obscured, nor are his vices palliated by the false colourings of a partial pencil. We have been fascinated with the tales of the youthful days of Sheridan; we have felt our minds invigorated, and we think improved, by the accounts presented to us of his manly and independent conduct during almost the whole of his public life, and our hearts have been melted when we perused the passages devoted to the sad close of a life so radiant with general excellence, and so sullied with one or two particular failings,—failings which even the pen of rigid morality can scarcely, in such a character, designate as vices.

The eagerness with which every newspaper and periodical publication in the kingdom have seized on this volume, and appropriated its pages to their own uses, is a sufficient sign of the value of the work in the general estimation; and we have no doubt, that when men of taste and information peruse its contents at leisure, their judgment will be in unison with that of the mass of the public. Indeed the name of Moore is now a sufficient guarantee, that whatever literary production goes forth under its sanction, will be distinguished by regard to truth, to sound taste, and to good feeling. We know not whether more to admire the judgment with which the dramatic productions of Sheridan are criticised, or the intellectual power with which our author discusses subjects to which the energies of Sheridan's great mind were directed in his capacity of a British legislator, or the kindness and purity of heart which mark the delineations of domestic life, when

these can be touched with a favourable hand, in the case of the subject of these memoirs.

The work is brought before the public in the shape of a massy and expensive quarto volume, with fine paper and elegant typography. It seems destined, in its present form, only for the aristocracy of the land. It will soon, we doubt not, appear in a cheaper and more tangible form. In the meantime, as our flying leaves will soon, as we trust, reach many hands which will not have an early opportunity of perusing this work, we shall in the sequel, do little else than present our readers with extracts from what have appeared to us, on perusal, to be the most interesting parts of the volume before us. Indeed, as the work might be named a criticism on the writings and character of Sheridan, as well as memoirs of his life, we should, by extending our observations, be merely criticising a criticism—a thing not absolutely anomalous, or without example, but which, to save our own labour, and, in a more especial manner, the patience of our readers, we wish, on the present occasion, to avoid. Our extracts shall be copious, that our readers themselves may be in so far qualified to judge of the merits of the book; and if these extracts can communicate even a small portion of the pleasure we have received from the work itself, we need scarcely fear that closely-printed pages will cause a relaxation of our readers' attention.

The subject of these memoirs was a native of Dublin, where he was born in the month of September 1751. In the year 1762 he was sent to Harrow by his father, who had by this time removed to England. Mr Sheridan gave no promise, in early life, of the eminence which he was afterwards to attain in public estimation. The following letter, written by the celebrated Dr Parr, a few years ago, to Mr Moore, will shew the opinion which the Doctor, who was one of the masters at Harrow School while Sheridan was there, ex-

* *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan.* By Thomas Moore. London. Longman & Co. 1825.

tertained of his exertions and abilities school.

Milton, August 3, 1818.

"DEAR SIR,

"With the aid of a scribe, I sit down to fulfil my promise about Mr Sheridan. There was little in his boyhood worth communication. He was inferior to many of his school-fellows in the ordinary business of a school, and I do not remember any one instance in which he distinguished himself by Latin or English composition, in prose or verse. Nathaniel Halhed, one of his school-fellows, wrote well in Latin and Greek. Richard Archdall, another school-fellow, excelled in English verse. Richard Sheridan aspired to no rivalry with either of them. He was at the uppermost part of the fifth form, but he never reached the sixth, and, if I mistake not, he had no opportunity of attending the most difficult, and the most honourable of school-business, when the Greek plays were taught—and it was the custom at Harrow to teach these at least every year. He went through his lessons in Horace, and Virgil, and Homer, well enough for a time. But, in the absence of the upper master, Doctor Sumner, it once fell in my way to instruct the two upper forms, and upon calling up Dick Sheridan, I found him, not only slovenly in construing, but unusually defective in his Greek grammar. Knowing him to be a clever fellow, I did not fail to probe and to tease him. I stated his case with great good humour to the upper master, who was one of the best-tempered men in the world; and it was agreed between us, that Richard should be called oftener, and worked more severely. The varlet was not suffered to stand up in his place, but was summoned to take his station near the master's table, where the voice of no prompter could reach him; and in this defenceless condition he was so harassed, that he at last gathered up some grammatical rules, and prepared himself for his lessons. While this tormenting process was inflicted upon him, I now and then upbraided him. But you will take notice, that he did not incur any corporal punishment for his idleness: his industry was just sufficient to protect him from disgrace. All the while Sumner and I saw in him vestiges of a superior intellect. His eye, his countenance, his general manner, were striking. His answers to any common question were prompt and acute. We knew the esteem, and even admiration, which, somehow or other, all his school-fellows felt for him. He was mischievous enough, but his pranks were accompanied by a sort of vivacity and cheer-

fulness, which delighted Sumner and myself. I had much talk with him about his apple-loft, for the supply of which all the gardens in the neighbourhood were taxed, and some of the lower boys were employed to furnish it. I threatened, but without asperity, to trace the depredators, through his associates, up to their leader. He with perfect good-humour set me at defiance, and I never could bring the charge home to him. All boys and all masters were pleased with him. I often praised him as a lad of great talents,—often exhorted him to use them well; but my exhortations were fruitless. I tale for granted that his taste was silently improved, and that he knew well the little which he did know. He was removed from school too, soon by his father, who was the intimate friend of Sumner, and whom I often met at his house. Sumner had a fine voice, fine ear, fine taste, and, therefore, pronunciation was frequently the favourite subject between him and Tom Sheridan. I was present at many of their discussions and disputes, and sometimes took a very active part in them,—but Richard was not present. The father, you know, was a wrong-headed, whimsical man, and, perhaps, his scanty circumstances were one of the reasons which prevented him from sending Richard to the University. He must have been aware, as Sumner and I were, that Richard's mind was not cast in any ordinary mould. I ought to have told you, that Richard, when a boy, was a great reader of English poetry; but his exercises afforded no proof of his proficiency. In truth, he, as a boy, was quite careless about literary fame. I should suppose that his father, without any regular system, polished his taste, and supplied his memory with anecdotes about our best writers in our Augustine age. The grandfather, you know, lived familiarly with Swift. I have heard of him as an excellent scholar. His boys in Ireland once performed a Greek play, and when Sir William Jones and I were talking over this event, I determined to make the experiment in England. I selected some of my best boys, and they performed the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, and the *Trachinians* of Sophocles. I wrote some Greek *lappies* to vindicate myself from the imputation of singularity, and grieved I am that I did not keep a copy of them. Milton, you may remember, recommends what I attempted.

I saw much of Sheridan's father after the death of Sumner, and after my own removal from Harrow to Stanmer. I respected him,—he really liked me, and did me some important services,—but I never

met him and Richard together. I often enquired about Richard, and, from the father's answers, found they were not upon good terms,—but neither he nor I ever spoke of his son's talents but in terms of the highest praise."

Sheridan's early attempts in literature seem not to have been very successful, or persevered in with that assiduity which afterwards marked his dramatic and oratorical productions. Besides, about his twentieth year, he found himself involved in the trammels of love. Let us see the progress of his passion for the beautiful and accomplished Miss Linley, who was afterwards the affectionate and prudent Mrs Sheridan.

It was about the middle of the year 1770 that the Sheridans took up their residence in King's Mead Street, Bath, where an acquaintance commenced between them and Mr Linley's family, which the kindred tastes of the young people soon ripened into intimacy. It was not to be expected,—though parents, in general, are as blind to the first approach of these dangers, as they are rigid and unreasonable after they have happened,—that such youthful poets and musicians should come together, without Love very soon making one of the party. Accordingly, the two brothers became deeply enamoured of Miss Linley. Her heart, however, was not so wholly unpreoccupied, as to yield at once to the passion which her destiny had in store for her.

But in love, as in every thing else, the power of a mind like Sheridan's must have made itself felt through all obstacles and difficulties. He was not long in winning the entire affections of the young "Syren,"—though the number and wealth of his rivals, the ambitious views of her father, and the temptations to which she herself was hourly exposed, kept his jealousies and fears perpetually on the watch. He is supposed, indeed, to have been indebted to self-observation, for that portrait of a wayward and morbidly sensitive lover, which he has drawn so strikingly in the character of Falkland.

With a mind in this state of feverish wakefulness, it is remarkable that he should so long have succeeded in concealing his attachment from the eyes of those most interested in discovering it. Even his brother Charles was for some time wholly unaware of their rivalry,—and went on securely indulging in a passion, which it was hardly possible, with such opportunities of intercourse, to resist,

and which survived long after Miss Linley's selection of another had extinguished every hope in his heart, but that of seeing her happy. Halhed, too, who at that period corresponded constantly with Sheridan, and confided to him the love with which he also had been inspired by this enchantress, was for a length of time left in the same darkness upon the subject, and without the slightest suspicion that the epidemic had reached his friend,—whose only mode of evading the many tender enquiries and messages, with which Halhed's letters abounded, was by referring to answers, which had, by some strange fatality, miscarried, and which, we may conclude without much uncharitableness, had never been written.

Miss Linley went frequently to Oxford, to perform at the oratorios and concerts; and it may easily be imagined that the ancient allegory of the Muses throwing chains over Cupid was here reversed, and the quiet shades of learning not a little disturbed by the splendour of these "angel visits." The letters of Halhed give a lively idea, not only of his own intoxication, but of the sort of contagious delirium, like that at Abdera described by Lucian, with which the young men of Oxford were affected by this beautiful girl. In describing her singing, he quotes part of a Latin letter, which he himself had written to a friend upon first hearing her; and it is a curious proof of the readiness of Sheridan, notwithstanding his own fertility, to avail himself of the thoughts of others, that we find in this extract, word for word, the same extravagant comparison of the effects of music to the process of Egyptian embalment, "extracting the brain through the ears," which was afterwards transplanted into the dialogue of the Duenna:—"*Mortuum quendam ante Ægypti medici quam pollicerent cerebella de auribus nunc quodam hamo solebant extrahere; sic de meis auribus non cerebrum, sed cor ipsum exhaust lusciniola, &c. &c.*" He mentions, as the rivals most dreaded by her admirers, Norris the singer, whose musical talents, it was thought, recommended him to her, and Mr Watts, a gentleman-commoner of very large fortune.

While all hearts and tongues were thus occupied about Miss Linley, it is not wonderful that rumours of matrimony and elopement should, from time to time, circulate among her apprehensive admirers; or that the usual ill-compliment should be paid to her sex of supposing that wealth must be the winner of the prize. It was at one moment currently reported at Oxford that she had gone off to Scotland with a young man of £8000

a-year, and the panic which the intelligence spread is described in one of these letters to Sheridan (who no doubt shared in it) as producing "long faces" every where. Not only, indeed, among their numerous lovers, but among all who delighted in her public performances, an alarm would naturally be felt at the prospect of her becoming private property :—

*"Te juga Taygeti, posito te Manala fle-
bunt*

*Venatu, marstoque diu lugere Cyntho.
Delphica quinetiam fratris delubra tace-
bunt."*

Thce, thee, when hurried from our eyes
away,

Laconia's hills shall mourn for many a
day—

The Arcadian hunter shall forget his
chace,

And turn aside, to think upon that face ;
While many an hour Apollo's songless
shrine

Shall wait in silence for a voice like
thine !

But, to the honour of her sex, which is, in general, more disinterested than the other, it was found that neither rank nor wealth had influenced her heart in its election ; and Halhed, who, like others, had estimated the strength of his rivals by their rent-rolls, discovered at last that his unpretending friend, Sheridan, (whose advances in courtship and in knowledge seem to have been equally noiseless and triumphant,) was the chosen favourite of her, at whose feet so many fortunes lay. Like that Saint, Cecilia, by whose name she was always called, she had long welcomed to her soul a secret visitant, whose gifts were of a higher and more radiant kind than the mere wealthy and lordly of this world can proffer. A letter, written by Halhed on the prospect of his departure for India, alludes so delicately to this discovery, and describes the state of his own heart so mournfully, that I must again, in parting with him and his correspondence, express the strong regret that I feel, at not being able to indulge the reader with a perusal of these letters. Not only as a record of the first short flights of Sheridan's genius, but as a picture, from the life, of the various feelings of youth, its desires and fears, its feverish hopes and fanciful melancholy, they could not have failed to be read with the deepest interest.

A Captain Mathews, a rich Welshman, it appears, thought he had some claims on Miss Linley. He literally persecuted her with his unprincipled

attentions. She had recourse to Sheridan, and in his company retired secretly to France, where they were privately married. On their return, Sheridan found that his character had been assailed in every disgraceful way by Mathews. A duel, marked by many brutal circumstances on the part of his antagonist, ensued, in which both parties were wounded. After Sheridan's recovery, he was married to Miss Linley, according to the forms of the Church of England, with the consent of the parents on both sides.

The admired play of *The Rivals* soon after engrossed his attention, and we are glad to lay before our readers the following criticism this production by Sheridan's biographer.

With much less wit, it exhibits, perhaps, more humour than *The School for Scandal*, and the dialogue, though by no means so pointed or sparkling, is in this respect more natural, as coming nearer the current coin of ordinary conversation ; whereas, the circulating medium of *The School for Scandal* is diamonds. The characters of *The Rivals*, on the contrary, are not such as occur very commonly in the world ; and, instead of producing striking effects with natural and obvious materials, which is the great art and difficulty of a painter of human life, he has here overcharged most of his persons with whims and absurdities, for which the circumstances they are engaged in afford but a very disproportionate vent. Accordingly, for our insight into their characters, we are indebted rather to their confessions than their actions. Lydia Languish, in proclaiming the extravagance of her own romantic notions, prepares us for events much more ludicrous and eccentric, than those in which the plot allows her to be concerned ; and the young lady herself is scarcely more disappointed than we are, at the tameness with which her amour concludes. Among the various ingredients supposed to be mixed up in the composition of Sir Lucius O'Trigger, his love of fighting is the only one whose flavour is very strongly brought out ; and the wayward, captious jealousy of Falkland, though so highly coloured in his own representation of it, is productive of no incident answerable to such an announcement :—the imposture which he practises upon Julia being perhaps weakened in its effect, by our recollection of the same device in the *Nut-brown Maid* and *Peregrine Pickle*.

The character of Sir Anthony Absolute is, perhaps, the best sustained, and most natural of any, and the scenes between him and Captain Absolute are richly, genuinely dramatic. His surprise at the apathy with which his son receives the glowing picture which he draws of the charms of his destined bride, and the effect of the question, "And which is to be mine, Sir,—the niece or the aunt?" are in the truest style of humour. Mrs Malaprop's mistakes, in what she herself calls "orthodoxy," have often been objected to as improbable from a woman in her rank of life; but though some of them, it must be owned, are extravagant and farcical, they are almost all amusing,—and the luckiness of her simile, "as headstrong as an *allegory* on the banks of the Nile," will be acknowledged as long as there are writers to be run away with, by the wilfulness of this truly "headstrong" species of composition.

In the year 1776, we find that he had completed a contract with Garrick for the purchase, along with certain other persons, of part of Drury Lane Theatre. The proportion to be paid by Sheridan was £10,000, with which sum he had provided himself before the contract was completed. By what means he acquired such a sum has never been ascertained. The following observations of his biographer, on his peculiar talent of turning things according to his wishes, are deserving of insertion.

There was, indeed, something mysterious and miraculous about all his acquisitions, whether in love, in learning, in wit, or in wealth. How or when his stock of knowledge was laid in, nobody knew—it was as much a matter of marvel to those who never saw him read, as the existence of the chameleon has been to those who fancied it never ate. His advances in the heart of his mistress were, as we have seen, equally trackless and inaudible, and his triumph was the first that even rivals knew, of his love. In like manner, the productions of his wit took the world by surprise,—being perfected in secret, till ready for display, and then seeming to break from under the cloud of his indolence in full maturity of splendour. His financial resources had no less an air of magic about them; and the mode by which he conjured up, at this time, the money for his first purchase into the theatre, remains, as far as I can learn, still a mystery.

In the year after he had acquired the property in Drury-Lane Theatre, he produced the comedy of *The School for Scandal*, the 'most popular modern comedy in the language. He crowned his literary reputation with this play at the age of six-and-twenty. Mr Moore says, this play was the "slow result of many and doubtful experiments, gradually unfolding beauties, unforeseen even by him who produced them, and arriving at length, step by step, at perfection. 'Genius,' says Buffon, 'is Patience;' or, (as another French writer has explained his thought,) *La Patience, cherche et le Génie trouve*;" and there is little doubt, that to the co-operation of these two powers all the brightest inventions in this world are owing;—that Patience must first explore the depths where the pearl lies hid, before Genius boldly dives, and brings it up full into light. There are, it is true, some striking exceptions to this rule, and our own times have witnessed more than one extraordinary intellect, whose depth has not prevented their treasures from lying ever ready within reach. But the records of Immortality furnish few such instances; and all we know of the works that she has hitherto marked with her seal, sufficiently authorizes the general position, that nothing great and durable has ever been produced with ease; and that labour is the parent of all the lasting wonders of this world, whether in verse or stone, whether in poetry or pyramids."

It was the fate of Mr Sheridan through life, and, in a great degree, perhaps, his policy,—to gain credit for excessive indolence and carelessness, while few persons, with so much natural brilliancy of talents, ever employed more art and circumspection in their display. This was the case, remarkably in the instance before us. Notwithstanding the labour which he bestowed upon this comedy, (and he should rather, perhaps, say in consequence of that labour,) the first representation of the piece was announced before the whole of the copy was in the hands of the actors. The manuscript, indeed, of the five last scenes bears evident mark of this haste in finishing,—there being but one rough draught of them, scribbled upon detached pieces of paper; while, of all the preceding acts, there are numerous transcripts, scattered

promiscuously through six or seven books, with new interlineations and memorandums to each. On the last leaf of all, which exists just as we may suppose it to have been despatched by him to the copyist, there is the following curious specimen of doxology, written hastily, in the hand-writing of the respective parties, at the bottom :—

“ Finished at last, Thank God !

“ R. B. SHERIDAN.

“ Amen !

“ W. HOPKINS.”

We must now give some sketches of the character of Sheridan as a Politician.

The period (says his biographer) at which Mr Sheridan entered upon his political career was, in every respect, remarkable. A persevering and vindictive war against America, with the folly and guilt of which the obstinacy of the Court and the acquiescence of the people are equally chargeable, was fast approaching that crisis, which every unbiassed spectator of the contest had long foreseen,—and at which, however humiliating to the haughty pretensions of England, every friend to the liberties of the human race rejoiced. It was, perhaps, as difficult for this country to have been long and virulently opposed to such principles as the Americans asserted in this contest, without being herself corrupted by the cause which she maintained, as it was for the French to have fought, in the same conflict, by the side of the oppressed, without catching a portion of that enthusiasm for liberty which such an alliance was calculated to inspire. Accordingly, when the voice of Philosophy was heard along the neighbouring shores, speaking aloud those oracular warnings which preceded the death of the Great Pan of Despotism, the courtiers and lawyers of England were, with an emulous spirit of servility, advising and sanctioning such strides of power, as would not have been unworthy of the most dark and slavish times.

When we review, indeed, the history of the late reign, and consider how invariably the arms and councils of Great Britain, in her Eastern wars, her conflict with America, and her efforts against revolutionary France, were directed to the establishment and perpetuation of despotic principles, it seems little less than a miracle that her own liberty should have escaped with life from the contagion. Never, indeed, can she be sufficiently grateful to the few patriot spirits of this period, to whose courage and eloquence she owes the high station of freedom yet

left to her ;—never can her sons pay a homage too warm to the memory of such men as a Chatham, a Fox, and a Sheridan ; who, however much they may have sometimes sacrificed to false views of expediency, and, by compromise with friends and coalition with foes, too often weakened their hold upon public confidence ; however the attraction of the Court may have sometimes made them librate in their orbit, were yet the saving lights of Liberty in those times, and alone preserved the ark of the Constitution from foundering in the foul and troubled waters that encompassed it.

Not only were the public events, in which Mr Sheridan was now called to take a part, of a nature more extraordinary and awful than had often been exhibited on the theatre of politics, but the leading actors in the scene were of that loftier order of intellect which Nature seems to keep in reserve for the ennoblement of such great occasions. Two of these, Mr Burke and Mr Fox, were already in the full maturity of their fame and talent,—while the third, Mr Pitt, was just upon the point of entering, with the most auspicious promise, into the same splendid career ;

“ *Nunc cuspide Patris*

Inchythus, Hercules olim mature sagittas.”

He made his first speech in Parliament on the 20th of November 1780, when a petition was presented to the House, complaining of the undue election of the sitting members (himself and Mr Monckton) for Stafford. It was rather lucky for him that the occasion was one in which he felt personally interested, as it took away much of that appearance of anxiety for display which might have attended his first exhibition upon any general subject. The fame, however, which he had already acquired by his literary talents was sufficient, even on this question, to awaken all the curiosity and expectation of his audience ; and accordingly we are told in the report of his speech, that “ he was heard with particular attention, the House being uncommonly still while he was speaking.” The indignation which he expressed on this occasion at the charges brought by the petition against the electors of Stafford, was coolly turned into ridicule by Mr Rigby, Paymaster of the Forces. But Mr Fox, whose eloquence was always ready at the call of good nature, and, like the shield of Ajax, had “ ample room and verge enough” to protect not only himself but his friends, came promptly to the aid of the young orator ; and,

in reply to Mr Rigby, observed, that "though those ministerial members, who chiefly robbed and plundered their constituents, might afterwards affect to despise them, yet gentlemen, who felt properly the nature of the trust allotted to them, would always treat them and speak of them with respect."

It was on this night, as Woodfall used to relate, that Mr Sheridan, after he had spoken, came up to him in the gallery, and asked, with much anxiety, what he thought of his first attempt? The answer of Woodfall, as he had the courage afterwards to own, was, "I am sorry to say I do not think that this is your line,—you had much better have stuck to your former pursuits." On hearing which, Sheridan rested his head upon his hand for a few minutes, and then vehemently exclaimed, "It is in me, however, and, by G—, it shall come out."

It is not our intention, nor will our limits permit us, to follow the independent and consistent course of Sheridan, as delineated by his biographer in the various and highly interesting discussions which occurred after his introduction into Parliament. The occasion in which his talents as an orator shone most conspicuously was the impeachment of Mr Hastings, in which Mr Sheridan took a very active part, as one of the managers for the Commons. "His description," says Mr Moore, "of the desolation brought upon some provinces of Oude, by the misgovernment of Colonel Hannay, and of the insurrection at Goruckpore against that officer in consequence, is perhaps the most masterly portion of the whole of the first day's speech on this impeachment:

"If we could suppose a person to have come suddenly into the country, unacquainted with any circumstances that had passed since the days of Sujah ul Dowlah, he would naturally ask,—what cruel hand has wrought this wide desolation? what barbarian foe has invaded the country, has desolated its fields, depopulated its villages? He would ask, what disputed succession, civil rage, or frenzy of the inhabitants, had induced them to act in hostility to the words of God, and the beautiful works of man? He would ask, what religious zeal or frenzy had added to the mad despair and horrors of war?—The ruin is unlike any thing that appears recorded in any age; it looks like neither the barbarities of men, nor the

judgments of vindictive Heaven. There is a waste of desolation, as if caused by fell destroyers, never meaning to return, and making but a short period of their rapacity. It looks as if some fabled monster had made its passage through the country, whose pestiferous breath had blasted more than its voracious appetite could devour.

If there had been any men in the country, who had not their hearts and souls so subdued by fear, as to refuse to speak the truth at all upon such a subject, they would have told him, there had been no war since the time of Sujah ul Dowlah, —tyrant, indeed, as he was, but then deeply regretted by his subjects—that no hostile blow of any enemy had been struck in that land—that there had been no disputed succession—no civil war—no religious frenzy; but that these were the tokens of British friendship, the marks left by the embraces of British allies—more dreadful than the blows of the bitterest enemy. They would tell him, that these allies had converted a prince into a slave, to make him the principal in the extortion upon his subjects;—that their rapacity increased in proportion as the means of supplying their avarice diminished; that they made the sovereign pay as if they had a right to an increased price, because the labour of extortion and plunder increased. To such causes, they would tell him, these calamities were owing.

"Need I refer Your Lordships to the strong testimony of Major Naylor when he rescued Colonel Hannay from their hands—where you see that this people, born to submission, and bent to the most abject subjection—that even they, in whose meek hearts injury had never yet begot resentment, nor even despair bred courage—that their hatred, their abhorrence of Colonel Hannay was such that they clung round him by thousands and thousands;—that when Major Naylor rescued him, they refused life from the hand that could rescue Hannay;—that they nourished this desperate consolation, that by their death they should at least thin the number of wretches who suffered by his devastation and extortion. He says, that, when he crossed the river, he found the poor wretches quivering upon the parched banks of the polluted river, encouraging their blood to flow, and consoling themselves with the thought, that it would not sink into the earth, but rise to the common God of humanity, and cry aloud for vengeance on their destroyers!—This warm description—which is no declamation of ruine, but founded in actual fact, and in fair, clear proof, before Your Lordships—speaks powerfully what

the cause of these oppressions were, and the perfect justness of those feelings that were occasioned by them. And yet, my Lords, I am asked to prove *why* these people arose in such concert?—"there must have been machinations, forsooth, and the Begum's machinations, to produce all this!"—Why did they rise?—Because they were people in human shape; because patience under the detested tyranny of man is rebellion to the sovereignty of God; because allegiance to that Power that gives us the *forms* of men, commands us to maintain the *rights* of men. And never yet was this truth dismissed from the human heart—never in any time, in any age—never in any clime, where rude man ever had any social feeling, or where corrupt refinement had subdued all feelings; never was this one unextinguishable truth destroyed from the heart of man, placed, as it is, in the core and centre of it by his Maker, that man was not made the property of man, that human power is a trust for human benefit, and that when it is abused, revenge becomes justice, if not the bounden duty of the injured. These, my Lords, were the causes why these people rose."

In the peroration of the speech there is an appeal made to British justice in a style of the highest eloquence. Mr Hastings had objected to an enquiry into the claims of the Begums, on the ground that they had not called for any interference in their favour, and that it was inconsistent with the "Majesty of Justice" to condescend to volunteer her services. The pompous and Jesuitical style of this objection by the Governor-General is turned to account in this splendid peroration.

"And now, before I come to the last magnificent paragraph, let me call the attention of those who, possibly, think themselves capable of judging of the dignity and character of justice in this country;—let me call the attention of those who, arrogantly perhaps, presume that they understand what the features, what the duties of justice are here and in India;—let them learn a lesson from this great statesman, this enlarged, this liberal philosopher:—"I hope I shall not depart from the simplicity of official language, in saying, that the Majesty of Justice ought to be approached with solicitation, not descend to provoke or invite it, much less to debase itself by the suggestion of wrongs; and the promise of redress, with the denunciation of punishment before trial, and even before accusation." This

is the exhortation which Mr Hastings makes to his Council. This is the character which he gives of British justice.

"But I will ask Your Lordships, do you approve this representation? Do you feel that this is the true image of Justice? Is this the character of British Justice? Are these her features? Is this her countenance? Is this her gait or her mien? No, I think even now I hear you calling upon me to turn from this vile libel, this base caricature, this Indian pagod, formed by the hand of guilty and knavish tyranny, to dupe the heart of ignorance,—to turn from this deformed idol to the true Majesty of Justice here. *Here*, indeed, I see a different form, enthroned by the sovereign hand of Freedom,—awful without severity—commanding without pride—vigilant and active without restlessness or suspicion—searching and inquisitive without meanness or debasement—not arrogantly scorning to stoop to the voice of afflicted innocence, and in its lowliest attitude when bending to uplift the suppliant at its feet.

"It is by the majesty, by the form of that Justice, that I do conjure and implore Your Lordships to give your minds to this great business; that I exhort you to look, not so much to words, which may be denied or quibbled away, but to the plain facts,—to weigh and consider the testimony in your own minds: we know the result must be inevitable. Let the truth appear and our cause is gained. It is this, I conjure Your Lordships, for your own honour, for the honour of the nation, for the honour of human nature, now entrusted to your care,—it is this duty that the Commons of England, speaking through us, claims at your hands.

"They exhort you to it by every thing that calls sublimely upon the heart of man, by the Majesty of that Justice which this bold man has libelled, by the wide fame of your own tribunal, by the sacred pledge by which you swear in the solemn hour of decision, knowing that that decision will then bring you the highest reward that ever blessed the heart of man, the consciousness of having done the greatest act of mercy for the world that the earth has ever yet received from any hand but Heaven.—My Lords, I have done."

We subscribe cordially to the following admirable remarks with which Mr Moore closes his account of the share which the subject of these memoirs had in the impeachment of Mr Hastings:

I have dwelt so long upon the circumstances and nature of this trial, not only on account of the conspicuous place which it occupies in the fore-ground of Mr Sheridan's life, but because of that general interest which an observer of our Institutions must take in it, from the clearness with which it brought into view some of their best and worst features. While, on one side, we perceive the weight of the popular scale, in the lead taken, upon an occasion of such solemnity and importance, by two persons brought forward from the middle ranks of society into the very van of political distinction and influence, on the other hand, in the sympathy and favour extended by the Court to the practical assessor of despotic principles, we trace the prevalence of that feeling, which, since the commencement of the late King's reign, has made the Throne the rallying point of all that are unfriendly to the cause of freedom. Again, in considering the conduct of the Crown Lawyers during the Trial—the narrow and irrational rules of evidence which they sought to establish—the unconstitutional control assumed by the Judges over the decisions of the tribunal before which the cause was tried, and the refusal to communicate the reasons upon which those decisions were founded—above all, too, the legal opinions expressed on the great question relative to the abatement of an impeachment by Dissolution, in which almost the whole body of lawyers took the wrong, the pedantic, and the unstatesman-like side of the question; while in all these indications of the spirit of that profession, and of its propensity to tie down the giant, Truth, with its small threads of technicality and precedent, we perceive the danger to be apprehended from the interference of such a spirit in politics, on the other side, arrayed against these petty tactics of the Forum, we see the broad banner of Constitutional Law, upheld alike by a Fox and a Pitt, a Sheridan and a Dundas, and find truth and good sense taking refuge from the equivocations of lawyers, in such consoling documents as the Report upon the Abuses of the Trial by Burke—a document which, if ever a reform of the English law should be attempted, will stand as a great guiding light to the adventurers in that heroic enterprise.

The account given of Sheridan's part in the proceedings in 1788, regarding the appointment of a regency, is full and clear. A number of facts regarding the late King's illness at that time have now been brought to

light, with which the public was not formerly acquainted. The following letter, from Admiral Payne to Mr Sheridan on this subject, must appear interesting—

“DEAR SHERIDAN,

Twelve o'clock noon.

“The King last night, about twelve o'clock, being then in a situation he could not long have survived, by the effect of James's powder had a profuse stool, after which a strong perspiration appeared, and he fell into a profound sleep. We were in hopes this was the crisis of his disorder, although the doctors were fearful it was so only with respect to one part of his disorder. However, these hopes continued not above an hour, when he awoke, with a well-conditioned skin, no extraordinary degree of fever, but with the exact state he was in before, with all the gestures and ravings of the most confined maniac, and a new noise, in imitation of the howling of a dog; in this situation he was this morning at one o'clock, when we came to bed. The Duke of York, who has been twice in my room in the course of the night, immediately from the King's apartment, says there has not been one moment of lucid interval during the whole night, which, I must observe to you, is the concurring, as well as *fatal* testimony of all about him, from the first moment of His Majesty's confinement. The doctors have since had their consultation, and find his Majesty calmer, and his pulse tolerably good and much reduced, but the most decided symptoms of insanity. His theme has been all this day on the subject of religion, and of his being inspired, from which his physicians draw the worst consequences, as to any hopes of amendment. In this situation His Majesty remains at the present moment, which I give you at length, to prevent your giving credit to the thousand ridiculous reports that we hear, even upon the spot. Truth is not easily got at in palaces, and so I find here; and time only slowly brings it to one's knowledge. One hears a little bit every day from somebody, that has been reserved with great costiveness, or purposely forgotten; and by all such accounts, I find that the present distemper has been very palpable for some time past, previous to any confinement from sickness; and so apprehensive have the people about him been of giving offence by interruption, that the two days (*viz.* yesterday se'night and the Monday following) that he was five hours each on

horseback, he was in a confirmed frenzy. On the Monday, at his return, he burst out into tears to the Duke of York, and said, "He wished to God he might die, for he was going to be mad;" and the Queen, who sent to Dr Warren, on his arrival, privately communicated her knowledge of his situation for some time past, and the melancholy event as it stood exposed. I am profix upon all these different reports, that you may be completely master of the subject as it stands, and which I shall continue to advertise you of in all its variations. Warren, who is the living principle in this business, (for poor Baker is half crazed himself,) and who I see every half hour, is extremely attentive to the King's disorder. The various fluctuations of his ravings, as well as general situation of his health, are accurately written down throughout the day, and this we have got signed by the Physicians every day, and all proper enquiry invited; for I think it necessary to do every thing that may prevent *their* making use hereafter of any thing like jealousy, suspicion, or mystery, to create public distrust; and therefore the best and most unequivocal means of satisfaction shall be always attended to.

At this period the biographer of Sheridan considers that he had reached to the summit of his fame:

Taking into account all the various circumstances that concurred to glorify this period of Sheridan's life, we may allow ourselves, I think, to pause upon it as the apex of the pyramid, and, whether we consider his fame, his talents, or his happiness, may safely say. Here is their highest point."

The new splendour which his recent triumphs in eloquence had added to a reputation already so illustrious, the power which he seemed to have acquired over the future destinies of the country, by his acknowledged influence in the councils of the Heir Apparent, and the tribute paid to him, by the avowal both of friends and foes, that he had used this influence, in the late trying crisis of the Regency, with a judgment and delicacy that proved him worthy of it; all these advantages, both brilliant and solid, which subsequent circumstances but too much tended to weaken, at this moment surrounded him in their newest lustre and promise.

He was just now, too, in the first enjoyment of a feeling, of which habit must have afterwards dulled the zest, namely, the proud consciousness of having surmounted the disadvantages of birth and

station, and placed himself on a level with the highest and noblest of the land. This footing in the society of the great he could only have attained by parliamentary eminence;—as a mere writer, with all his genius, he never would have been thus admitted *ad eundem* among them. Talents, in literature or science, unassisted by the advantages of birth, may lead to association with the great, but rarely to equality;—it is a passport through the well-guarded frontier, but no title to naturalisation within. By him, who has not been born among them, this can only be achieved by politics. In that arena, which they look upon as their own, the Legislature of the land, let a man of genius, like Sheridan, but assert his supremacy,—at once all these barriers of reserve and pride give way, and he takes, by storm, a station at their side, which a Shakspeare or a Newton would but have enjoyed by courtesy.

In fixing upon this period of Sheridan's life as the most shining era of his talents as well as his fame, it is not meant to be denied, that in his subsequent warfare with the Minister, during the stormy time of the French Revolution, he exhibited a prowess of oratory no less suited to that actual service, than his eloquence on the trial of Hastings had been to such lighter tilts and tournaments of peace. But the effect of his talents was far less striking;—the current of feeling through England was against him;—and, however greatly this added to the merit of his efforts, it deprived him of that echo from the public heart, by which the voice of the orator is endued with a sort of multiplied life, and, as it were, survives itself. In the panic, too, that followed the French Revolution, all eloquence, but that from the lips of Power, was disregarded, and the voice of him at the helm was the only one listened to in the storm.

Of his happiness, at the period of which we are speaking, in the midst of so much success and hope, there can be but little doubt. Though pecuniary embarrassment, as appears from his papers, had already begun to weave its fatal net around him, there was as yet little more than sufficed to give exercise to his ingenuity, and the resources of the Drury-Lane treasury were still in full nightly flow. The charms by which his home was embellished were such as few other homes could boast; and if any thing made it less happy than it ought to be, the cause was to be found in the very brilliancy of his life and attractions, and in those triumphs out of the sphere of domestic love, to which his vanity, perhaps, oftener than his feelings, impelled him.

We shall not trace the melancholy breaking up of old friendships among men of the highest talents that this country ever produced, nor the disasters which a short-sighted policy, opposed all along by Sheridan, occasioned to the country after the commencement of the French Revolution. This has been done with equal judgment and elegance by Mr Moore. We have only room to say, that on this great subject the powerful eloquence of Sheridan again burst forth in the year 1794, with the same grandeur as ever. It was at the opening of the Session this year that he delivered his admirable answer to Lord Mornington. In alluding to the details which his Lordship had entered into of the various atrocities committed in France, Mr Sheridan says—

“But what was the sum of all that he had told the House? that great and dreadful enormities had been committed, at which the heart shuddered, and which not merely wounded every feeling of humanity, but disgusted and sickened the soul. All this was most true; but what did all this prove? What, but that eternal and unalterable truth which had always presented itself to his mind, in whatever way he had viewed the subject, namely, that a long-established despotism so far degraded and debased human nature, as to render its subjects, on the first recovery of their rights, unfit for the exercise of them. But never had he, or would he meet but with reprobation that mode of argument which went, in fact, to establish, as an inference from this truth, that those who had been long slaves ought therefore to remain so for ever! No; the lesson ought to be, he would again repeat, a tenfold horror of that despotic form of government, which had so profaned and changed the nature of civilized man, and a still more jealous apprehension of any system tending to withhold the rights and liberties of our fellow-creatures. Such a form of government might be considered as twice cursed; while it existed, it was solely responsible for the miseries and calamities of its subjects: and should a day of retribution come, and the tyranny be destroyed, it was equally to be charged with all the enormities which the folly or frenzy of those who overturned it should commit.

“But the madness of the French people was not confined to their proceedings within their own country; we, and all the Powers of Europe, had to dread it.

True; but was not this also to be accounted for? Wild and unsettled as their state of mind was, necessarily, upon the events which had thrown such power so suddenly into their hands, the surrounding States had goaded them into a still more savage state of madness, fury, and desperation. We had unsettled their reason, and then reviled their insanity; we drove them to the extremities that produced the evils we arraigned; we baited them like wild beasts, until at length we made them so. The conspiracy of Pilnitz, and the brutal threats of the Royal abettors of that plot against the rights of nations and of men, had, in truth, to answer for all the additional misery, horrors, and iniquity, which had since disgraced and incensed humanity. Such has been your conduct towards France, that you have created the passions which you persecute; you mark a nation to be cut off from the world; you covenant for their extermination; you swear to hunt them in their inmost recesses; you load them with every species of execration; and you now come forth with whining declamations on the horror of their turning upon you with the fury which you inspired.”

It was in this Session, and on the question of the Treaty with the King of Sardinia, that Mr Canning made his first appearance, as an orator, in the House. He brought with him a fame, already full of promise, and has been one of the brightest ornaments of the senate and the country ever since. From the political faith in which he had been educated, under the very eyes of Mr Sheridan, who had long been the friend of his family, and at whose house he generally passed his college-vacations, the line that he was to take in the House of Commons seemed already, according to the usual course of events, marked out for him. Mr Sheridan had, indeed, with an eagerness which, however premature, showed the value which he and others set upon the alliance, taken occasion, in the course of a laudatory tribute to Mr Jenkinson, on the success of his first effort in the House, to announce the accession which his own party was about to receive, in the talents of another gentleman,—the companion and friend of the young orator who had now distinguished himself. Whether this and other friendships, formed by Mr Canning at the University, had any share in alienating him from a political creed, which he had hitherto, perhaps, adopted rather from habit and authority than choice,—or, whether he was startled at the idea of appearing for the first time in the world, as the announced pupil and friend of a

person who, both by the vehemence of his politics and the irregularities of his life, had put himself, in some degree, under the ban of public opinion,—or whether, lastly, he saw the difficulties which even genius like his would experience, in rising to the full growth of its ambition, under the shadowing branches of the Whig aristocracy, and that superseding influence of birth and connections which had contributed to keep even such men as Burke and Sheridan out of the Cabinet,—*which* of these motives it was that now decided the choice of the young political Hercules, between the two paths that equally wooed his footsteps, none, perhaps, but himself can fully determine. His decision, we know, was in favour of the Minister and Toryism; and, after a friendly and candid explanation to Sheridan of the reasons and feelings that urged him to this step, he entered into terms with Mr Pitt, and was by him immediately brought into Parliament.

However dangerous it might be to exalt such an example into a precedent, it is questionable whether, in thus resolving to join the ascendant side, Mr Canning has not conferred a greater benefit on the country than he ever would have been able to effect in the ranks of his original friends. That party, which has now so long been the sole depositary of the power of the State, had, in addition to the original narrowness of its principles, contracted all that proud obstinacy in antiquated error, which is the invariable characteristic of such monopolies; and which, however consonant with its vocation, as the chosen instrument of the Crown, should have long since *invalided* it in the service of a free and enlightened people. Some infusion of the spirit of the times into this body had become necessary, even for its own preservation,—in the same manner as the inhaled breath of youthful life has been recommended, by some physicians, to the infirm and superannuated. This renovating inspiration the genius of Mr Canning has supplied. His first political lessons were derived from sources too sacred to his young admiration to be forgotten. He has carried the spirit of these lessons with him into the councils which he joined, and by the vigour of the graft, which already, indeed, shows itself in the fruits, bids fair to change altogether the nature of Toryism.

We must not here omit a singularly eloquent passage, breathing the same spirit of indignation against the oppressors of Ireland, which is felt by every right-thinking man to this very

day. On the causes and character of the rebellion in that ill-fated country in 1798, we find the following extract from a speech of Sheridan delivered in June of that year.

“What! when conciliation was held out to the people of Ireland, was there any discontent? When the Government of Ireland was agreeable to the people, was there any discontent? After the prospect of that conciliation was taken away,—after Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled,—after the hopes which had been raised were blasted—when the spirit of the people was beaten down, insulted, despised, I will ask any gentleman to point out a single act of conciliation which has emanated from the Government of Ireland? On the contrary, has not that country exhibited one continual scene of the most grievous oppression, of the most vexatious proceedings; arbitrary punishments inflicted: torture declared necessary by the highest authority in the sister-kingdom next to that of the legislature? And do gentlemen say that the indignant spirit which is roused by such exercise of government is unprovoked? Is this conciliation? Is this lenity? Has every thing been done to avert the evils of rebellion? It is the fashion to say, and the Address holds the same language, that the rebellion which now rages in the sister-kingdom has been owing to the machinations of ‘wicked men.’ Agreeing to the amendment proposed, it was my first intention to move that these words should be omitted. But, Sir, the fact they assert is true. It is, indeed, to the measures of wicked men that the deplorable state of Ireland is to be imputed. It is to those wicked Ministers who have broken the promises they held out; who betrayed the party they seduced into their views, to be the instruments of the foulest treachery that ever was practised against any people. It is to those wicked Ministers, who have given up that devoted country to plunder,—resigned it a prey to this faction, by which it has so long been trampled upon, and abandoned it to every species of insult and oppression, by which a country was ever overwhelmed, or the spirit of a people insulted, that we owe the miseries into which Ireland is plunged, and the dangers by which England is threatened. These evils are the doings of wicked Ministers, and, applied to them, the language of the Address records a fatal and melancholy truth.”

It is a most un-Scottish-like action to laugh at a countryman; but really the following story is so good, that

we cannot refrain, even from this uncourteous act, in quoting a passage of one of Sheridan's speeches on the new administration formed under Pitt in 1805, when Lord Melville was appointed Treasurer of the Navy. Alluding to this appointment, he says,

"But then, I am told, there is the First Lord of the Admiralty,—'Do you forget the leader of the grand Catamaran project? Are you not aware of the important change in that department, and the advantage the country is likely to derive from that change?' Why, I answer, that I do not know of any peculiar qualifications the Noble Lord has to preside over the Admiralty; but I do know, that if I were to judge of him from the kind of capacity he evinced while Minister of War, I should entertain little hopes of him. If, however, the Right Honourable Gentleman should say to me, 'Where else would you put that Noble Lord,—would you have him appointed War-Minister again?' I should say, Oh no, by no means,—I remember too well the expeditions to Toulon, to Quiberon, to Corsica, and to Holland, the responsibility for each of which the Noble Lord took on himself, entirely releasing from any responsibility the Commander-in-Chief, and the Secretary at War. I also remember that, which, although so glorious to our arms in the result, I still shall call a most unwarrantable project,—the expedition to Egypt. It may be said, that as the Noble Lord was so unfit for the military department, the naval was the proper place for him. Perhaps there were people who would adopt this whimsical reasoning. I remember a story told respecting Mr Garrick, who was once applied to by an eccentric Scotchman, to introduce a production of his on the stage. This Scotchman was such a good-humoured fellow, that he was called 'Honest Johnny M'Cree.' Johnny wrote four acts of a tragedy, which he showed to Mr Garrick, who dissuaded him from finishing it; telling him that his talent did not lie that way; so Johnny abandoned the tragedy, and set about writing a comedy. When this was finished, he showed it to Mr Garrick, who found it to be still more exceptionable than the tragedy, and of course could not be persuaded to bring it forward on the stage. This surprised poor Johnny, and he remonstrated. 'Nay, now, David (said Johnny,) did you not tell me that my talents did not lie in tragedy?'—'Yes, (replied Garrick), but I did not tell you that they lay in comedy.'—'Then (ex-

claimed Johnny), gin they dinna lie there, where the de'il dittha lie, mon?' Unless the Noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty has the same reasoning in his mind as Johnny M'Cree, he cannot possibly suppose that his incapacity for the direction of the War-department necessarily qualifies him for the Presidency of the Naval. Perhaps, if the Noble Lord be told that he has no talents for the latter, his Lordship may exclaim with honest Johnny M'Cree, 'Gin they dinna lie there, where the de'il dittha lie, mon?'"

We wish to throw a veil over that part of Mr Sheridan's conduct which is connected with the formation of a new ministry, after the appointment of a regency in 1811. He will never be justified by his friends for the part he acted on that occasion, and his enemies will ever exult in the ruin of all his own prospects, which must, from all that we yet know, be attributed to his own handiwork. Alas! the smile of a prince is but a poor reward for violated character.

We come now very near the close of Sheridan's life. From the beginning of 1814, his biographer says,

The distresses of Sheridan now increased every day, and through the short remainder of his life it is a melancholy task to follow him. The sum arising from the sale of his theatrical property was soon exhausted by the various claims upon it, and he was driven to part with all that he most valued, to satisfy further demands, and provide for the subsistence of the day. Those books which, as I have already mentioned, were presented to him by various friends, now stood, in their splendid bindings, on the shelves of the pawnbroker. The handsome cup, given him by the electors of Stafford, shared the same fate. Three or four fine pictures by Gainsborough, and one by Morland, were sold for little more than five hundred pounds; and even the precious portrait of his first wife, by Reynolds, though not actually sold during his life, vanished away from his eyes into other hands.

Amid all the distresses of these latter years of his life, he appears but rarely to have had recourse to pecuniary assistance from friends. Mr Peter Moore, Mr Ironmonger, and one or two others, who did more for the comfort of his decline than any of his high and noble associates, concur in stating that, except for such an occasional trifle as his coach-hire, he was by

no means, as has been sometimes asserted, in the habit of borrowing. One instance, however, where he laid himself under this sort of obligation, deserves to be mentioned. Soon after the return of Mr Canning from Lisbon, a letter was put into his hands, in the House of Commons, which proved to be a request from his old friend Sheridan, then lying ill in bed, that he would oblige him with the loan of a hundred pounds. It is unnecessary to say that the request was promptly and feelingly complied with;—and if the pupil has ever regretted leaving the politics of his master, it was not at that moment, at least, such a feeling was likely to present itself.

While death was thus gaining fast on Sheridan, the miseries of his life were thickening round him also; nor did the last corner, in which he now lay down to die, afford him any asylum from the clamours of his legal pursuers. Writs and executions came in rapid succession, and bailiffs at length gained possession of his house. It was about the beginning of May, that Lord Holland, on being informed by Mr Rogers (who was one of the very few that watched the going out of this great light with interest) of the dreary situation in which his old friend was lying, paid him a visit one evening, in company with Mr Rogers, and by the cordiality, suavity, and cheerfulness of his conversation, shed a charm round that chamber of sickness, which, perhaps, no other voice but his own could have imparted.

In the meantime, the clamours and incursions of creditors increased. A sheriff's officer at length arrested the dying man in his bed, and was about to carry him off, in his blankets, to a spunging-house, when Doctor Bain interfered,—and, by threatening the officer with the responsibility he must incur, if, as was but too probable, his prisoner should expire on the way, averted this outrage.

About the middle of June, the attention and sympathy of the Public were, for the first time, awakened to the desolate situation of Sheridan, by an article that appeared in the Morning Post,—written, as I understand, by a gentleman, who, though on no very cordial terms with him, forgot every other feeling in a generous pity for his fate, and in honest indignation against those who now deserted him. "Oh delay not," said the writer, without naming the person to whom he alluded,—“delay not to draw aside the curtain within which that proud spirit hides its sufferings.” He then added, with a striking anticipation of what afterwards happened:—“Prefer ministering

in the chamber of sickness to ministering at

‘The splendid sorrows that adorn the hearse;’

I say, *Life and Succour* against Westminster-Abbey and a Funeral!”

This article produced a strong and general sensation, and was reprinted in the same paper the following day. Its effect, too, was soon visible in the calls made at Sheridan's door, and in the appearance of such names as the Duke of York, the Duke of Argyle, &c., among the visitors. But it was now too late;—the spirit, that these unavailing tributes might once have comforted, was now fast losing the consciousness of every thing earthly, but pain. After a succession of shivering fits, he fell into a state of exhaustion, in which he continued, with but few more signs of suffering, till his death. A day or two before that event, the Bishop of London read prayers by his bed-side; and on Sunday, the seventh of July, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, he died.

On the following Saturday the Funeral took place;—his remains having been previously removed from Saville-Row to the house of his friend, Mr Peter Moore, in Great George-Street, Westminster. From thence, at one o'clock, the procession moved on foot to the Abbey, where, in the only spot in Poet's Corner that remained unoccupied, the body was interred, and the following simple inscription marks its resting-place:—

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN,

BORN, 1751,

DIED, 7th JULY 1816.

THIS MARBLE IS THE TRIBUTE OF AN
ATTACHED FRIEND,
PETER MOORE.

Seldom has there been such an array of rank as graced this funeral. The Pallbearers were the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Lauderdale, Earl Mulgrave, the Lord Bishop of London, Lord Holland, and Lord Spencer. Among the mourners were His Royal Highness the Duke of York, His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex; the Duke of Argyle, the Marquisses of Anglesea and Tavistock; the Earls of Thanet, Jersey, Harrington, Besborough, Mexborough, Rosslyn, and Yarmouth; Lords George Cavendish and Robert Spencer; Viscounts Sidmouth, Granville, and Duncannon; Lords Rivers, Erskine, and Lynedoch; the Lord Mayor; Right Hon. G. Canning and W. W. Pole, &c. &c.

Where were they all, these Royal and Noble persons, who now crowded to “partake the gale” of Sheridan's glory—

where were they all, while any life remained in him? Where were they all, but a few weeks before, when their interposition might have saved his heart from breaking,—or, when the zeal, now wasted on the grave, might have soothed and comforted the death-bed? This is a subject on which it is difficult to speak with patience. If the man was unworthy of the commonest offices of humanity while he lived, why all this parade of regret and homage over his tomb?

There appeared some verses at the time, which, however intemperate in their satire and careless in their style, came, evidently, warm from the heart of the writer, and contained sentiments to which, even in his cooler moments, he needs not hesitate to subscribe :—

“ Oh it sickens the heart to see bosoms so hollow,

And friendships so false in the great and high-born ;—

To think what a long line of Titles may follow

The relics of him who died friendless and torn !

“ How proud they can press to the funeral array

Of him whom they shunn'd, in his sickness and sorrow—

How bailiffs may seize his last blanket to-day,

Whose pall shall be held up by Nobles to-morrow !”

The anonymous writer thus characterises the talents of Sheridan :—

“ Was this, then, the fate of that high-gifted man ?

• The pride of the palace, the bower, and the hall—

The orator, dramatist, minstrel—who ran

Through each mode of the lyre, and was master of all ;—

“ Whose mind was an essence, compounded, with art,

From the finest and best of all other men's powers ;—

Who rul'd, like a wizard, the world of the heart,

And could call up its sunshine, or draw down its showers ;—

“ Whose humour, as gay as the fire-fly's light,

Play'd round every subject, and shone, as it play'd ;—

Whose wit, in the combat as gentle as bright,

Ne'er carried a heart-stain away on its blade ;—

“ Whose eloquence, brightening whatever it tried,

Whether reason or fancy, the gay or the grave,

Was as rapid, as deep, and as brilliant a tide,

As ever bore Freedom aloft on its wave !”

Mr Moore closes his interesting work, with an impartial analysis of the character of Sheridan. This we shall give at length, as we consider it to be the most important part of these Memoirs, whether viewed in reference to the powers of the writer, or the satisfaction and instruction of the reader.

In considering the intellectual powers of this extraordinary man, the circumstance that first strikes us is the very scanty foundation of instruction upon which he contrived to raise himself to such eminence both as a writer and a politician. It is true, in the line of authorship he pursued, erudition was not so much wanting ; and his wit, like the laurel of Cæsar, was leafy enough to hide any bareness in this respect. In politics, too, he had the advantage of entering upon his career at a time when habits of business and a knowledge of details were less looked for in public men than they are at present, and when the House of Commons was, for various reasons, a more open play-ground for eloquence and wit. The great increase of public business, since then, has necessarily made a considerable change in this respect. Not only has the time of the Legislature become too precious to be wasted upon the mere gymnastics of rhetoric, but even those graces, with which true Oratory surrounds her statements, are but impatiently borne, where the statement itself is the primary and pressing object of the hearer. Burke, we know, was, even for his own time, too much addicted to what falconers would call *raking*, or flying wide of his game ; but there was hardly, perhaps, one among his great contemporaries, who, if beginning his career at present, would not find it, in some degree, necessary to conform his style to the taste for business and matter-of-fact that is prevalent. Mr Pitt would be compelled to curtail the march of his sentences,—Mr Fox would learn to repeat himself less lavishly,—nor would Mr Sheridan venture to enliven a question of evidence by a long and pathetic appeal to Filial Piety.

In addition to this change in the character and taste of the House of Com-

ment, which, while it has lowered the value of some of the qualifications possessed by Sheridan, has created a demand for others of a more useful, but less splendid kind, which his education and habits of life would have rendered less easily attainable by him, we must take also into account the prodigious difference produced by the general movement, at present, of the whole civilized world towards knowledge;—a movement, which no public man, however great his natural talents, could now lag behind with impunity, and which requires nothing less than the versatile and encyclopædic powers of a Brougham to keep pace with it.

Another striking characteristic of Sheridan, as an orator and a writer, was the great degree of labour and preparation which his productions in both lines cost him. Of this the reader has seen some curious proofs in the preceding pages. Though the papers left behind by him have added nothing to the stock of his *chef-d'œuvres*, they have given us an insight into his manner of producing his great works, which is, perhaps, the next most interesting thing to the works themselves. Though no new star has been discovered, the history of the formation of those we already possess, and of the gradual process by which they were brought "firm to retain their gathered beams," has, as in the instance of The School for Scandal, been most interestingly unfolded to us.

The same marks of labour are discoverable throughout the whole of his Parliamentary career. He never made a speech of any moment, of which the sketch, more or less detailed, has not been found among his papers—with the showier passages generally written two or three times over (often without any material change in their form) upon small detached pieces of paper, or on cards. To such minutiae of effect did he attend, that I have found, in more than one instance, a memorandum made of the precise place in which the words "Good God, Mr Speaker," were to be introduced. These preparatory sketches are continued down to his latest displays; and it is observable, that when, from the increased derangement of his affairs, he had no longer leisure or collectedness enough to prepare, he ceased to speak.

The only time he could have found for this pre-arrangement of his thoughts (of which few, from the apparent idleness of his life, suspected him) must have been during the many hours of the day that he remained in bed,—when, frequently, while the world gave him credit for being

asleep, he was employed in laying the frame-work of his wit and eloquence for the evening.

That this habit of premeditation was not altogether owing to a want of quickness, appears from the power and liveliness of his replies in Parliament, and the vivacity of some of his retorts in conversation. The labour, indeed, which he found necessary for his public displays was, in a great degree, the combined effect of his ignorance and his taste;—the one rendering him fearful of committing himself on the matter of his task, and the other making him fastidious and hesitating as to the manner of it. I cannot help thinking, however, that there must have been, also, a degree of natural slowness in the first movements of his mind upon any topic; and that, like those animals which remain gazing upon their prey before they seize it, he found it necessary to look intently at his subject for some time, before he was able to make the last, quick spring, that mastered it.

Among the proofs of this dependence of his fancy upon time and thought for its development, may be mentioned his familiar letters, as far as their fewness enables us to judge. Had his wit been a "fruit, that would fall without shaking," we should, in these communications at least, find some casual windfalls of it. But, from the want of sufficient time to search and cull, he seems to have given up, in despair, all thoughts of being lively in his letters; and, accordingly, as the reader must have observed in the specimens that have been given, his compositions in this way are not only unenlivened by any excursions beyond the bounds of mere matter of fact, but, from the habit or necessity of taking a certain portion of time for correction, are singularly confused, disjointed, and inelegant in their style.

It is certain that even his *bon-mots* in society were not always to be set down to the credit of the occasion; but that, frequently, like skilful priests, he prepared the miracle of the moment before-hand. Nothing, indeed, could be more remarkable than the patience and tact, with which he would wait through a whole evening for the exact moment when the shaft, which he had ready feathered, might be let fly with effect. There was no effort, either obvious or disguised, to lead to the subject—no "question detached (as he himself expresses it) to draw you into the ambuscade of his ready-made joke"—and, when the lucky moment did arrive, the natural and accidental manner in which he would let this treasured sentence fall from his lips, con-

siderably added to the astonishment and the charm. So bright a thing, produced so easily, seemed like the delivery of Wieland's Aminda in a dream;—and his own apparent unconsciousness of the value of what he said might have deceived dull people into the idea that there was really nothing in it.

The consequence of this practice of waiting for the moment of effect was, (as all, who have been much in his society, must have observed,) that he would remain inert in conversation, and even taciturn, for hours, and then suddenly come out with some brilliant sally, which threw a light over the whole evening, and was carried away in the memories of all present. Nor must it be supposed that in the intervals, either before or after these flashes, he ceased to be agreeable; on the contrary, he had a grace and good nature in his manner, which gave a charm to even his most ordinary sayings,—and there was, besides, that ever-speaking lustre in his eye, which made it impossible, even when he was silent, to forget who he was.

A curious instance of the care with which he treasured up the felicities of his wit, appears in the use he made of one of those epigrammatic passages, which the reader may remember among the memorandums for his *Comedy of Affectation*, and which, in its first form, ran thus:—"He certainly has a great deal of fancy, and a very good memory; but, with a perverse ingenuity, he employs these qualities as no other person does,—for he employs his fancy in his narratives, and keeps his recollection for his wit:—when he makes his jokes, you applaud the accuracy of his memory, and 'tis only when he states his facts that you admire the flights of his imagination." After many efforts to express this thought more concisely, and to reduce the language of it to that condensed and elastic state, in which alone it gives force to the projectiles of wit, he kept the passage by him patiently some years,—till he at length found an opportunity of turning it to account, in a reply, I believe, to Mr Dundas, in the House of Commons, when, with the most extemporaneous air, he brought it forth, in the following compact and pointed form:—"The Right Honourable Gentleman is indebted to his memory for his jests, and to his imagination for his facts."

His Political Character stands out so fully in these pages, that it is needless, by any comments, to attempt to raise it into stronger relief. If to watch over the Rights of the Subject, and guard them against the encroachments of Power, be,

even in safe and ordinary times, a task full of usefulness and honour, how much more glorious to have stood sentinel over the same sacred trust, through a period so trying as that with which Sheridan had to struggle—when Liberty itself had become suspected and unpopular—when Authority had succeeded in identifying patriotism with treason, and when the few remaining and deserted friends of Freedom were reduced to take their stand on a narrowing isthmus, between Anarchy on one side, and the incursions of Power on the other. How manfully he maintained his ground in a position so critical, the annals of England and the Champions of her Constitution will long testify. The truly national spirit, too, with which, when that struggle was past, and the dangers to liberty from without seemed greater than any from within, he forgot all past differences in the one common cause of Englishmen, and, while others "gave but the left hand to the Country," proffered her *both* of his, stamped a seal of sincerity on his public conduct, which, in the eyes of all England, authenticated it as genuine patriotism.

To his own party, it is true, his conduct presented a very different phasis; and if implicit partisanship were the sole merit of, a public man, his movements, at this and other junctures, were far too independent and unharnessed to lay claim to it. But, however useful may be the bond of Party, there are occasions that supersede it; and, in all such deviations from the fidelity which it enjoins, the two questions to be asked are—were they, as regarded the Public, right? were they, as regarded the individual himself, unpurchased? To the former question, in the instance of Sheridan, the whole country responded in the affirmative; and to the latter, his account with the Treasury, from first to last, is a sufficient answer.

Even, however, on the score of fidelity to Party, when we recollect that he more than once submitted to some of the worst martyrdoms which it imposes—that of sharing in the responsibility of opinions from which he dissented, and suffering by the ill consequences of measures against which he had protested;—when we call to mind, too, that, during the Administration of Mr Addington, though agreeing wholly with the Ministry and differing with the Whigs, he even then refused to profit by a position so favourable to his interests, and submitted, like certain religionists, from a point of honour, to suffer for a faith in which he did not believe—it seems impossible not to concede that even to the obligations of Party he was as faithful as

could be expected from a spirit that so far outgrew its limits, and, in paying the tax of fidelity while he asserted the freedom of dissent, showed that he could sacrifice every thing to it, except his opinion. Through all these occasional variations, too, he remained a genuine Whig to the last; and, as I have heard one of his own party happily express it, was "like pure gold, that changes colour in the fire, but comes out unaltered."

The transaction in 1812, relative to the Household, was, as I have already said, the least defensible part of his public life. But it should be recollected how broken he was, both in mind and body, at that period;—his resources from the Theatre at an end,—the shelter of Parliament about to be taken from over his head also,—and old age and sickness coming on, as every hope and comfort vanished. In that wreck of all around him, the friendship of Carlton-House was the last asylum left to his pride and his hope; and that even character itself should, in a too zealous moment, have been one of the sacrifices offered up at the shrine that protected him, is a subject more of deep regret than of wonder. The poet Cowley, in speaking of the unproductiveness of those pursuits connected with Wit and Fancy, says beautifully—

"Where such fairies once have danced, no glass will ever grow;"

but, unfortunately, thorns will grow there;—and he who walks unsteadily among such thorns as now beset the once enchanted path of Sheridan, ought not, after all, to be very severely criticised.

His social qualities were, unluckily for himself, but too attractive. In addition to his powers of conversation, there was a well-bred good-nature in his manner, as well as a deference to the remarks and opinions of others, the want of which, very often, in distinguished wits, offends the self-love of their hearers, and makes even the dues of admiration that they levy a sort of "*Droit de Seigneur*," paid with unwillingness and distaste.

No one was so ready and cheerful in promoting the amusement of a country-house; and on a rural excursion, he was always the soul of the party. His talent at dressing a little dish was often put in requisition on such occasions, and an Irish stew was that on which he particularly plumed himself. Some friends of his recall with delight a day of this kind which they passed with him, when he made the whole party act over the Battle of the Pyramids on Matsden Moor, and ordered "Captain" Creevey and others upon

various services, against the cows and donkeys entrenched in the ditches. Being of so playful a disposition himself, it was not wonderful that he should take such pleasure in the society of children. I have been told, as doubly characteristic of him, that he has often, at Mr Monckton's, kept a chaise and four waiting half the day for him at the door, while he romped with the children.

Among his habits, it may not be uninteresting to know that his hours of composition, as long as he continued to be an author, were at night, and that he required a profusion of lights around him while he wrote. Wine, too, was one of his favourite helps to inspiration:—"If the thought (he would say) is slow to come, a glass of good wine encourages it, and, when it *does* come, a glass of good wine rewards it."

Having taken a cursory view of his Literary, Political, and Social qualities, it remains for me to say a few words upon that most important point of all, his Moral character.

There are few persons, as we have seen, to whose kind and affectionate conduct, in some of the most interesting relations of domestic life, so many strong and honourable testimonies remain. The pains he took to win back the estranged feelings of his father, and the filial tenderness with which he repaid long years of parental caprice, show a heart that had, at least, set out by the right road, however, in after years, it may have missed the way. The enthusiastic love which his sister bore him, and retained, unlighted by distance or neglect, is another proof of the influence of his amiable feelings, at that period of life when he was as yet unspoiled by the world. We have seen the romantic fondness which he preserved towards the first Mrs Sheridan, even while doing his utmost, and in vain, to extinguish the same feeling in her. With the second wife, a course nearly-similar was run;—the same "scatterings and eclipses" of affection, from the irregularities and vanities in which he continued to indulge, but the same hold kept of each other's hearts to the last. Her early letters to him breathe a passion little short of idolatry, and her devoted attentions beside his death-bed showed that the essential part of the feeling still remained.

To claim an exemption for frailties and irregularities on the score of genius, while there are such names as Milton and Newton on record, were to be blind to the example which these and other great men have left, of the grandest intellectual powers, combined with the most virtuous lives. But, for the bias given early to the,

mind by education and circumstances, even the least charitable may be inclined to make large allowances. We have seen how idly the young days of Sheridan were wasted—how soon he was left (in the words of the Prophet) “to dwell carelessly,” and with what an undisciplined temperament he was thrown upon the world, to meet at every step that never-failing spring of temptation, which, like the fatal fountain in the Garden of Armida, sparkles up for ever in the pathway of such a man :—

“Un fonte sorge in lei, che vaghe e monde
Ha l'acqua sì, che i riguardanti asseta,
Ma dentro ai freddi suoi cristalli asconde
Di toscó estran malvagità secreta.”

Even marriage, which is among the sedatives of other men's lives, but formed a part of the romance of his. The very attractions of his wife increased his danger, by doubling, as it were, the power of the world over him, and leading him astray by her light as well as by his own. Had his talents, even then, been subjected to the *mange* of a profession, there was still a chance that business, and the round of regularity which it requires, might have infused some spirit of order into his life. But the Stage—his glory and his ruin—opened upon him; and the property of which it made him master was exactly of that treacherous kind, which not only deceives a man himself, but enables him to deceive others, and thus combined all that a person of his carelessness and ambition had most to dread. An uncertain income, which, by eluding calculation, gives an excuse for improvidence, and, still more fatal, a facility of raising money, by which the lesson, that the pressure of distress brings with it, is evaded till it comes too late to be of use—such was the dangerous power put into his hands, in his six-and-twentieth year, and amidst the intoxication of as deep and quick draughts of fame as ever young author quaffed. Scarcely had the zest of this excitement begun to wear off, when he was suddenly transported into another sphere, where successes still more flattering to his vanity awaited him. Without any increase of means, he became the companion and friend of the first Nobles and Princes, and paid the usual tax of such unequal friendships, by, in the end, losing them, and ruining himself. The vicissitudes of a political life, and those deceitful vistas into office that were for ever opening on his party, made his hopes as fluctuating and uncertain as his means, and encouraged the same de-

lusive calculations on both. He seemed at every new turn of affairs to be on the point of redeeming himself; and the confidence of others in his resources was no less fatal to him than his own, as it but increased the facilities of ruin that surrounded him.

Such a career as this—so shaped towards wrong, so inevitably devious—it is impossible to regard otherwise than with the most charitable allowances. It was one long paroxysm of excitement—no pause for thought—no inducements to prudence—the attractions all drawing the wrong way, and a voice, like that which Bossuet describes, crying inexorably from behind him, “On, On!” Instead of wondering at the wreck that followed all this, our only surprise should be, that so much remained uninjured through the trial,—that his natural good feelings should have struggled to the last with his habits, and his sense of all that was right in conduct so long survived his ability to practise it.

Numerous, however, as were the causes that concurred to disorganise his moral character, in his pecuniary embarrassment lay the source of those blemishes that discredited him most in the eyes of the world. He might have indulged his vanity and his passions, like others, with but little loss of reputation, if the consequence of these indulgencies had not been obtruded upon observation in the forbidding form of debts and distresses. So much did his friend Richardson, who thoroughly knew him, consider his whole character to have been influenced by the straitened circumstances in which he was placed, that he used often to say, “If an enchanter could, by the touch of his wand, endow Sheridan suddenly with fortune, he would instantly transform him into a most honourable and moral man.” As some corroboration of this opinion, I must say that, in the course of the inquiries which my task of biographer imposed upon me, I have found all who were ever engaged in pecuniary dealings with him, not excepting those who suffered most severely by his irregularities, (among which class I may cite the respected name of Mr Hammersley,) unanimous in expressing their conviction that he always *meant* fairly and honourably; and that to the inevitable pressure of circumstances alone, any failure that occurred in his engagements was to be imputed.

There cannot, indeed, be a stronger exemplification of the truth, that a want of regularity becomes, itself, a vice, from the manifold evils to which it leads, than the whole history of Mr Sheridan's pe-

cuniary transactions. So far from never paying his debts, as is often asserted of him, he was, in fact, always paying;—but in such a careless and indiscriminate manner, and with so little justice to himself or others, as often to leave the respectable creditor to suffer for his patience, while the fraudulent dun was paid two or three times over. Never examining accounts nor referring to receipts, he seemed as if, (in imitation of his own Charles, preferring generosity to justice,) he wished to make *paying* as like as possible to *giving*. Interest, too, with its usual, silent accumulation, swelled every debt; and I have found several instances among his accounts where the interest upon a small sum had been suffered to increase till it outgrew the principal;—“*minima pars ipsa puella sui*.”

Notwithstanding all this, however, his debts were by no means so considerable as has been supposed. In the year 1808, he empowered Sir R. Berkely, Mr Peter Moore, and Mr Frederick Homan, by power of attorney, to examine into his pecuniary affairs, and take measures for the discharge of all claims upon him. These gentlemen, on examination, found that his *bona fide* debts were about ten thousand pounds, while his apparent debts amounted to five or six times as much. Whether from conscientiousness or from pride, however, he would not suffer any of the claims to be contested, but said that the demands were all fair, and must be paid just as they were stated; though it was well known that many of them had been satisfied more than once. These gentlemen, accordingly, declined to proceed any farther with their commission.

On the same false feeling he acted in 1813-14, when the balance due on the sale of his theatrical property was paid him, in a certain number of Shares. When applied to by any creditor, he would give him one of these Shares, and allowing his claim entirely on his own showing, leave him to pay himself out of it, and refund the balance. Thus irregular at all times, even when most wishing to be right, he deprived honesty it-

self of its merit and advantages; and, where he happened to be just, left it doubtful (as Locke says of those religious people, who believe right by chance, without examination,) “whether even the luckiness of the accident excused the irregularity of the proceeding.”

The consequence, however, of this continual paying was, that the number of his creditors gradually diminished, and that ultimately the amount of his debts was, taking all circumstances into account, by no means considerable. Two years after his death it appeared by a list made up by his Solicitor, from claims sent in to him, in consequence of an advertisement in the newspapers, that the *bona fide* debts amounted to about five thousand five hundred pounds.

If, therefore, we consider his pecuniary irregularities in reference to the injury that they inflicted upon others, the quantum of evil for which he is responsible, becomes, after all, not so great. There are many persons in the enjoyment of fair characters in the world, who would be happy to have no deeper encroachment upon the property of others to answer for, and who may well wonder by what unlucky management Sheridan should contrive to found so extensive a reputation for bad pay upon so small an amount of debt.

Let it never, too, be forgotten, in estimating this part of his character, that had he been less consistent and disinterested in his public conduct, he might have commanded the means of being independent and respectable in private. He might have died a rich apostate, instead of closing a life of patriotism in beggary. He might (to use a fine expression of his own) have “hid his head in a coronet,” instead of earning for it but the barren wreath of public gratitude. While, therefore, we admire the great sacrifice that he made, let us be tolerant to the errors and imprudences which it entailed upon him; and, recollecting how vain it is to look for any thing unalloyed in this world, rest satisfied with the Martyr, without requiring also the Saint.

WORKS PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

LONDON.

A Member of the Asiatic Society has in the press, "An Historical View of the Hindoo Astronomy, from the earliest period to the present time."

The sixteenth and last volume of the new edition of the "Théâtre Complet des Grecs," by M. Raoul Rochette, is just ready for publication.

Mr Bransly Cooper will publish, in a few days, an Anatomical Description of the Ligaments, as connected with the Joints.

Mr E. H. Barker is preparing for the press a Biography of the late Dr Parr.

A French translation of the novel "Marriage," is about to appear in Paris.

An elegant Collection of chaste Amatory Poems, from the best authors, will appear within the month.

A new edition of Bishop Andrews' "Preces Privatæ Quotidianæ," first published in 1675, in Greek and Latin, is nearly ready.

"The Fruits of Faith," with Elegies and other Moral Poems, by H. Campbell, are announced for publication.

A French translation of Scotch Border Minstrelsy will appear in Paris within a few days.

The modern French Biography, entitled "Biographie des Contemporaines," will be completed by the publication of two more volumes in the course of the month.

The first Part of a new work, entitled "Laconics, or the best Words of the best Authors," will be published on the 1st of November, and a Part will appear monthly until the work is completed, which will not exceed twelve Parts, with highly-finished Portraits.

Antediluvian Phytology, illustrated by a collection of the fossil remains of plants peculiar to the coal formations of Great Britain, by E. J. Artis, is announced in 4to.

Sketches, political, geographical, and statistical, of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, &c. will soon be published.

Dr J. A. Paris has in the press, a work on the Digestive Functions, and on the various complaints incident to their disordered states; with a general view of Curative Dietetics.

Dr J. E. Smith's Practical Treatise on Poisons, forming a comprehensive Manual of Toxicology, is nearly ready.

A Treatise on Epidemic Cholera, and Sketches of the Diseases of India, including
VOL. XVII.

ding statistical and topographical Reports, &c., by James Annesley, Esq. of the Madras Medical Establishment, will soon be published.

The Brazen Mask, a Novel, by Mrs Charlotte Putney; Montville, or the Dark Heir of the Castle; and the Stranger of the Valley, or Louisa and Adelaide, an American Tale, are announced for publication.

Sephora, a Hebrew Tale, descriptive of the country of Palestine, and of the manners and customs of the ancient Israelites, may shortly be expected.

Outlines of Truth, by a Lady, are in the press.

Botanical Sketches of the Twenty-four Classes in the Linnæan System, with fifty specimens of English plants, taken from nature, containing an account of their place of growth, time of flowering, and medicinal properties, with many Plates, are announced.

Nugæ Sacre; or, Psalms and Hymns and Spiritual Songs, will soon be published in a neat pocket-volume.

A new edition will shortly appear of the Vanity of this Mortal Life, or of Man as considered only in his present Mortal State; with a Dedictory Epistle to a Mourning Family, by John Howe, M.A., of Magdalen College, Oxon.

A translation of the Six Cantos of Klopstock's Messiah, in Verse, will shortly be published.

The Camisard, or the Protestants of Languedoc, a Tale, in three vols. 12mo., is nearly ready for publication.

The Secret Correspondence of Madame de Maintenon and the Princess des Ursins, from the original MS. in the possession of the Duke de Choiseul, is nearly ready.

Memoirs of Monkeys, &c. &c., 8vo., may shortly be expected.

Herban, a Poem, in Four Cantos, is announced.

An Epitome of Classical Geography, with Historical Notices of the most important Ancient Nations, &c., by W. C. Taylor, A.B., will speedily be published.

The Plays of Clara Gazul, a Spanish Comedian, are announced for publication, in post 8vo.

Part II. of the Economy of the Eyes, by Dr Kitchener, is just ready for publication.

Messrs Treuttel and Würtz have in the press, both in English and in French, Secret Memoirs of the Royal Family of
3 P

France, during the Revolution; with original and authentic Anecdotes of contemporary Sovereigns, and other distinguished personages of that eventful period: from the journal, letters, and conversations of the Princess Lamballe. By a Lady of Rank, in the confidential service of that unfortunate Princess. Each edition will be published in two vols. 8vo., and will be accompanied with a portrait and facsimiles.

A Greek and English Dictionary, on the Plan of Schrevelius, is announced. Besides the various parts of words usual in that work, this Dictionary will be found to contain all the inflexions of words used in the New Testament; and also the words peculiar to those Greek Tragedies commonly read at schools. By the Rev. John Groves.

The Antiquary's Portfolio, of Cabinet Selection of Historical and Literary Curiosities, in two vols. post 8vo., will speedily be published.

The Hearts of Steel, a new historical novel, by the author of "O'Halloran," &c. may be expected in a few days.

The Blessings of Friendship, and other Poems, by James M'Henry, B.M. will soon be published.

Loudon's Encyclopædia of Agriculture will appear in a few days. Also, the Gardener's Quarterly Register, and Magazine of Rural and Domestic Improvement, to be continued every month.

The Highest Castle and the Lowest Cave, or Events of days that are gone, by the author of "The Scrinium," is now just ready.

The Life and Adventures of Pandurang Hâri, a Hindoo, will shortly be published, in three vols. 12mo.

Instructions for Cavalry Officers, translated from the German of General Count Dismark, by Captain L. Beamish, 4th Dragoon Guards, are just ready.

The Mirror of the Months is in the press.

A Century of Surgeons on Gonorrhœa, and on Strictures of the Urethra, is announced for publication.

We are informed that a complete History of the city of Westminster is in preparation. It will contain, besides anecdotes of the illustrious individuals who have resided in it, an ample illustration of the sports and pastimes which took place in the palace of Whitehall during the reigns of James and the Charles's. Every object of architectural and topographical interest will be duly noticed.

A work on the plan of the German Literary Almanacks will be published early in the month of November next, by Messrs Baynes & Son, of Paternoster-Row.—

The volume is intended more especially for the religious reader of literary compositions, and will, therefore, contain only those productions that have an obviously religious or moral tendency. The illustrations (twelve in number) are by Martin, Westall, Corbould, Wright, Brook, &c.; and the engravings by Heath, Finden, Mitchell, Melville, &c. &c.

The Rev. C. Wellbeloved, Theological Tutor at the York College, has just published the Fourth Part of his improved Translation of the Bible, with Notes critical and explanatory, and with practical Reflections, for the use of families. This part completes the Pentateuch, with an abstract of the Mosaic Law, systematically arranged; and a Dissertation on the Jewish books and economy.

Mr Thomas Sharpe has announced a Dissertation on the Coventry Pageants and Mysteries. A history of the earliest dramatic entertainments of this country has long been wanted, and this promises to be a curious and highly-interesting publication.

The Speeches of Mr Canning, we are given to understand, are in the press, under the superintendence of a gentleman and a scholar, in every respect qualified for the task. This work is to consist of two volumes, with a preface, notes, &c.

Reprinting for publication, Reports of the Parliamentary Proceedings of last Session, systematically arranged and criticized, one vol. 8vo.—Also, in another volume, to be had separately, if required, Abstracts of all important Papers presented during the Session.—To be continued annually.

Dr Ayre, author of the work on the Functional Derangement of the Liver, and other organs of digestion, has in the press a work on the Pathology and Treatment of Dropsies; the Second Part, which will be published in a few weeks, containing an Inquiry into the Nature and Treatment of the Diseases of the Liver.

Joseph John Gurney has an 8vo. volume in the press, to be entitled, Essays on the Evidences and Doctrines of Christianity.

Mr J. Bentley has in the press, an Historical View of the Hindoo Astronomy, from the earliest dawn of that science in India down to the present time.

A Panoramic View of the City of Liverpool, taken from the opposite side of the river, is about to appear.

The forthcoming volume of the Forget-Me-Not will be ready for delivery some time in November. The literary department embraces, among many others, con-

tributions in verse and prose from the pens of James Montgomery, Esq., Rev. G. Croly, Rev. R. Polwhele, J. H. Wiffen, Esq., Henry Neele, Esq., Rev. J. Blanco White, J. Bowring, Esq., T. Harral, Esq., Rev. G. Woodley, Rev. W. B. Clark, W. C. Stafford, Esq., H. Brandreth, Esq., Mr J. Bird, Miss Landon, Mrs Hemans, Miss Mitford, Mrs Hoiland, Mrs Bowdich, Miss Pickersgill, Mrs C. B. Wilson, the late Mrs Cobbold, Mrs Hatfield, &c. &c. &c. The highly-finished Engravings, fourteen in number, are executed after the designs of Westall, Singleton, H. Corbould, Prout, Hills, Pugin &c., by Heath, Finden, G. Corbould, Le Keux, Winckle, and other eminent artists.

A Critical Essay on the Writings of St. Luke, translated from the German of Dr Frederic Schleiermacher: with an Introduction by the Translator, containing an account of the controversy respecting the origin of the three first Gospels since Bishop Marsh's Dissertations, one vol. 8vo.

Scottish Songs, Ancient and Modern; illustrated with Notes, a critical Introduction, and characters of the most eminent Lyric Poets of Scotland, by Allan Cunningham, four vols. post 8vo.

The Elements of the Differential and Integral Calculus, by the Rev. Dionysius Lardner of the University of Dublin. 8vo.

An Analytical Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, by the Rev. Dionysius Lardner, of the University of Dublin. 8vo.

The proprietor of Smirke's Illustrations to Shakspeare has nearly ready for publication a series of Plates in continuation of that undertaking, but which will consist of original designs, by the most celebrated Artists of the present day, and be found worthy to rank with such distinguished talent.

Mr Kendall is preparing for the press, "Ancient Knighthood, and its Relations with the past and present state of Society; and particularly with the Modern Military Profession." The same author is also preparing for the press, "Geological Errors, and Mytho-Zoology, or Inquiries concerning Sea Serpents, Crakens, Unicorns, Were-wolves, Ogres, Pigmies, &c.; to which is added, Contributions to the Natural and Civil History of several known Animals."

EDINBURGH.

A new and improved Edition of St. Guerdon's Well, and other Poems, by the late Mr Thomas White, Teacher of Mathematics in the Academy Dumfries.

Peter Steel, A. M. is preparing for publication a Greek Vocabulary, with Exercises, intended for the use of the junior pupils.

There is in readiness for the press, and will be published by subscription, an interesting work, dedicated by permission to the Right Honourable the Lord Stowell, entitled, "A Digest on the Law of Scotland relating to Marriage," but from its great extent and importance, it embraces the Primitive Institution, and History of Marriage, with its Laws in most of the civilized States; likewise the Canon and Civil Laws, with the Practice, Grounds, and Principles of our Institutional Writers; and, under appropriate Heads and Classifications, the numerous detailed Decisions in the Constitorial Court and College of Justice, since its Institution, nearly three Centuries past, with the Judgments of the House of Peers in Questions on this subject, appealed to that Right Honourable House. Also the Rights consequent on Marriage, Legal and Conventional, *in statu matrimonii*, and the Rights consequent on its dissolution, and other weighty considerations, introduced in the work, and calculated to be in the highest degree useful to the Judge, Lawyer, Professional Gentleman, Heads of Families, the Guardians of Youth, the Clergy, Kirk Sessions, Session Clerks, Parochial Schoolmasters, and Teachers, the thoughtless and inexperienced youth of both sexes, and to all persons of sound discretion. And it is the more interesting at the present moment, than at any former period, when it is considered that the Law of Marriage excites the greatest interest in this and the sister kingdom. To be published in four books separately, with an Index Materiaum, a Running Margin, and a correct List of the Names of the numerous decided cases, and references to authorities of the highest celebrity, and a useful and copious Appendix. By Peter Halkerston, LL.D.

The Last of the Laids, or the Life and Opinions of Malachi Mailings, Esq. of Auldbiggings. By the Author of Anals of the Parish, &c.

The Omen; elegantly printed in a pocket volume.

The Robber, and other Poems, by John Marshall, in one volume 18mo.

The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution. By the late Rev. Robert Wodrow, Minister of the Gospel at Eastwood. A new Edition, in eight volumes 8vo., containing a Memoir of the Author, a Preliminary Dissertation, many Important Documents never before published, numerous notes of Illus-

trations, Biographical Notices, &c. &c. By John Lee, D.D. one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, late Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Divinity in the University of St. Andrew's.

A Comparative View of Christianity, and all the other forms of religion which have existed, particularly in regard to its moral tendency. By William Law-rence Brown, D.D. Principal of Marischall College, Aberdeen, &c. &c. 2 vols. 8vo.

A Treatise on Mineralogy, Popular and Practical, embracing an Account of the Physical, Chemical, Optical, and Natural Historical Character of Mineral Bodies, with their uses in the Arts. By David Brewster, LL.D. Sec. R.S.E. In one large volume 8vo., with nearly 1000 Figures.

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MONTHLY REGISTER.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—*Paris, Sept. 6. 1825.*—It has been confidently asserted here, that the object of the Duke of Wellington's visit to Paris was to engage M. de Villele to give some semblance of a constitution to Spain. M. de Villele's reply was, that the present moment was a most inauspicious one for such an attempt; that a portion of Ferdinand's subjects were about revolting against him for not being sufficiently despotic; and should the revolt assume any thing like a formidable attitude, nothing was more likely than that Ferdinand would desert his Ministers, and throw himself into the arms of the insurgents. In that case, said the Duke

of Wellington, you will act as you think most prudent; but it is our determination, on the first favourable opportunity, to give something resembling a constitution to Portugal. You are well acquainted, replied M. de Villele, with Portugal, which you have saved; as to Spain, I have endeavoured to create a strong Ministerial party there, and my Minister, Zea, is not wanting in talent or *finances*; but the portion of African blood that runs in the veins of the Spaniards has rendered all my efforts nugatory. The King is a madman, who is in a continual state of alarm. This, and the natural cruelty of his disposition, renders an hebdomadal execution almost necessary to him. Be-

sides, he is an atheist, so that I have no chance of leading him by means of the priests. It is clear, that with such a King and such a people, the establishment of even the phantom of a constitution is impossible. Besides, how can we be certain that he party of Don Carlos is not in secret encouraged by the Russian Cabinet.—This is the most accredited version of a conversation that has been the chief topic of political chit-chat during the past week.

A considerable sensation has been excited in France by a report that the treaty with the Republic of St. Domingo contains a condition, suggested by the Pope, that, after the year 1827, any person professing the Protestant religion shall be compelled to pay to the Government a large annual tax, or be excluded from the ordinary privileges of citizenship. Strange as this rumour appears, there is every reason to believe that it is founded on fact, and it is discussed by all the Tory Protestants, who profess not to have the slightest doubt of its reality. The emigrants, who are to derive advantage from the pecuniary part of the treaty, are very bitter against M. de Villele, for reserving to himself the entire amount of the first instalments on the loan, by which he will influence the funds, whilst their claims are being thereby investigated.

There is a great demand in Paris for steam-engines of every description, and great efforts are making by the manufacturers to compete with the English market; but such is their poverty, that they require as much as three years credit for two-thirds of the purchase-money of any engine. I have this fact from the eminent firm of Perrier & Co., the steam-engine manufacturers. These gentlemen laugh at the idea of the French ever being able seriously to affect the manufacturing interests of Great Britain.

The Pilote states, that "when ten thousand men shall be assembled at the Camp at Bayonne, they will march to Madrid." We find it mentioned in the same paper, that eight freemasons had been executed at Grenada, and that at Madrid it was confidently expected the French troops would re-enter Spain.

Bordeaux, September 6.—General Foy arrived in our town yesterday, but it was quite unexpectedly. Immediately a crowd of citizens presented themselves at his hotel, and in the evening several of the musical students united to form a serenade under his windows; this was, however, forbidden to take place in the open air by the police, but was, however, performed in one of the rooms of the Hotel de France. This morning, at seven

o'clock, the steam-boat, the *Marie Therese*, which the company had offered to conduct the General to Blaye, left this place. There were on board fifty of the principal persons of the town, accompanied by a band of musicians, and as the General stepped on board the boat, his name resounded from all sides with almost unbounded acclamations. The General appeared highly pleased with the reception he had met with, and on quitting the place, said "I am not astonished at meeting here good Frenchmen, whom I love, and to whom I will give, in every circumstance, the utmost proofs of my devotedness."

The Will of Pauline Buonaparte, Princess of Borghese.—The Will is dated at the Villa Strozzi, near Florence, 9th June 1825. We translate a few of its bequests.

The whole of her property of every kind is to be equally shared among her appointed heirs and residuary legatees: The Comte de St. Leu (Louis Buonaparte), the Prince de Montfort (Jerome Buonaparte), and the Countess Lissona (Caroline Buonaparte), subject, however, to the discharge of the following legacies:—

To her nephew and niece—Napoleon, son of her brother Louis Buonaparte, and Charlotte, daughter of Joseph Buonaparte, and to their heirs, the Villa Paolina in Rome. This property is not to be alienated, under penalty of being added to the endowments of the Great Hospital of St. Spirito, in that city.

To her nephew Napoleon, son of her "brother the Emperor," the villa and possessions of St. Martino, on the island of Elba; the *lavabo* of porcelain used at the coronation, "as it will remind him of one of the most glorious epochs in the life of his late father;" also the box for perfumes, and the little bijoux of gold devised to her by the Emperor;—the whole as tokens of her tender affection for him.

To the Duke of Hamilton, Marquis of Douglas, her *nécessaire* (portable toilette) of gilt silver, as a token of remembrance of his friendship towards her.

To Jerome's son, born in America, by Miss Patterson, "whose marriage was annulled," 20,000 francs.

To her brother the Comte de Survilliers (Joseph B.), two vases of fine porcelain.

To her sister-in-law, the Countess de St. Leu, her *nécessaire*, made of steel.

To Sophia, her fille de chambre, "who has served her with so much fidelity," 1000 dollars, and her gold repeater. To another female servant, 200 dollars.

To the Hospitals at Rome, 600 dollars, for the celebration of masses; and to

Father del Pozzo, 50 dollars for the like purposes.

To the Duke of Devonshire, her small metal case (*medallier*) of cast iron, left to her by the Emperor in his will.

To the poor and sacristy of St. Mary the Greater, of Rome, 200 dollars.

To the Duchess of Hamilton, two fine vases of porcelain sevres, from her bed-chamber in the Villa Paolina.

To Lord Gower, her tea-service of sevres porcelain, exhibiting portraits of celebrated females.

To Lord Holland, the books in her library at Rome.

To the daughter of the Duchess of Hamilton, a small pearl ring.

To her sister the Countess of Lissona, her two warming-pans and two *bidets of vermeil*.

SPAIN.—Amidst the ignorance, bigotry, and moral prostration exemplified in Spain, we feel cheered and consoled by the display of any thing like the spirit of a martyr. The day, we trust, is coming, though it may not be near, when the Spanish people will honour the name of Paul Iglesias, as much as they will despise the crowd of trumpery saints who now disgrace their calendar, and when "hearts that slumber in uncreated dust" will shed tears of exultation over the story of his heroic death. The French papers say—

"The death of Paul Iglesias has produced among the people of Madrid opposite sensations. When they saw arrive, drawn on a hurdle, a man whom they had known as one of the most flourishing citizens of the capital, a general sentiment of pity was manifested. But Iglesias mounted the scaffold, and having already the cord round his neck, asked to speak. "Spaniards, my brothers," said he, "I have been devoted to liberty; I die like a Christian; I have received the aids of religion; pray for me. *I die for my country, for you all; learn from me to die with courage.*" Here the executioner threw himself off with him, and Iglesias already suspended, cried with a loud voice, "*Liberty or death.*" At this unexpected incident cries of "Long live the King" burst from all parts. In the midst of these shouts an exclamation of an opposite character was heard. It was with difficulty that the individual from whom it proceeded was saved from the hands of the people.—The Royalist brigand and bigot Bessieres died in a very different style. He repented of his crime, says the Madrid Gazette, and prayed that the example of his punishment might deter others from a similar attempt.

The Empecinado.—We extract from VOL. XVII.

the Madrid Gazette a decree of Ferdinand of Spain against some unhappy Freemasons, who are to be executed within three days, for having been caught in their "ridiculous dresses." Ferdinand is executing on the one side the Freemasons, who are considered synonymous with the constitutionalists, and on the other hand the Carlists, who are synonymous with the lovers of unmixed despotism. The *Étoile* says, without any remark, that the *Empecinado* has been executed at Rosa, in Castile. This chieftain has ended a life in which he seems to have steadily pursued the interests of his country, and in which he has had no act of baseness to reproach himself. He was the first who organized, or gave effect to the guerilla system in the war of independence. After Ferdinand had been seated on the throne, instead of endeavouring to advance himself by sacrificing in peace the honour he had obtained in the war, the *Empecinado* addressed a remonstrance to his Sovereign on the despotic system which he adopted, and which filled Spain with the confusion that continues to the present day. He was banished from the Court, and lived in retirement till the Cortes called him to active service. He was one of the last who was subdued by the invaders and their allies, and he has since been kept in prison; and that he has now been executed is a presumptive proof that his spirit had not been brought down to any act of servility. Such a man was fitted to do honour to the best of nations, but very unfit for Spain in her present condition.

The French papers mention the execution of Don Juan Martin (better known by the name of the *Empecinado*), after two years imprisonment. We should be glad to find the account groundless; but the state of Spain, and the character of her rulers, afford strong presumptions in favour of its truth. This gallant man was the most famous of all those guerilla leaders who struggled for seven years in the cause of the ungrateful tyrant, who seems to have resolved that no one who ever served him with fidelity shall escape destruction. Martin bore a high character for probity and honour, as well as courage; and the manly remonstrance he presented to Ferdinand in 1815, when terror shut the mouths of others, does him more credit than all his splendid achievements. In the beginning of 1815, when the prisons were crowded with the noblest patriots of Spain, and every day gave some new victim to exile or the scaffold, Martin came to the capital and put a paper into the monarch's hands, describing, in the frank and simple lan-

guage of a soldier, the evils and the dangers of the course then followed. He told Ferdinand, that he had disappointed his true friends, and placed his confidence in unworthy men; that the unwise measures of his ministers had lost America, ruined the finances, crowded the dungeons, and rendered it necessary to convert even the churches into prisons; that calumny and espionage were the path to preferment; that arbitrary forms and relentless persecution rendered justice nugatory; that order and prosperity was only to be expected from conciliation and forgiveness; and, finally, he advised him to convoke the Cortes, according to his solemn promise, as the first step to restore confidence and credit. "Those who knew by sad experience," says Captain Balquiere, "the vindictive character of the men through whose hands this energetic appeal would necessarily have to pass, trembled for the fate of the writer, whom they already pictured to themselves loaded with chains, and counting the days of an interminable imprisonment. Relying, however, on the justice of his cause, and the exact truth of all his statements, the intrepid chief was undaunted; nor could the threats of his enemies, or entreaties of his friends, induce him to leave Madrid, before it was ascertained that his letter had been seen by the ministers as well as the king. Having performed this last sacred act of loyalty and patriotism, El Empeinado retired to Leon, his native province, where he continued silently to deplore the fate of Spain, until a pretext was found for his exile in the ensuing year. This courageous action of a man, unsupported by the influence of family connections, wealth, or titles, is still a subject of deserved applause amongst his countrymen; while the power of virtue and conscious integrity over a corrupt ministry is finely illustrated in the forbearance of the court." Though not professedly a *liberal*, Martin did not hesitate a moment, when the French entered Spain in 1823, to take arms against the invaders. With a small body of partizans, he maintained his ground in the mountains of Leon, after resistance had ceased every where else, till he was overpowered and carried to prison,—from which he has at last been taken, to add another to the list of illustrious victims who have been sacrificed to the ferocity of bigots, and the fears of the most perfidious and base tyrant in modern history.

PORTUGAL.—It is mentioned with much confidence, that the King of Portugal has sent a requisition to the King of France, for his assistance against the in-

surgent spirit of his subjects, and that Great Britain has even given its assent to the march of a French force across Spain into Portugal. The latter part of this story is evidently unfounded, since, after what passed in Parliament last year, it is utterly impossible that the present Ministry of this country could ever acquiesce in such a proceeding.

HOLLAND.—*Steam Navigation.*—*Rotterdam, Sept. 11.*—His Britannic Majesty's steam-vessel Comet has come round here from Antwerp, where she has been in attendance on the Royal Sovereign, and landed here Sir Henry Blackwood and Sir W. Hoste. The gallant Admiral proceeded on a tour through this part of the country, and visited here the tombs of the celebrated Dutch Admirals buried in this city. Steam-navigation is making great strides in this country. The Rhine boats have altered their time of departure to suit the arrival of the London steamers; and travellers from your city can now proceed in one continued line, by steam, up to Cologne. The London steamers will now also be in communication with the Hamburg steamers from Amsterdam, which are capitally fitted up, and proceed from the latter city to Hamburg by inland navigation, and along the coast inside the islands,—avoiding thus the long open-sea passage direct from London.

New College at Brussels.—The Philosophical College at Brussels is expected to open on the third Monday in October. It appears that the Government spare neither care nor expense, that every thing in this establishment may be answerable to its important destination. It will be entirely lighted with gas. An immense hall, or lecture-room, in the shape of an amphitheatre, and capable of containing 1200 persons, is nearly finished. Each pupil will have his room in the College, which he will find completely furnished at the expense of Government. All the courses of lectures are gratuitous: the expense of board is only 200 florins; and stipends will be granted to pupils who are not able to pay so moderate a sum.

RUSSIA.—*St. Petersburg, Aug. 20.*—On the 16th, at five o'clock in the morning, the race between English and Cossack horses, of which notice has long since been given, took place. There were two extremely beautiful English stallions belonging to an English Society here, and two Cossack horses belonging to General Orlov Denisson; the distance run was seventy-four versts. The second English horse gained the prize of 25,000 rubles.

ITALY.—A private letter from Rome, dated the 22d ult. announces, as a great

triumph for the Government, that a band of robbers, consisting of twenty-eight banditti, who infested the road to Naples and the adjacent country, had "condescended to capitulate with the military authorities of the police. The Pope had had a fresh attack of indisposition, which, however, was not considered serious. He complains of weakness in his legs. Another letter says, that, on account of the long-continued drought, the river Tiber has been almost converted into a fine meadow! All the neighbouring lakes had sensibly fallen; that of Braciano, which supplies the Pauline fountain, which brought a river to the city, now gives only a thread of water; but happily there is an abundant supply from other sources.

The trials of the Carbonari, in the province of Ravenna, are concluded. The facts and the grounds of the judgments passed are printed, and form a large volume. The accused are 400 in number; some are condemned to death, others to the galleys, the majority to temporary imprisonment.

AUSTRIA.—The Emperor of Austria is holding a session of the Hungarian diet at Presburgh. On the 16th ult. he delivered a speech in Latin to the assembled magnates, who were about 800 in number. The Empress and several other members of the Imperial Family were present. The kind and paternal nature of the Emperor's speech was received with both tears and acclamations. It is also stated that he has sent positive orders to the Commander of his squadron in the Greek seas, that they are not to afford protection to any Austrian vessel which may be taken by the Greeks whilst conveying troops, ammunition, provisions, and stores, for the use of the Turks, or otherwise infringing the neutrality which the Emperor has resolved to maintain. All vessels captured under such circumstances are to be abandoned to their fate.

GREECE.—The news from Greece continues to be favourable, but nevertheless the opinion that Lord Cochrane will not proceed thither seems to be gaining ground. It is now asserted that his Lordship is by no means satisfied with the pecuniary part of the arrangement proposed by the Greek agents, in conjunction with certain gentlemen who formerly belonged to the Greek committee. If we believe the current representations, his Lordship by no means objects to the amount of remuneration offered, but doubts the security proposed, and doubts likewise the authority of one of the contracting parties to dispose of the funds of the loan in this manner. We give the

above merely as the rumour of the day, without at all vouching for its authenticity, as a great deal of artificial mystery is observed by those who in fact have nothing of importance to conceal.

It appears quite certain, from a variety of concurring accounts, that the Turks have met with a signal defeat off Missolonghi. The French papers inform us that the Greek Government at Nauplia had offered to put the country under the protection of Britain, and from the circumstantial and authoritative manner in which the statement is given, we believe it to be correct. From the cautious system acted upon by our Ministers, it is quite plain, that they would not accept a charge of so embarrassing a description. With regard to the Greeks, it is well known, that judging from what they have seen in the Ionian Islands, they have no favourable opinion of our protection. The offer, therefore, shows decidedly that they are reduced to great extremities.

Letters from Corfu state, that some dispatches had been seized upon a messenger from Ibrahim Pacha, by which it is discovered that several Austrians of rank have been deeply intriguing with the Turkish Government for the destruction of Greece.

The *Journal de Bruxelles* mentions that a Greek Committee has been instituted at Geneva, on a similar footing to those of England and France. Capo d'Istria is a member. One individual in Geneva has made a donation of 5000 francs to the Committee.

Niëmburg, Sept. 22.

While the Turkish Government at present places all its confidence in the Austrian Internuncio, and endeavours to meet all its wishes, it shows a distrust of the French Ambassador, because he has not given satisfactory answers respecting the great number of French officers in the service of the Greeks, and the assistance sent to the latter. But the Porte shews itself much more incensed against the English Charge d'Affairs, Mr. Turner, who is at present in a very disagreeable situation. He was lately invited to a conference with the Reis Effendi, who has the reputation of being a moderate and pretty obliging man; but this time he represented to Mr. Turner, by his Dragoman, in harsh terms, the hostile conduct of England, with which he bitterly reproached him. It is said that he informed the English Minister of the personal discontent of the Sultan with his conduct, and with his having constantly answered that the English Government could not hinder private individuals from

going to Greece, from entering into the service, or from sending assistance to the Greeks, but that for itself and its agents it observed the strictest impartiality. The Reis Effendi, it is said, declared to Mr Turner, that all these assertions were incorrect; that the Sultan had proofs that the Governor of the Ionian Isles, the English Admiral in the Mediterranean, and Commodore Hamilton, commanding the English squadron in the Archipelago, favoured the insurgents in every possible manner, to the great prejudices of the Turks; that such conduct was a violation of all the principles of neutrality, and rendered the Cabinet of London an accomplice in the insurrection of the Greeks; that if these grievances were not redressed, the Porte would be obliged to use reprisals against England. Mr Turner, it is said, answered the Reis Effendi, chiefly on the latter point, with great energy, and declared to him that the Porte has been more than once indebted for the preservation of its existence to the Crown of England, and that the latter was not to be intimidated by threats. It is affirmed that a note was afterwards drawn up, in a style of moderation, and presented to Mr Turner, in which, however, the Porte insists on the recall of the Governor of the Ionian Islands, of Admiral Neale, and Commodore Hamilton.

In the French papers we find another subject of political speculation, which, for a time, may withdraw the attention of the Parisians from the toasts and trade of the Black Republic. It is stated that the Government of Greece has invoked the protection of England, and that negotiations have been commenced for placing the Morea and the Greek islands under an English Lord High Commissioner, after the manner of the Ionian Republic. It is very clear that England cannot, from the situation in which she is placed, take advantage of this offer, allowing it to have been made. The principles of neutrality, declared alike by England, and by all Europe, render it doubly imperative on her to abstain from meddling between the Turks and the Greeks.

ASIA.

EAST INDIES.—Papers from Calcutta, to the 23d April, by the way of Liverpool, bring unfavourable accounts of the state of the war in India. In consequence of the repulse experienced by Colonel Cotton at Donabew, Sir Archibald Campbell, who was advancing towards the capital, had found it necessary to make a retreat of forty miles. The management of the

war seems to be a series of blunders on the part of our officers: Donabew had been supposed to be so weak that Colonel Cotton might have reduced it with a few hundred men; and it turns out to be so strong, that Sir Archibald must bring back his whole army forty miles to besiege it. The Bundoolah, or Burman Emperor's vizier, has, it is said, shut himself up in it with 30,000 men, and Sir Archibald Campbell hopes—as he has been hoping all along—that the capture or annihilation of this force will end the war. He reached Donabew on the 25th of March, and the following paragraph from the Bombay Chronicle shews that the preparations for the siege are not on a trifling scale:—"He encamped on a plain near the place, and was joined by General Cotton's party, who came round with their boats under a heavy fire from the stockade. Batteries, both for cannon and mortar, are erecting around the place, and Bundoolah is so strongly invested, that his escape is considered next to impossible. The Burmese had made two desperate sorties with their war elephants, but were gallantly driven back." Another letter of the 4th of April says, "One hundred pieces of artillery were ready to open on the night of the 3d instant, and a heavy cannonade was heard at Rangoon in that direction. Ships were expected to leave Rangoon for this place (Madras) in a very few days." Official accounts of the capture of Arrican, by General Morrison, have been received. The city was taken after a series of attacks, which began on the 26th March, and terminated on the 1st of April. The approach to the place was through a rugged and mountainous country, every pass of which the enemy had strengthened by their peculiar species of fortification. They display, however, less courage in defending their works than skill in their construction. Their resistance was but feeble, except on the 27th, when a British column attempting to scale a steep hill was driven back, by means of stones rolled down upon them from the summit. The British loss amounts to 245 killed and wounded. The slaughter of the enemy seems not to have been great; but the whole of his force in this quarter, estimated at 9000 men, is supposed to be dispersed.

AFRICA.—We have received accounts of a recent discovery in Central Africa, which will soon be laid before the public in greater detail; but of which the following outline is sufficiently curious:—Major Clapperton and Captain Daghani, in the course of their late expedition in that quarter of the world, arrived in the

territory, and subsequently resided for some weeks, in the capital of a nation, whose manners and history seem likely to occupy, to no trivial extent, the attention of the public of this country—we might safely say of the whole civilized world. They found a nation jet black in colour, but not in our sense of the term *negroes*, having long hair and fine high features. This people was found to be in a state of very high civilization; and above all, the British travellers witnessed a review of 7000 cavalry, divided into regular regiments, and all clothed in complete armour. Six thousand wore the perfect hauberk mail of the early Norman Knights, most strange by far of all, one thousand appeared in perfect Roman armour. The conjectures to which this has given rise are various. We confess, for ourselves, that, looking to the polished and voluptuous manners ascribed to these people, the elegance of their houses, &c. &c.; in a word, the total difference between them and any other race as yet discovered in the interior of "Africa, the mother of monsters," our own opinion is strongly that here we have a fragment of the old Numidian population; a specimen of the tribes who, after long-contending and long co-operating with Imperial Rome, were at last fain to seek safety in the central desert, upon the dissolution of the empire. In these squadrons Messrs Clapperton and Denham probably beheld the liveliest image that ever has been witnessed by modern eyes, of the legions of Jugurtha—may we not say of Hannibal? The armour, we understand, is fabricated in the most perfect style of the art; and the Roman suits might be mistaken for so many Herculean or Pompeian discoveries, if it were possible for us to imagine the existence of genuine antiques possessing all the glossy finish of yesterday's workmanship. One of these travellers has already set off on his return to this sable court.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—The papers lately received confirm the intelligence formerly laid before the public respecting the arbitrary proceeding of changing the currency, and the convulsions occasioned by the great alteration in the value of every article. The public meetings of the inhabitants, as might be anticipated, were stormy in the extreme, and the language used was, in some instances, very strong. We are glad, however, to perceive, by the latest dates, that this feeling had greatly subsided, and that the contents of their memorials and petitions are moderate, considering the severe changes which have been so abruptly brought forward in that unfortunate set-

tlement. In all their public papers their conviction is stated clearly, that such a measure imposed on the colony could only be brought about by the most gross misrepresentations.

AMERICA.

BRAZIL.—According to the last advices from Buenos Ayres, the Government of La Plata was taking vigorous measures to oppose the Emperor Pedro. On the 4th July the Chamber of Representatives addressed a message to the Executive, calling for information respecting the origin and state of the war in the Banda Oriental, and professing their resolution to make every effort, and to require from the people every sacrifice to maintain the national honour. On the 5th the war department issued a decree offering a bounty for recruits to the army, and about the same time a new Minister of War was appointed. In the meantime a correspondence was carried on between Lobo, the Brazilian Admiral, who was blockading the port with a squadron, and Garcia, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Brazilian Admiral accuses the Government of Buenos Ayres of favouring the insurrection in the Banda Oriental, and demands an explanation. Garcia replies, that the Admiral does not seem to be invested with the necessary powers to conduct such a discussion, but he denies that the republic had acted in the manner supposed, and states that it had been the intention of the Government to send a special mission to Rio Janeiro to adjust its relations with Brazil. In this state affairs remained at the date of the last accounts, in July. In the meantime the insurrection seems to proceed prosperously. A body of 300 Brazilian troops are said to have been destroyed by the insurgents at the Rio Negro, about 100 miles from Monte Video. In Upper Peru the Colombian General, Sucre, had warned the Brazilian commander, that if he did not immediately retire from the province of Chiquitas, he would drive him back by force, and retaliate upon the Brazilian province the cruelties the other had threatened on Peru. But Pedro has taken another step which is likely to have no small influence on his future fortunes. While making outwardly a blustering opposition to the authority of Portugal, he has bartered away the independence of Brazil by a secret compromise with his father. The old man is to be King of Portugal and Emperor of Brazil; Pedro is to enjoy the anomalous title of *Emperor Regent* during his father's life, and to succeed to both crowns at his demise. Brazil

is to have a separate legislature, of such quality, of course, as it may please Pedro and John to grant it; and an attempt is to be made to persuade the country to pay two millions sterling for the privilege of being thus humbugged, and again degraded to the rank of a beggarly dependency of a beggarly country two thousand miles off! The *Times* states—what is scarcely credible—that he British Minister, Sir Charles Stuart, has been the prime agent in this fraudulent transaction.

PERU.—On the 25th of April, the Peruvian Minister of Finance submitted to the Supreme Council the project of a sinking fund for redeeming the public debt. It divides the debt into internal and foreign, and sets apart for the extinction of the latter—1st, certain duties of customs—2d, the produce of the state mines, either by sale or lease—3d, the produce of the sale or lease of the state lands (after the internal debt is provided for)—4th, the whole produce of stamps, and part of what is received from tithes and ecclesiastical benefices—5th, the profits of the manufacture of gunpowder and other articles. The good faith evinced in this proceeding reflects credit on the Peruvian Government.

HAYTI.—An insurrection against the Government of Hayti broke out on the 28th of July, at Cape Haytien, but it was quickly suppressed. It appears to have been a plot formed by Christophe's black generals, to massacre the Mulatto chiefs, and form a government of their own. The privates whom they had engaged betrayed their intentions, and the leaders were arrested and imprisoned. The envoys of Hayti have arrived in France, and have been received with honour. They have brought with them the price which they are to pay for the acknowledgment of their independence, partly in specie, and partly in bills on different cities of Europe.

WEST INDIES.—*Religious Instruction of Negro Slaves.*—At a public meeting in Barbadoes on the 2d of August—the Lord Bishop in the chair—a Society was established for the conversion and religious instruction of the negro slaves. Each

member is to pay one guinea annually; and the money is to be expended in salaries to a number of catechists, who are to be licensed by the Bishop after previous examination, and subscription of the Church of England articles, and are to act under the direction of the minister of parishes where they are stationed. The instruction is to be confined to the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and such other religious works as are included in the catalogue of the Society for promoting Christian knowledge; and the wishes of the master are to be consulted as to the time and frequency of instruction. Dr Maycock, a planter, in supporting the motion, stated, that *two-thirds* of all the estates in the islands were under mortgage. The catechist, before being engaged, is required to make the following declaration:—"That he will not preach, or interpret, or administer the sacraments and other public rites of the church; but only read on the plantations, or other places committed to his care, that which the minister of the parish shall direct; there, during his absence, and with his consent, to bury, if required, the dead; to return thanks to God for women after child-birth; and instruct the young and ignorant in the principles of the Christian religion; that he will visit the plantations, or other places, at such times only as shall have been agreed upon between the Rector and the respective proprietors; that he will use sobriety in his apparel, and especially during times of religious instruction; that he will, as far as in him lieth, with God's help, move men to quiet and concord, and not give them cause of offence; and that he will be diligent in the reading the holy scriptures, with prayers and good advisement, to the increase of his knowledge." For the means of support of these teachers and catechists, the Bishop stated, that he looked, first to the monies placed at his disposal by his Majesty's Government; secondly, to the "Society for the Conversion of Negroes," and, thirdly, to the proprietors, individually; and collectively, through the formation of a branch association of that Society.

BRITISH CHRONICLE.

SEPTEMBER.

7.—*Combination*.—It is with much regret that we are again obliged to notice the lawless operations of certain persons supposed to be combined cotton-spinners. The threats made, that all the new workmen would be rooted out during the ensuing winter, are attempted to be put into execution with all the former malignity. Bell, who so fearlessly appeared against Kean, has, by repeated acts of intimidation, been forced to quit his employment, and has been wandering about idle for some time. There have of late been several cases of assault upon the workmen termed "nobs" in Messrs Dunlop's mill. Since the mill commenced lighting last week, a crowd of several hundreds have every night lain in wait for the new hands, at the entrance to the work, and as soon as they appear, (for safety they prudently come out in a body,) a general huzzza is got up, and the cry is raised "There's the — nobs coming—chip the —" Brick-bats, stones, and mud, are then hurled at them from all sides, and, from the darkness, their assailants are not easily identified. When they reach Clyde-Street, matters get worse. Numbers, who are lurking in the closes, join in the molestation, and they are insulted with the most opprobrious epithets, and pelted up the street. On Wednesday and Thursday nights, affairs assumed a more serious aspect. The workers on their way were so pressed, that they were divided from each other, and then they were stoned, and forced to take shelter in the first openings. Some who found refuge in the Police Office had been very ill used, and made grievous complaints that they were not protected in following their lawful employment. A married woman, who works in the mill, was dreadfully agitated, from the brutal usage she had received. She was repeatedly knocked down, and her clothes were covered with mud. She was unable to go to work next morning. William Graham, son of the wounded man, was particularly hooted and maltreated. Another spinner is cut on the face with a stone; and they have all received injuries on the body. Some of the crowd were observed to take stones out of their pockets, and throw them. For some time past every method has been tried to irritate the new hands, to make them commit

breaches of the peace, and thus bring them under public odium; but this having failed, assault has been resorted to. Two persons, who have been actively concerned in these acts of intimidation, are to be tried this day in the Calton Police Court. It appears absolutely necessary to appoint a guard to protect the workers from the mill till they reach their homes.

8.—*Glasgow*.—Such is the demand for machinery in this country, that there has been, during the last two years, as many works and as much machinery put up in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, to make and to manufacture machinery for the works alluded to, as had been established for nearly thirty years preceding.

9.—*Mechanics' Institution of Dunbar*.—A public meeting was held at Dunbar, for the purpose of establishing a Mechanics' Institution, which was chiefly attended by mechanics, and some respectable public-spirited individuals. Mr Robert Watson, Westbarns, stated to the meeting the general objects of Mechanics' Institutions, and read the opinions of Mr Brougham and others, that such institutions should be formed, and conducted chiefly by the mechanics themselves, under the patronage and superintendence of such public-spirited individuals as take an interest in the success of those institutions. He alluded to several gratifying instances of the beneficial consequences which had resulted from the diffusion of knowledge amongst mechanics, and concluded by moving a series of resolutions, which were unanimously adopted; and a committee was named for framing a code of regulations for the future government of the Institution. A number of mechanics immediately became subscribers; and, from the spirit which animated the meeting, there seems every prospect of a library being immediately formed, and other measures adopted for farthering the improvement and education of the mechanics in the town and neighbourhood of Dunbar.

Improvements in Orkney.—We have great pleasure in submitting to our readers the following extract of a letter received from Orkney; and we hail with delight the intelligence it contains, touching the progress of various manufactures in that remote country.

"*Kirkwall, 9th Sept.*—This part of the country begins to flourish; the industry and success of the people in the *Herring Fishery* have given them an extraordinary impulse, and they have this year had visitors from the coast of France purchasing their fish. Our absurd fishing-laws would require some revisal; or rather, the whole machinery of the fishing-board and fishing-laws, bounties and penalties, &c. ought to be done away with, and fish-curing left as free and unshackled as cheese-making. The *lace manufacture* is as yet in its infancy; but there is one branch of industry here which has been introduced within these two years, and is now carried on to great extent, and in most extraordinary perfection; it is the *Leghorn hat-making*. In colour, plait, mode of joining the straw into one piece or mat, and in general beauty, there is nothing imported from Leghorn at all equal to what is manufactured here. The process is exactly that described by *Cobbett*, from whose pamphlet our regular straw-manufacturers took the hint of attempting Leghorn plait, as their old straw-bonnet trade had become very dull, in consequence of Leghorn being worn. A great many acres of land have been sown this year with rye; and before ripening its head, it is found to *scald* to a finer colour than any other straw for this manufacture."

10.—The new bridge over the Avon, in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, on the Carlisle line of road, is now completed. It is a substantial and elegant piece of architecture, from a design by Mr Telford, civil engineer, and the building of the other bridges on the same line of road does the architect much credit. The whole line to Carlisle is now finished.

13.—*Pittenvale*.—The resuscitation of this borough (disfranchised by Court of Session for irregularity in election in 1823) which was to be effected by a Royal warrant, was preceded by a fortnight's carousing among the voters, and a zealous coaxing by the parties to gain proselytes. The Lord Advocate, who was understood to have got a hint that he was rather active in his interference on a former contest, was not expected to attend; but his lordship made his appearance, accompanied by Duncan Macniel and Walter Cook, Esqrs. as his counsel and agent. The party opposed to the Lord Advocate had the advantage so far, as they had been appointed managers of the borough on its disfranchisement by the Court of Session, and had, in consequence, possession

of the records, &c. On the day of election, 22 voters came to the scratch, —11 for the Lord Advocate, or Anstruther party, and 11 for the opposite party. The latter, however, would not admit the Lord Advocate's vote, on the ground that, though elected as a councillor on the 15th September 1823, he had not qualified on that day, though he had subsequently acted as a councillor with the party whose proceedings had been reduced, and declared null and void by the Court of Session; and that the Royal warrant entitled only the qualified councillors of the 15th September 1823 to vote at this election. Being in this way eleven to ten, the majority thus created filled up the new Council with persons in their own interest,—the Lord Advocate's party protesting against the election. The minutes, it is said, were then closed, and the clerk retired with the records, &c. The party who had thus, in their opinion, achieved a victory, met and dined in the Council-room; and were just prepared to give three cheers to a bumper-toast in honour of their success, when the other party, who had come to the resolution also to elect a Council, and had applied to the Sheriff and obtained a warrant to force open the Council-room, and admit themselves a clerk, broke in upon the carousers; and having elected Mr Connolly to be their clerk, proceeded to elect a Council and Magistrates, in which operation they met no opposition. We are, therefore, in the mean time blessed with two sets of Councillors and Magistrates, who must fight their future battles for preferment through the agency of the gentlemen of the long robe in the Court of Session.—*Dunder Advertiser*.

13.—*City Improvements*.—The first meeting of the new Committee on the improvements of the city of Edinburgh was held this day.

14.—*Perth*.—At the close of the war, the village of Stanley fell from a state of great prosperity to almost desolation and ruin, in consequence of the cotton-spinning-mills, at which a great number of people were employed, having ceased working. A company in Glasgow became proprietors of the mills, about two years ago; and, besides setting the old mills to work, they have erected other works upon a much more extensive scale, and otherwise improved the village. A new street has been laid out, to run parallel with the South Street, in which houses, two stories high, with attics, are already finished,

sufficient for the accommodation of one hundred and twenty families. Workmen are also employed in forming two other streets. Of water there is an abundance; and the spirited proprietors are building a large store-house, from which the work-people are to be supplied with all kinds of provisions and merchandise, to be procured by the company from the best markets, and sold at merely a saving profit. Two new mills, larger than the old ones, have been finished, and a third one is in progress. The mills are intended to form a square, in the centre of which an extensive gas-work has been constructed, for the purpose of lighting them, the vent of which is upwards of one hundred feet in height. When all the machinery is put in motion, employment will be afforded to a great number of people, and Stanley will once more be rendered one of the most stirring manufacturing villages on the north side of the Forth.

14. *Improvement.*—The draft of a bill has been formed under the direction of the Magistrates and Council, to be moved in the first Session of Parliament, to authorize a variety of improvements. Among these are, the new paving of the whole streets, the formation of common sewers, the institution of an effective police and of a bridewell; the formation of new streets; and the supplying of the town with water. The funds to be raised for these purposes are proposed to be placed under the charge of Commissioners partly chosen by the householders at large, after the manner practised in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, &c.

15.—*Dreadful Accident at the Ship Launched at Portsmouth.*—This was the day appointed for launching his Majesty's ship Princess Charlotte. A finer launch was never witnessed; but the melancholy accident we are about to record caused a dejection that will not easily be effaced. To approach the dock wherein the Charlotte lay, it was necessary to cross a foot-bridge swung on the top of flood-gates, which separated a basin from another dock; that in which the Charlotte was built, was dry; but the basin, which is of large dimensions, (being capable of holding two or three ships,) was full of water. A few minutes before the launch took place, the flood-gates, from the heavy pressure of water against them, broke away with a tremendous crash; and the bridge, sixty feet long, crowded with persons eager to get forward,

being left suspended, gave way in the middle, and the whole mass of a hundred or a hundred and fifty individuals were precipitated instantly to a depth of thirty feet, and the rush of a body of water, in height not less than twenty feet, engulfed the miserable sufferers. Their cries were, but indistinctly heard; for the whole were precipitated in one mass, while the rush of water caused such a vortex, that nearly the whole disappeared, and in a few moments, save the struggling of the few that floated, all was hushed! Astonishment, despair, and agony, were depicted on the countenances of all who witnessed this dreadful but momentary scene of horror. The praiseworthy exertions of individuals was, however, in a few moments displayed, particularly by some officers, who dived repeatedly, and in one or two instances were successful in bringing bodies to the surface. These were instantly carried to the surgery—where, we may say, in a few moments, hot-baths and warm bedding were in readiness; and, by the prompt exertions of Dr Porter and Mr Martell, surgeons, assisted by many others of the Faculty, the lives of six individuals were preserved. No need of praise can do these individuals justice, particularly the two medical gentlemen. Every exertion is making, by order of the proper authorities in the Yard, to procure the other bodies. Men are continually employed dragging for them, it being impossible, in the present state of the full tides, to drain off the water. In taking a full view of the bridge and gates, it is impossible to attach any thing like blame to any one. The gates were one mass of heavy timbers, many of which were 20 inches square, strongly braced with stout iron. Their solidity may be somewhat imagined, when it is stated that it took nearly 40 men to hoist perpendicularly a portion of one of the gates; for it must be understood, that such was the pressure of water against them, that they were literally wrenched from the stone-work, and broke in halves horizontally, snapping the heavy timbers that formed them like twigs. It was observed by many that some of the unfortunate sufferers reached the bottom of the dock before the water had made its full entrance; but in a moment, these enormous gates, with heavy pieces of planking, and blocks of wood which laid at the bottom, were dashed against the unfortunate individuals, and the whole hurried to and fro in violent agi-

tation. * Many escapes near, and on the ends of the bridge, are stated as being almost miraculous. When the water had assumed a surface, an infant in long clothes was seen quite buoyant; it was soon taken out without the least injury, and restored to its astonished mother, who, it would appear, was so frightened at the dreadful sight she witnessed, that she dropped her child into the water. It is impossible to calculate on the numbers that still may be in the dock, for those who have been found do not seem by any means to constitute the amount of persons who were on the bridge. There is only one application for a missing body; but when it is to be recollected that the notice of this melancholy business cannot as yet have reached any distance, and the masses of people in the dock-yard that day were from the farthest parts of the Kingdom, there is but too much reason to suppose that to-morrow will bring more distressing inquiries. Sixteen persons, it is supposed, have lost their lives by this unfortunate accident.

17.—*Tides at Leith.*—The tides at Leith this last week rose higher than at any time in the remembrance of the inhabitants. Much of the timber that usually lies on the sands above ordinary flood-mark was floated off, but no serious damage was done.

Establishment at Orbiston.—The establishment at Orbiston is already beginning to attract considerable attention. The building, when finished, will present about 880 feet of front—four stories high. It will accommodate 1000 to 1500 individuals, and may cost from £10,000 to £15,000 when complete. The east wing is covered in, and blue slated. This is intended for the children. The whole range will be ready for the roof in three or four weeks, and a portion of it will then be occupied. An oven, stoves, boilers, and other cooking apparatus, is getting up to be in readiness for the first inhabitants of the new community. Besides the agricultural department, and such as are requisite to supply their own wants (such as baker, brewer, tailor, shoemaker, butcher, &c.), they propose the manufacture of wheel-carriages, machinery, and leather and cabinet furniture; but they will be guided in a great measure by the capabilities of the applicants. A gentleman of some note as a machinist in London (a Mr. Cowper, we believe) has expressed an intention of joining the company, and there are others si-

milarly situated. The chief proprietors are generally those who subscribed most liberally to the Motherwell establishment. Mr. Combe is interim trustee for the Company, and, we believe, holds twenty shares. The object intended by this experiment is twofold:—to ascertain the extent to which all children can be trained to prefer virtue and industry to vice and idleness; and to ascertain to what height the lowest can be raised. The way the promoters of the plan propose to proceed with the children, is merely in the formation of their inclinations, for they disregard the use of force altogether. They say, "if we cannot make them all prefer what is best for them, we can do nothing." To raise the lowest they discard all "artificial irrational distinction." In their whole community they wish to have neither "master" nor "servant," and yet they expect to have all the advantages which can be derived from the command of servants without the plague and expense that attends them. Their confidence in the success of their views arises from a belief that is as much the interest of the rich to adopt this system as it is of the poor. The system, they say, appears as dark to those who do not comprehend it, as the steam-engine did to the Peruvians before they saw it in motion, and they expect the conviction of utility to be equally complete and conspicuous. Many of the middling classes, and some of the higher have made application for apartments, and in these apartments there are no distinctions. The public rooms are equally open to all who are clean in person and dress, and equally shut against all who are otherwise. For the use of those who want time or inclination to clean themselves, there are other inferior eating-rooms; but it is expected that after labour is over (which may be about five in the afternoon) all will be clean and neat, as we understand that the richer members are inclined to adopt a comfortable cheap dress, such as jacket and pantaloons, to avoid as much as possible all invidious distinction. Their arrangements are intended to give complete *liberty* to all; for all the people may lie in bed till mid-day, if they please, with this simple proviso, that they must, by labour or capital, convey to the general fund as much as they take from it. They have as much land (290 statute acres) as will yield food to the whole community; and their object is to avoid all opposition of interest. Their plan is that recommended so strenuously by

Mr Owen; and they have been enabled to put it more easily in practice, from the circumstance of dividing the proprietors from the tenants. In fact, it is simply a Joint Stock Company; the stock divided into 200 shares, payable by quarterly instalments of £10 per share. The proprietors purchase the land, build the dwellings and workshops, stock them with furniture, utensils, and machinery, and let the whole to a company of tenants. The advantages of this combination, they say, will afford more comfort and independence for the sum of £50 a year, than can be obtained for five times that sum elsewhere; but this is one of the assertions which the experiment is to prove.

19.—*Mutiny in the Goal*.—A considerable alarm was excited in consequence of the sudden movement of a party of the 17th Regiment, to quell a disturbance amongst the prisoners in the Calton Jail. Various rumours having gone abroad, the following we believe to be the true state of the case. Some of the convicts, by great ingenuity, contrived to break into the cell of, and rob a poor man, who has been long an inmate of the prison. A search was resisted on the part of the convicts, and the debtors were called to assist the officers of justice. This was considered a great breach of decorum, and a violent attack was commenced upon the debtors. A recent delivery of coals gave the assailants the command of a large supply of missiles, which they hurled at the debtors and turnkeys, who were soon discomfited, with a few slight bruises. The convicts, once infuriated, proceeded to demolish some of the gates, to enable them to get together in greater force; and, as the thing was so sudden, the military were with great propriety called in, when the convicts immediately submitted, and were all strongly ironed, and shut up in their cells. Most of the stolen articles have been recovered; but there was not the slightest intention to break the prison, though such a report was current over all the town.—Captain Young, the Governor of the jail, returned yesterday morning, at five o'clock, from Leithburn, on the Peebles road, where he had apprehended two of the convicts who escaped some weeks ago.

21.—*Increase of Population*.—The town of Maybole has had its full share of the prosperity of the country. Forty years ago it contained about 800 inhabitants, and, in 1801, the town and

parish contained 3,134; in 1811, 3,946; in 1821, 5,204; and it has increased at least 500 since; so that the town and parish now contain a population of above 6700. Cotton weaving is the principal employment of the people. There are, however, upwards of 100 shoemakers in the town, of which about 50 are employed by one extensive boot and shoe-maker in Glasgow. The fees run from 2s. to 2s. 6d. a fall. Farms have fully tripled their rents within the last 40 years. The best ground let at from £3 to £4 an acre. A plan of 160 new houses was lately drawn, of which thirteen have been built since March last. The weavers' houses are all erected on one plan. A neat room and kitchen, and four-room shop, let at £7, 10s. a year. Building is going rapidly on in various directions, and the town has on the whole a busy and thriving appearance.

21.—A grand Musical Festival was held in York-minster this week. The performers consisted of more than 600 persons, and the receipts amounted to £20,000.

22.—*Knox's Monument*.—This day, the foundation was laid at Glasgow, of a monument to our great national Reformer. Dr Chalmers preached a sermon on the occasion in St. George's Church, after which the committee, and 300 of the subscribers, walked in procession to the ground, which is within view of the cathedral, and went through the ceremony of laying the foundation stone. In the evening, 150 of the subscribers dined together, and there was no want of toasts and speeches. Of the clergy, there were present at the dinner, Professor McGill, the prime mover of the scheme, Dr Chalmers, Dr Dick, Dr Dewar, Mr P. M'Farlane, Mr Willis, Mr M'Leod, &c. The monument is to be a Doric column, 80 feet high, surmounted with a colossal statue of Knox. The site fixed upon is the highest point of the Craigs Park, in the vicinity of the High Church. This beautiful and commanding situation is exactly 191 feet above the level of the Clyde, and is a solid rock to the bottom of the vale below. From this level there is a view of the city and surrounding country, which is truly grand, and the position, on such an eminence, will be seen to great advantage in every direction, for miles round, and will seem connected with St. Mungo's Cathedral. A more happy situation for such a monument could nowhere else be found. It is creditable to the committee that they fixed upon native artists for the designs. The column is by Thomas Hamilton.

Esq., Architect, Edinburgh. It is from an ancient temple at Corinth, and presents the strongest fluted Doric any where to be found. This idea is certainly happy, considering that the column is founded upon a rock, and surmounted by a statue of that person whose bold and prophetic mind saw through a dim vista of ages the blessed results which would accrue to mankind by founding our civil and religious liberties upon the work of truth and the gospel, and dispelling for ever, despotism, ignorance, and superstition. The figure is standing firm, leaning a little forward, the right leg in advance, and holding in his right hand a small pocket Bible. In the energy of speaking, he has grasped, and raised up the left side of the Geneva cloak, and is pointing with the fore finger of his left hand to the Bible in his right; an action expressing what his features seem to indicate; as if he had just said, "The Scripture is my authority." The sculptor is Mr Forest, of Orchard, near Lanark, who executed the statue of Lord Melville for Edinburgh.

The following is the inscription deposited in the foundation-stone:

To testify Gratitude for inestimable
Services
In the cause of Religion, Education, and
Civil Liberty.

To awaken Admiration
Of that Integrity, Disinterestedness, and
Courage,
Which stood unshaken in the midst of
Trials,
And in the maintenance of the highest
objects.

FINALLY.

To Cherish unceasing Reverence for the
Principles and Blessings of that,
Great Reformation,

By the influence of which our Country,
through the midst of Difficulties,
Has risen to Honour, Prosperity, and
Happiness.

This Monument is Erected by Voluntary
Contribution,
To the Memory of

JOHN KNOX,

The Chief Instrument, under God,
Of the Reformation of Scotland.

By the Favour of Almighty God,
The Foundation Stone was laid by
STEVENSON MACGILL, D.D.

Professor of Theology in the University
of Glasgow.

On the 22d day of September, MDCCCXXV,
And Sixth year of the Reign of our
Most Gracious Sovereign

GEORGE THE FOURTH.

23.—*Edinburgh Asylums for the Blind.*—This day being the anniversary of the foundation of this excellent charity, the pupils, male and female, were examined in the Great Basket Room of the Asylum, in Nicolson Street, in presence of several of the Directors, and a crowded assemblage of the friends of the Institution, of whom the great majority were ladies.

The pupils were examined in their knowledge of the Scriptures, in spelling, grammar, writing, reading, arithmetic, geography, and astronomy; in almost all of which they displayed a wonderful proficiency. One of the male pupils, John McLaren, who has been in the Institution from its commencement in the year 1793, displayed an extraordinary memory, in repeating large portions of the New Testament, with most of which he seemed intimately acquainted, and could repeat almost every part of it, upon the book, chapter, and verse, being mentioned, and quoted the chapter and verse of whatever passage was repeated to him.

Several of the pupils showed great dexterity in writing with what they call the string alphabet, which consists of making particular knots, respecting the letters of the alphabet, on small pieces of twine. One of the pupils, Paul Ramsay, wrote in this manner the words "Fear God and Honour the King" in three and a half minutes. In a competition for the prize of five shillings in this class, the 121st Psalm had been given, and the specimen by Paul Ramsay, which obtained the prize, was declared by the teacher to be both beautifully written, and without a single error in spelling.

In the geography class, several of the pupils displayed great knowledge of the science, particularly a young female named Margaret Baxter, who, upon a large globe constructed for the use of the blind, pointed out any country, island, city, river, lake, or sea, which was requested of her, with the greatest facility, and calculated the latitudes and longitudes of various places with the utmost accuracy. Four of the male pupils were also examined in this class; namely, William Lang, James Murray, Charles Fyfe, and John Park, who all showed considerable acquaintance with the subject, but the latter was declared to be the most proficient. The pupils were examined in this branch by one of their own number, David McBeath, who is the inventor of the string alphabet. The first lessons in Geography which have been given in the establishment were within the present year; and the teacher of the boys, himself blind, did not receive a lesson till the first week in January.

There are constantly at work at the Asylum about twenty-six looms. Four weeks ago a mark was made on the respective webs, and a prize of a sovereign offered to the person who should produce the most cloth, well woven. Patrick Bradley, who has been long blind, but who, while he enjoyed vision, had been bred a weaver, produced 125 yards of stript Holland, and John Kennedy, a blind boy of fourteen years, taught in the Asylum, produced 126 yards, and they were of course pronounced the successful competitors; but to the latter much more credit appears due, from his extreme youth, and utter ignorance of the art till he entered the Institution.

Upon the whole, this was a most interesting exhibition; and the anxiety shown by the public to witness it on this occasion will, we have no doubt, cause the Directors, before the next annual examination, to make such arrangements as will enable all present to be fully gratified.

28.—The annual trial of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Pix was made this day in presence of the King's Assaymaster, and the Assaymasters and Court of Wardens of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths, and the same was found to be of the legal standard of eleven ounces two dwt.

30.—The autumn Circuit of the Judiciary Court has been altogether bloodless, no criminal having been sentenced to die. Their Lordships, in almost every instance, congratulated the Sheriffs on the lightness of the Calendars. At Edinburgh there was only one case for trial; at Dumfries there were two; Ayr, six; Inverary, five; Inverness, eight; Aberdeen, ten; Perth, fourteen; Stirling, eleven; Glasgow, forty-two; total, ninety-nine.

New Road.—When the King visited Edinburgh in 1822, a plan of a new road from St. Leonard's, leading by the basaltic columns, and through the village of Duddingston, onward to Portobello, was laid before, and explained to his Majesty, of which he highly approved. Since when, measures have been taken to carry it into effect. For some months past, workmen have been busily engaged in erecting a bridge over the burn, near to the mill, and the road thence to Portobello has long been staked off. In course of these proceedings, a mineral spring, apparently stronger, but of the same sort as that at St. Bernard's, has been discovered, near to Duddingston Mill. When this romantic road is completed, a more beautiful ride or drive can hardly be contemplated.

Important Invention.—In the present

scarcity of draw-boys, it gives us great pleasure to announce, that Claud Wilson and Alexander Lang, weavers, George Street, have made a most important improvement upon the French *Harness Machine*, which, in many respects, will be of the utmost advantage to the trade. The French machine costs £15, for a harness 400 of a tye; whereas, one upon the new principle can be procured for £5, and of 200 of a tye, for £4: the treadle in the former requires to be pressed down nine inches, in the latter only four and a half. The web which has been selected for a trial is a common imitation shawl; but the inventors are confident that they will be able to work a shawl, plaid, or trimming, with three covers, with one half of the cards that are required upon the French plan. The machine has been examined by a number of manufacturers, weavers, and mechanics, who have all expressed themselves highly satisfied. It is open for public inspection; and may be seen by applying at No. 139, George-Street.—*Paisley Advertiser.*

A Company is forming in Linlithgow for the purpose of erecting a manufactory on the banks of the Union Canal there, which is to combine the spinning and weaving of cotton. The benefit which the Union Canal has communicated to the line of country through which it passes has been immense, and we shall hail with peculiar pleasure the establishment of manufactories such as that now projected, and hitherto confined to the West of Scotland, upon its banks.

The Flood.—The Director of the Manx Museum has published in one of the Isle of Man newspapers an account of a geological phenomenon of some interest. He states, that the storms of last winter, which had been remarkably severe on the south side of the Island, had displaced some of the materials in the bottom of the sea, and exposed strata previously covered; and during the late hot weather, the reflux of the tide at Mount Gawne having carried the waters farther back than usual, there was laid bare, at the low water mark, "a bank of decomposed wood, generally of hazel, as was evident from the texture of the bark, and the existence of several nuts and clusters of nuts every where observable in the organic stratum." Three specimens have been sent to the Manx Museum; "the first one consists of a cluster of nuts in a matrix of decomposed vegetable matter; the second specimen is a piece of hazel, with every feature perfect; and the third is a detached nut, in such a state of florid ripeness, as to be split at once and

"This discovery, these facts, are of stupendous magnitude. They decide the question as to the history of the earth, and the nature of islands. They prove, that the present earth is nothing but the ruins of a former world; that islands are only the summits of vast mountains, and that the lower intervening grounds had been dry valleys, previously to their having been subject to the irruption of the waters of the "great deep." Without dwelling any longer upon generalities; let us confine ourselves to one particular fact. The stratum, or bank of hazlewood, in question, is of so extensive and fixed a nature, as not to admit of the hypothesis of its being foreign to its present situation. It will not admit the assumption, that it was removed from a former site to its present bed by some superhuman agency; hence it must be allowed, that its existing situation was once a fertile valley, where trees grew, and fruit flourished. But it may be urged, that as in many instances, in other countries, the waters of the ocean have gradually gained upon the Manx coast. This argument appears fair. In the case before us, however, it is neither tenable nor sound.—Why? Because, had the waters gained gradually on the hazel plantation, there would have been no decomposed foliage,—no perfectly ripe fruit! Whereas the ripeness of the fruit and the remains of the foliage indicate a sudden inundation, and attest that God called for the waters of the sea, and poured them forth on the "face of the earth." Even the period of the year in which this terrific visitation occurred is made abundantly apparent. The perfection of the nuts bears evidence it was autumn; and that it pleased Him who "measures the waters of the sea in the hollow of his hands," and "sitteth upon the flood," to devastate the earth when it abounded most in riches and in beauty. From the trend of the hazel bark to the coast of Wales, the natural conclusion is, that the Isle of Man formed the northern boundary of Wales. In respect to the material of the bank, the wood is not in a state of petrification; it is merely in a preserved condition—in such a one as may be attributed to the saline and marl strata on which it reposed, or with which it is incorporated.

Phosphorescence of Potatoes.—Lichtenberg tells us, that an officer on guard at Strasburg, on the 7th January, in passing the barracks, was alarmed on observing a light in one of the barrack-rooms. As this was strictly prohibited, fire was suspected, and he hurried forward to the apartment. On entering it, he found the soldiers sitting up in bed admiring a

beautiful light, which proceeded from potatoes in an incipient state of putrefaction. The light was so vivid, that the soldiers could see to read by it; it gradually became less and less vivid, and entirely disappeared by the night of the 10th of the month.

Burmese State Carriage.—The Burmese Imperial State Carriage, which was captured during the present sanguinary Indian war, has arrived in this country, and is preparing for public exhibition. It is without exception one of the most singular and splendid specimens of art that can be imagined, presenting one entire blaze of gold, silver, and precious stones—of the latter, the number must amount to many thousands, comprehending diamonds, rubies, sapphires, white and blue, emeralds, amethysts, garnets, topaz, cats-eye, crystals, &c. &c. The carving is of a very superior description, the form and construction of the carriage most extraordinary, and the general taste displayed throughout so grand and imposing, yet at the same time so chaste and refined, as to defy all rivalry, even from European workmanship. The enterprise and perseverance of this warlike people excite universal attention at this juncture, and the present object is calculated to prove that their skill in the arts even surpasses their prowess in arms—in both of which their proficiency appears to have been equally unknown to us. The carriage stands between twenty and thirty feet in height, and is drawn by elephants.

A magnificent project has been lately proposed for giving Manchester the advantages of a sea-port, by making a canal, navigable for large ships, from that town to the Dee. Mr Chapman, an experienced engineer, has made a survey (a running survey apparently) of the ground, and pronounced decidedly in favour of the practicability of the scheme.

An extraordinary interest was excited at Coblenz lately, by the first appearance there of a steam-boat on the Rhine. How strikingly does this single fact display the comparative backwardness of the neighbouring countries! The Rhine flows through a valley thickly inhabited by six or eight millions of people, it has a depth of five or six feet at a *minimum*, the greater part of the year; and from the frontiers of Switzerland to the sea, in a line of 500 miles, it has not a single cataract. It presents, in fact, the finest field for steam-navigation at present in the world, and had such a river flowed amidst an equal mass of population in America, the steam-boat, instead of being a stranger to its waters, would have covered them in hundreds.

APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, &c.

I. ECCLESIASTICAL.

Sept. 8. The Rev. Mr. M'Farlane, of St. John's Church, Glasgow, elected to succeed to the vacant Church of St. Enoch, also in that city.

— The United Associate Congregation of Stonehaven gave a call to the Rev. Dr. Liddell to be their Minister.

— The Second United Associate Congregation of Kirkcaldy gave a call to Mr. James Bain, Preacher, to be their Minister.

17. The Hon. Colonel Grant has presented the Rev. John Innes to the Church and Parish of Ordequhill.

II. MILITARY,—for August.

BREVET.

- Maj. Falls, (Town Maj. of Gibraltar,) Lieut. Col. in the Army 25 July 1825.
- Lieut. Liddell, E. I. C. Serv. and Orderly Officer at Mil. Semin. Addiscombe, local-rank of Lieut. while so employed 14 do.
- 2 Life Gds. Lieut. Broadhead, Capt. by purch. vice Crosse, ret. 25 do.
- Cornet and Sub-Lieut. Williams, Lieut. do.
- G. A. F. Cunynghame, Cornet and Sub-Lieut. do.
- R. Ho. Gds. Lieut. Doyne, Capt. by purch. vice Fitz Roy, prom. 14 do.
- Cornet Cosby, Lieut. do.
- 2d Lieut. Shelley, from Rifle Brig. do.
- 1 Dr. Gds. J. B. Morris, Cornet by purch. vice Wilson, prom. do.
- 2 G. W. Tobin, Cornet by purch. vice Collins, prom. 4 Aug.
- 4 E. F. Dayrell, Cornet by purch. vice Barne, prom. 7 July.
- 2 Dr. Cornet Hobart, Lieut. by purch. vice Clarke, prom. 21 do.
- M. G. Adams, Cornet do.
- 4 R. Grumbleton, Cornet by purch. vice Weston, prom. do.
- 6 Capt. Linton, Maj. by purch. vice Harding, prom. do.
- Lieut. Black, Capt. 28 do.
- Cornet White, Lieut. vice Orme, prom. 22 do.
- P. Wollaston, Cornet do.
- Cornet Mitchell, from 3 Dr. Gds. Lieut. do.
- 7 F. Hall, Cornet by purch. vice Warde, prom. 7 do.
- 8 Cornet Lyon, Lieut. by purch. vice Macqueen, prom. 21 do.
- J. S. Best, Cornet do.
- 9 Capt. Richardson, Major by purch. vice Hurt, ret. 14 do.
- Lieut. Porter, Capt. do.
- Cornet Shawe, Lieut. do.
- Cornet and Riding-Master Rind, rank of Lieut. 15 do.
- 10 S. C. Oliver, Cornet by purch. vice Giffard, prom. 7 do.
- 11 Supern. Assist. Surg. Campbell, Assist. Surg. vice Steele, dead 18 Jan.
- 12 Cornet Webster, from h. p. 16 Dr. Cornet by purch. vice Petre, prom. 21 July.
- 13 Major Paterson, Lieut. Col. do.
- Major Higgins, from h. p. 21 Dr. Maj. do.
- 16 E. B. Bere, Cornet by purch. vice Osborne, prom. do.
- 17 H. Withams, Cornet by purch. vice Massey, prom. 11 do.
- 3 F. Gds. Lieut. Coote, Lieut. and Capt. by purch. vice Stapleton, prom. do.
- 2d Lieut. Campbell, from Rifle Brig. Ensign and Lieut. do.
- Lieut. Nowal, Lieut. and Capt. by purch. vice Hall, prom. 13 Aug.
- W. F. Snull, Ensign and Lieut. do.
- 2 F. W. V. Hesse, Ensign by purch. vice Kennedy, prom. 21 July.

- 3 F. Lieut. Wright, Capt. vice Rolland, dead 17 Nov. 1824.
- Blair, Capt. 7 April 1825.
- 4 — Breton, Capt. by purch. vice Speed, ret. 21 July.
- Ensign Lardy, Lieut. do.
- Massey, from 96 F. Ensign do.
- 5 Hosp. Assist. Neilson, Assist. Surg. vice Johnstone, dead 30 June.
- 7 Lieut. Stuart, Capt. by purch. vice Beauchamp, prom. 13 Aug.
- 8 J. Longfield, Ensign by purch. vice Hare, prom. 23 June.
- 13 Lieut. Fenton, Capt. vice Clarke, dead 1 Jan.
- Tripheok, Capt. vice Thornhill, prom. 21 July.
- Ensign Blackwell, Lieut. do.
- 15 Volunteer Moorhouse, Ensign 1 Jan.
- Ensign Barton, from 5 F. Lieut. by purch. vice Hammond, prom. 4 Aug.
- 17 Capt. Pratt, from 97 F. Capt. vice Robison, cancelled 28 July.
- 18 Ensign Tamlinson, Lieut. by purch. vice Roberts, prom. 21 do.
- A. W. Thorold, Ensign do.
- 19 Lieut. Douglas, from 20 F. Lieut. vice Hughes, prom. do.
- 20 Ensign M'Dermott, Lieut. vice Douglas, 19 F. do.
- 22 R. N. Bolton, Ensign by purch. vice Streathfield, prom. 7 do.
- 24 Lieut. Harris, from 54 F. Lieut. vice Child, h. p. 26 F. 14 do.
- 25 A. Barnes, Ensign vice O'Brien, dead 21 do.
- Ensign Smart, Lieut. by purch. vice Lingard, ret. 27 do.
- Lieut. Willing'on, from h. p. 17 Dr. Lieut. vice Pickering, cancelled 4 Aug.
- 26 T. J. Campbell, Ensign vice D. C. W. Campbell, res. 21 July.
- 34 Assist. Surg. Orton, Surg. vice French, ret. 14 do.
- 33 Ensign and Adj. Dickens, rank of Lieut. 20 do.
- 37 Lieut. Molyneux, from 77 F. Capt. by purch. vice Barrallier, ret. 21 do.
- Waters, from 5 Vet. Bn. Lieut. 8 April.
- 38 Willcocks, Capt. 21 July.
- Ensign Campbell, from 89 F. Lieut. do.
- 39 Lieut. Wright, Capt. by purch. vice Newport, ret. 14 do.
- Ensign Coke, Lieut. do.
- J. Fitz G. Butler, Ensign do.
- 41 Lieut. Harrison, from h. p. Afr. Corps, Lieut. vice O'Neill, 61 F. 4 Aug.
- 42 — Raynes, from 44 F. do. 14 July.
- E. H. Chawner, Ensign by purch. vice Macleod, prom. 9 June.
- 44 Lieut. Evans, from 75 F. Lieut. vice Raynes, 42 F. 14 July.
- 45 Ensign Ward, from 48 F. Lieut. by purch. vice Perham, prom. 25 June.
- 36 R. Manners, Ensign vice Davids, dead 21 July.
- 47 — McNally, Ensign vice Geddes, killed in action 19 Jan.
- 52 Lieut. Biola, Capt. by purch. vice Hewett, prom. 14 July.
- Ensign Morhead, Lieut. do.
- G. C. Swan, Ensign do.
- 53 Assist. Surg. Maclean, Surg. vice Pollok, ret. do.
- 54 Lieut. Kelly, Capt. 20 do.
- Cosby, from h. p. 36 F. Lieut. vice Harris, 24 F. 14 do.
- Ensign Tobin, Lieut. 21 do.
- R. Burton, Ensign do.
- 58 Ensign Grant, Lieut. by purch. vice Fenwick, prom. do.
- 59 Hon. H. Howard, Ensign do.
- F. Bolton, Ensign by purch. vice John-

Lieut. Gleig, h. p. 78 F.
 Ensign D. C. W. Campbell, 26 F.
 ——— Johnson, 59 F.
 ——— McDermott, h. p. 12 F.
 ——— Dodd, h. p. Rifle Brg.
 ——— Cooke, h. p. 4 Ceylon R.
 ——— Waldron, h. p. 57 F.
 ——— Durell, h. p. Elford's Corps
 ——— Newman, h. p. 60 F.
 ——— Edwards, h. p. 15 F.
 ——— Aubin, h. p. 90 F.
 ——— Surtees, h. p. 8 F.
 ——— Hamilton, h. p. 7 Dr. Gds.

Appointments Cancelled.

Capt. Robison, 17 F.
 ——— Poppleton, 91 F.
 Lieut. Pickering, 25 F.
 ——— Rice, 96 F.
 Assist. Surg. Collis, 55 F.
 ——— Campbell, 45 F.
 ——— Gardiner, 71 F.

Removed from the service.

Dep. Assist. Com. Gen. Trench.

Deaths.

General Fail Craven Aug. 1825.
 ——— Earl of Donoughmore, in London 22 do.
 Lieut. General Desborough, Royal Marine, Canterbury 1 Aug. 1825.
 Lieut. Col. F. Downman, R. Inv. Art.
 ——— Hulse, h. p. 2 Prov. Bn. of Mil. 7 Aug. 1825.
 Major Gibbons, h. p. 60 F. in France
 Capt. Clabon, 58 F. Duncannon Fort, Ireland 11 Aug.
 ——— de Barthelemy, R. Afr. Col. Corps, Accra, Sierra Leone 12 June
 ——— Cavaria, R. Malta Fencibles
 ——— Hasleham, late 5 Vet. Bn. Bedford 28 May
 ——— Durie, h. p. 18 F. April
 ——— Clayhill, h. p. 77 F. Invergowrie, Dundee 16 May
 ——— Powell, Dublin City Mil.
 Lieut. Graham, 17 F. Hartowgate 28 June
 ——— O'Flaherty, 87 F.
 ——— Clancey, 2 Vet. Pn. 50 do.
 ——— Gardner, late 1 do. Battersea, Surrey 19 July
 ——— Nixon, late 5 do. Black Rock, near Dublin 16 do.
 ——— Sinclair, late 4 do. 21 June
 ——— Piggott, late 7 do. Hamsworth, near Birmingham 30 July
 ——— Jones, h. p. 25 Dr. St. Servans, France 8 do.
 ——— Kessler, h. p. 2 Line Gen. Leg. Hanover 4 May
 ——— de Bachele, h. p. 7 do. Hanover 28 July
 Ensign Davids, 46 F.
 ——— Robison, R. Afr. Col. Corps, on passage from Africa 23 May
 ——— Monckton, h. p. 60 F.
 ——— Davidson, h. p. Canadian Fen. Glasgow 12 May
 Paymast. Fentiman, h. p. Staff Corps Cav. drowned near St. Lucia, in Sept. or Oct. 1821.
 Quart. Mast. Davis, h. p. Lancashire Fen. Cav. Sligo 24 June 1825.
 Surgeon Scott, 6 Dr. Gds. Edinburgh 14 Aug.
 Assistant Surgeon Brown, 85 F. Malta 6 June
 ——— Johnston, h. p. 2 Gar. Bn. 17 July

Promotions and Appointments continued.

4 Dr. Gds. Cornet Keene, Lieut. by purch. vice Lawrence, prom. 27 Aug. 1825.
 W. Cuninghame, Cornet do.
 8 Dr. Lieut. Hort, Capt. by purch. vice Campbell, prom. do.
 ——— Cornet Popsonby, Lieut. do.
 ——— Sir W. L. Young, St. Cornet do.
 9 Serj. Maj. Wright, Quart. Mast. vice Hely, dead. 11 do.
 10 Cornet and Riding Master Surman, rank of Lieut. 18 April
 Cornet Sugden, Lieut. by purch. vice Stuart, prom. 27 Aug.

15 F. Cornet Neale, Lieut. by purch. vice Crossley, prom. 27 Aug.
 G. F. R. Johnston, Cornet do.
 17 Cornet Pole, Lieut. by purch. vice Robbins, prom. do.
 K. Fraser, Cornet do.
 F. Gds. Ensign Knox, from 55 F. Ensign and Lieut. by purch. vice F. Gds. 15 do.
 1 F. ——— Muller, Lieut. vice Babington, dead. do.
 R. W. Neville, Ensign 11 do.
 W. H. Campbell, Ensign by purch. vice Every, prom. 27 do.
 7 Ensign La Touche, from 11 F. Lieut. by purch. vice Stuart, prom. 15 do.
 8 ——— Deshon, from 2 Vet. Bn. Ensign 7 April
 11 England, Lieut. vice Moore, 45 F. 11 Aug.
 Gent. Cadet W. G. Eyre, from R. Mil. Coll. Ensign by purch. vice La Touche, 7 F. 15 do.
 M. J. Gaubier, Ensign vice Englebert, 11 do.
 12 Capt. Turberville, Maj. by purch. vice Hare, prom. 27 do.
 Lieut. Shafto, Capt. do.
 Ensign Baily, Lieut. do.
 B. Wilson, Ensign do.
 16 Brevet Maj. Audan, Maj. vice Hook, a Ceylon Reg. 11 do.
 17 Ensign Forbes, Lieut. vice Graham, dead. do.
 ——— Cooper, Ensign do.
 25 W. Jackson, Ensign by purch. vice Smart, prom. do.
 27 Lieut. Knox, from 1 Vet. Pn. Lieut. vice Talbot, prom. 8 April
 54 ——— Brown, from 46 F. Lieut. vice Simkins, exchange 11 Aug.
 55 ——— Semple, from 77 F. Lieut. vice Keogh, h. p. 44 F. 19 July
 Ensign J. F. of Parlatington, from h. p. 86 F. Ensign vice Horstead, exchange 11 Aug.
 Quart. Mast. Serj. Price, Quart. Mast. vice Mathews, dead. do.
 45 Lieut. Moore, from 11 F. Capt. vice Kelly, dead. do.
 46 ——— Simkins, from 51 F. Lieut. vice Brown, exchange do.
 50 E. H. D. F. Nupier, Ensign vice Monckton, 79 F. do.
 Lieut. Williams, from 5 Vet. Bn. Lieut. 8 April
 52 Capt. St. George, from h. p. Capt. (paying reg. diff. to h. p. Fund) vice Love, exchange 11 Aug.
 53 E. Delme, Ensign by purch. vice Knox, 5 F. Gds. 15 do.
 65 Serj. Maj. McPadden, from 85 F. Adj. with rank of Ensign vice Jordan, res. Adj. only 7 do.
 66 Lieut. Ross, from h. p. 88 F. Paymast. vice Kerr, h. p. do.
 75 ——— Payne, from h. p. Rifle Brig. Lieut. (paying the diff. to h. p. Fund) vice Pictet, cancelled. do.
 77 Lieut. Palmer, from h. p. 41 F. Lieut. vice Semple, 55 F. 11 Aug. 1825.
 79 Ensign Manners, from 46 F. Ensign vice Bates, 65 F. do.
 80 Lieut. Macdonald, from 89 F. Lieut. vice Twigg, prom. 20 do.
 85 W. F. M. Mundy, Ensign by purch. vice Martin, prom. do.
 88 Lieut. Ellis, Capt. vice Faris, dead. 11 do.
 90 ——— Stuart, Capt. by purch. vice Conry, ret. do.
 Ensign White, Lieut. do.
 H. R. Thurlow, Ensign do.
 Ensign Wetherall, Lieut. by purch. vice Davies, prom. 27 do.
 F. Carter, Ensign do.
 1 W. I. R. Lieut. Jeffares, Capt. vice Hemsworth, dead. 11 do.
 Ensign Gray, Lieut. do.
 G. R. Pole, Ensign do.
 Ceylon R. Brevet Lieut. Col. Hook, from 16 F. Lieut. Col. do.

CORN MARKETS.

Edinburgh.

Wheat.														Barley.		Oats.		Pease.		Quar. Loaf.		Potat. per peck.		1825.		Oatmeal.		Fl. & P. Meal.	
		Bls.		Prices.		Av. pr.																Bls.		Peck.		Bls.		Peck.	
		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.				s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.	
Sept.	21	547	27 0	40 0	35 4	50 0	54 0	21 0	25 0	25 0	25 6	0 10	1 0								Sept.	20	180	1 5	40	1 3			
	28	581	28 0	41 0	34 9	50 0	56 0	21 0	25 6	25 0	25 6	0 10	1 0								27	507	1 6	56	1 3				
Oct.		465	52 0	40 0	56 4	50 0	56 6	20 0	25 6	24 0	26 6	0 10	1 0								Oct.	4	417	1 6	40	1 3			
		573	52 0	40 0	56 1	50 0	53 6	19 0	24 0	25 0	27 0	0 11	1 0								11	595	1 5	44	1 3				

Glasgow.

1825.	Wheat, 240 lbs.						Oats, 264 lbs.				Barley, 520 lbs.				Bns. & Pae.		Oatmeal, 140 lbs.	Flour, 280 lbs.	
	Dantzic.		For. red.		British.		Irish.		Scottish.		Irish.		Scots.		Stirl. Meas.				
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	
Sept. 21	—	—	—	—	30 0	34 0	18 0	22 0	—	—	25 0	31 0	56 0	37 0	24 0	26 0	18 6	21 0	54 55
28	—	—	—	—	30 0	34 0	—	—	—	—	25 0	34 0	56 0	37 0	24 0	26 0	18 6	21 0	54 55
Oct. 5	—	—	—	—	30 0	34 0	—	—	—	—	25 0	35 0	56 0	36 6	24 0	26 0	18 6	21 0	54 55
12	—	—	—	—	30 0	34 0	18 0	21 6	—	—	25 0	33 0	56 0	36 6	24 0	26 0	18 6	21 0	54 55

Haddington.

1825.	Wheat.			Barley.	Oats.	Pease.	Beans.	1825.	Oatmeal.		
	Bolls.	Prices.	Av. pr.						Per Boll.	Per Peck	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Sept. 25	5 15	27 0	39 0	53 0	28 0	53 0	19 0	25 0	22 24 0	22 0	24 0
30	10 29	27 0	38 0	51 6	27 0	52 6	20 0	25 6	21 25 0	21 0	25 0
Oct. 7	7 96	28 0	41 0	55 1	27 0	52 0	20 0	24 0	25 25 0	23 0	25 0
14	8 57	25 0	39 0	55 5	27 0	52 0	20 0	24 0	21 25 0	21 0	25 0

Dalkeith.

1825.	Wheat.			Barley.	Oats.	Pease.	Beans.	1825.	Oatmeal.		
	Bolls.	Prices.	Av. pr.						Per Boll.	Per Peck	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Sept. 19	5 15	27 0	39 0	53 0	28 0	53 0	19 0	25 0	19 6	21 0	1 5
26	5 75	27 0	38 0	51 6	27 0	52 6	20 0	25 6	20 0	21 6	1 5
Oct. 3	5 75	28 0	41 0	55 1	27 0	52 0	20 0	24 0	3 19 0	27 6	1 4
10	5 75	25 0	39 0	55 5	27 0	52 0	20 0	24 0	11 17 6	19 0	1 5

London.

1825.	Wheat, per. qr.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.		Beans.		Pease.		Flour, 280 lb.		Quar. Loaf.											
				Fd & Pol.	Potat.	Pigeon.	Tick.	Boiling.	Grey.	Fine.	2d.												
	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	d.											
Sept. 19	50	74	58	15	28	45	25	30	25	35	41	54	58	46	51	63	47	50	35	60	45	54	10
26	50	75	58	45	28	45	25	30	25	35	41	54	58	46	51	68	17	50	35	60	45	54	10
Oct. 3	50	75	58	41	53	11	25	30	25	35	43	54	58	46	50	60	16	48	35	60	45	54	10
10	50	75	58	44	53	45	25	30	25	35	43	54	58	46	60	60	16	48	35	60	45	54	10

Liverpool.

1825.	Wheat.		Oats.	Barley.	Rye.	Beans.	Pease.	Flour.			Oatm. 240 lb.													
	70 lb.	45 lb.						60 lb.	per qr.	per qr.	per qr.	Eng. 210 lb.	Irish.	Amer. 196 lb.	Engl.	Scots.								
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.		
Sept. 20	6	0	10	5	2	0	5	6	1	8	5	9	58	41	42	50	36	51	54	56	30	55	16	23
27	6	0	10	5	2	0	5	7	4	8	6	0	58	44	42	50	36	54	51	57	30	54	16	25
Oct. 4	6	0	10	6	2	0	5	8	5	0	6	10	58	44	42	52	36	54	51	57	30	54	16	25
11	1	0	10	6	2	0	5	8	5	0	6	10	58	44	42	52	36	54	54	57	30	54	16	25

England & Wales.

1825.	Wht.	Rye.	Barley	Oats.	Beans.	Pease.	Oatm.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Sept. 10	67 5	16 1	40 11	26 9	46 6	47 1	—
17	65 10	42 9	41 10	26 5	45 9	48 1	—
24	68 10	41 7	41 2	25 5	45 2	52 2	—
Oct. 1	63 8	41 7	40 9	25 6	45 2	48 1	—

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE,

Kept at Edinburgh, in the Observatory, Caltonhill.

N.B.—The Observations are made twice every day, at nine o'clock forenoon and four o'clock afternoon.—The second Observation, in the afternoon, in the first column, is taken by the Register Thermometer.

1825.	Ther.	Baro.	Alt Ther.	Wind.	Weather.		The	Baro.	Ther.	Wind.	Weather.
Sept. 1	M. 59 A. 61	9.808 .809	M. 65 A. 65	W.	Dull, but warm, fair.	Sept. 16	M. 18 A. 55	9.416 .582	M. 58 A. 61	Cble.	Morn. & aftn. h. showers.
2	M. 58 A. 59	.973 .973	M. 65 A. 65	W.	Ditto.	17	M. 50 A. 56	.601 .596	M. 56 A. 59		Morn. rain, day sunsh.
	M. 57 A. 56	.909 .840	M. 61 A. 61	W.	Sunshine, very warm.	18	M. 52 A. 62	.562 .276	M. 61 A. 64	SW.	Day fair, rain night.
	M. 15 A. 55	.847 .817	M. 65 A. 62	NW.	Ditto.	19	M. 51 A. 57	.555 .525	M. 62 A. 65	SW.	Rain foren. and night.
	M. 42 A. 55	.865 .556	M. 63 A. 64	E.	Ditto.	20	M. 52 A. 56	.532 .518	M. 61 A. 60	SW.	Rain aftern. and night.
	M. 41 A. 55	.725 .625	M. 65 A. 61	W.	Sunsh. foren. shower aftn.	21	M. 51 A. 56	.119 .119	M. 60 A. 60	SW.	Rain foren. sunsh. altern.
7	M. 46 A. 56	.440 .214	M. 62 A. 65	Cble.	Dull, warm h. rain even.	22	M. 49 A. 56	.190 .621	M. 60 A. 60	Cble.	Day fair, with sunsh.
8	M. 45 A. 56	.272 .290	M. 50 A. 59	W.	Aftn. heavy shrs. rain.	23	M. 49 A. 47	.716 .575	M. 55 A. 55	SW.	Morn. frost, shrs. even.
9	M. 45 A. 58	.140 .140	M. 60 A. 61	SW.	Foren. shry. rain night.	24	M. 45 A. 61	.523 .419	M. 61 A. 62	SW.	Fair, but dull.
	M. 45 A. 57	.138 .110	M. 60 A. 63	S.	Heavy rain, morn. even.	25	M. 54 A. 61	.550 .550	M. 65 A. 62	S.	Fair, with sunshine.
11	M. 45 A. 54	.154 .190	M. 60 A. 60	S.	Aftern. thun. & light rain.	26	M. 48 A. 50	.519 .519	M. 59 A. 57	Cble.	Shrs. most of day.
12	M. 47 A. 57	.440 .710	M. 61 A. 61	S	Foren. shry. aftern. thun.	27	M. 15 A. 55	.889 .999	M. 58 A. 57	Cble.	Morn. cold, day sunsh.
13	M. 47 A. 55	.67 .492	M. 58 A. 57	E.	Day fog, night rain.	28	M. 10 A. 50	.999 .999	M. 57 A. 57	Cble.	Fair, with sunsh. warm.
14	M. 46 A. 51	.573 .516	M. 58 A. 59	E.	Morn. h. rain. day foggy.	29	M. 12 A. 55	.550 .940	M. 58 A. 58	S.	Fair, with sunshine.
15	M. 45 A. 54	.516 .402	M. 56 A. 56	E.	Ditto.	30	M. 45 A. 56	.756 .662	M. 60 A. 58	SW.	Dayf. sunsh. rain night.

Average of rain, 3.295.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

FROM the 6th till the 21st of September there was more or less rain every day, and the showers were generally preceded by a hazy mist, or clouded atmosphere. Dew-drops hung for several days at the ear of standing corn, except when they were washed off by falling showers: this continued moisture, under a high temperature, produced a sprouting on all top sheaves of stooks; even standing wheat and barley had begun to spring, and the general prospect had become most alarming: fortunately, however, a brisk wind, on the 22d, and the following days of the month, enabled farmers to secure the remains of the crop, and by the 30th, fields were every where clear, with very few exceptions. In the northern parts of the island, indeed, where the weather is generally precarious, some part of the crop still remains exposed; but though this may be a losing concern to individuals, the effects will not be generally felt.

In the early districts, the damage sustained by the rains is trifling. In the midland counties, on the most exposed situations, where little of the crop was secured before the rains commenced, a considerable loss has been sustained by springing. Where pease lay, either uncut or in sheaves, on the field, the straw was rotted, and the pease much deteriorated, but the quantity exposed was inconsiderable: a great breadth of beans stood in the fields, even in the earlier districts, during the rains, but they were not much injured. Wheat and barley turn out well at the thrashing-mill, and yield fine samples. Wheat is certainly above an average, and barley is a fair crop. Oats are rather deficient, and beans, in many instances, do not appear richly podded, but pease will yield a full return. Since the commencement of the present month, the weather has been showery, and a large breadth of potatoes yet remain in the ground; where they have been taken up, the returns are exceedingly various; upon the whole, the return is considerably below an ordinary average. Turnips have improved considerably, and will be fully as weighty as usual.

Wheat sowing, after fallow, commenced in the earlier districts by the middle of September, and a fine harvest has been obtained. The dropping weather is unfavourable to sowing this grain on low lands after beans, and that operation goes on slowly. Some clover stubbles have been plowed and sown with wheat, but much time is to be got in the ground, and the aspect of the weather is not favourable.

Wiltshire, 10th October 1825.

Course of Exchange, London, Oct. 11.—Amsterdam, 12: 4. Ditto at sight, 12: 1. Rotterdam, 12: 5. Antwerp, 12: 1. Hamburg, 37: 2. Altona, 37: 3. Paris, 3 days sight, 25: 40. Ditto, 25: 65. Bourdeaux, 25: 65. Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 151. Petersburg, 9½, 3 U. Berlin, 7. Vienna, *Eff. flo.*, 10: 2. Trieste, ditto, 10: 2. Madrid, 37. Cadiz, 37. Bilbao, 36½. Barcelona, 36. Seville, 36½. Gibraltar, 31. Leghorn, 49½. Genoa, 44½. Venice, 27. Buenos-Ayres, 43½. Naples, 40½. Palermo, per oz. 122. Lisbon, 51. Oporto, 51. Rio Janeiro, 50. Bahia, 52. Dublin, 9½—Cork, 9½ per cent.

Prices of Bullion, ½ oz.—Portugal Gold in coin, £.0.0.0. Foreign Gold in bars, £.3.17.6d.—New Doubloons, £.0.0.0. New Dollars, 4s. 11d. Silver in bars, standard, 5s. 1d.

Premiums of Insurance at Lloyd's.—Guernsey or Jersey, 10s.—Cork or Dublin, 10s. 6d.—Belfast, 10s. 6d.—Hamburg, 7s. 6d. a 12s. 6d.—Madeira, 15s. 9d. a 20s.—Jamaica, 25s. a 30s.—Houma, 35s. a 40s.—Greenland, out and home, 0 a 0 gs.

Weekly Prices of the Public Funds, from Sept. 21 to Oct. 12, 1825.

	Sept. 21.	Sept. 28.	Oct. 5.	Oct. 12.
Bank Stock.....	—	—	—	225
3 ½ cent. reduced.....	—	—	—	87½
3 ½ cent. consols.....	88½	88	88½	88½
3½ ½ cent. do.....	—	—	—	95½
4 ½ cent. do.....	103	102½	102½	103½
Ditto New do.....	—	—	—	—
India Stock.....	260½	265½	—	—
— Bonds.....	13 14	16	—	19
Exchequer bills.....	2 p.	2 p.	par.	3 p.
Consols for account.....	88½	88½	88½	88½
French 3 ½ cents.....	—	99 fr.—c.	99 fr.—50 c.	100 fr.—c

Prices of Stocks.—Edinburgh, 14th October 1825.

	Shares.	Paid up.	Price.
Royal Bank of Scotland.....	£.100 0 0	£.100 0 0	£.200 0 0
Bank of Scotland.....	83 6	83 6 8	220 0 0
Commercial Banking Company of Scotland,..	500 0 0	100 0 0	no sales.
National Banking Company.....	100 0 0	6 0 0	
British Linen Company.....	100 0 0	100 0 0	315 10 0
Edinburgh Friendly Insurance Company,..	0 0 0	100 0 0	1000 0 0
Caledonian Fire Insurance Company.....	100 0	10 0 0	
Hercules Insurance Company.....	100 0	10 0 0	
North British Insurance Company.....	200 0	10 0 0	
Edinburgh Life Assurance Company.....	100 0	10 0 0	
Insurance Company of Scotland.....	10 0	10 0 0	
Scottish Union Insurance Company.....	20 0	1 0 0	1 2 0
West of Scotland Insurance Company.....	10 0	10 0 0	
Edinburgh Coal Gas Company.....	25 0	17 2 6	
Ditto Oil Gas Company.....	25 0	11 10 0	
Leith Oil Gas Company.....	20 0	20 0 0	18 0 0
Edinburgh Portable Gas Company,	10 0	3 0 0	
Edinburgh Joint Stock Water Company.....	25 0	25 0 0	
Forth and Clyde Canal Company.....	Average.	400 16 0	
Union Canal Company.....	50 0	50 0 0	50 0 0
Australian Company.....	100 0	40 0 0	53 0 0
Caledonian Iron and Foundry Company.....	25 0	2 0 0	
Shotts Iron and Foundry Company.....	50 0	20 0 0	21 0 0
Edinburgh and Leith Glass Company.....	20 0	9 0 0	11 7 0
Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Alloa Glass Co....	20 0	4 0 0	4 13 0
North British Loan Company.....	50 0	3 0 0	2 10 0
London, Leith, Edin., & Glasgow Shipping Co.	0 0	0 0 0	42 0 0
Scotch Porter Brewery Company.....	20 0	2 0 0	
Leith and Hamburg Shipping Company.....	0 0	0 0 0	
Caledonian Dairy Company.....	25 0	2 0 0	

ALPHABETICAL LIST of ENGLISH BANKRUPTS, announced between the 23d of August and the 19th of September 1825; extracted from the London Gazette.

Adams, J. Bristol, grocer.
Adams, W. Wallingford, Berks, innkeeper.
Barnes, W. Miler lane, cheesemonger.
Barnes, T. Dennington, merchant.
Barrow, T. Liverpool, corn and flour-dealer.
Bate, T. Hastings, chemist.
Bine, A. E. Bath, bookseller.
Blahop, G. Great-East-cheap, butcher.
Boddington, C. J. Hook-norton, Oxford, inn-keeper.
Roosey, W. Colchester, grocer.
Bradfield, J. London wall, grocer.
Bridges, G. B. Oldham, Lancaster, draper.
Bryan, J. Lynn, ironmonger.
Hull, C. E. Bristol, grocer.
Chadwick, J. Kennington, carpenter.
Clarke, J. Leeds, cabinet-maker.
Clarke, D. Walsall, Stafford, draper.
Criswell, D. Nottingham, twist machine-maker.
Cross, C. Ludgate-street, victualler.
De Bar, J. Gloucester, coach-maker.
Dickson, J. Fish-street-hill, haberdasher.
Dods, R. High-street, Southwark, linen-draper.
Every, T. Fore-street, Lincolncourt, anchor-smith.
Ferguson, J. Catterick, scrivener.
Ferry, S. High-street, Shoe-ditch, tripeman.
Fidkin, T. Teddington, Middlesex, maltster.
Godber, G. Redlion-street, draper.
Goold, H. M. F. Brighton, dealer.
Harrison, H. A. Liverpool, haberdasher.
Harpur, J. jun.
Hippesley, H. Shipton-Mallet, Somerset, brewer.

Jarman, J. Bath, haberdasher.
Keeling, E. and E. Harnley, Stafford, flint-merchants.
Lawson, R. P. Heslington, Lancaster, leather-cutter.
Low, Wm. Wood-street, haberdasher.
Lynam, G. Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, flint and colour-grinder.
Manning, T. B. Portsea, music-seller.
Manwell, J. Birmingham, timber-merchant.
Markland, F. Norwich, brewer.
Morse, J. Daventry, woollapier.
Mortimer, R. Sealefield, Bradford, dyer.
Nicholson, J. Workington, Cumberland, flour-dealer.
O'Reilly, E. Exmouth-street, agent.
Park, T. J. Westbourne-place, Chelsea, builder.
Parry, H. and J. Underwood, Change-alley, Cornhill, bill-brokers.
Robson, R. Seymour-place, Mary-le-bone, carpenter.
Saudwell, J. Hoxton, victualler.
Sarell, P. Cophthall court, merchant.
Seldon, D. and W. Hinde, Liverpool, merchants.
Shiers, E. Manchester, cotton-merchant.
Smith, J. Ludgate-hill, woollen-factor.
Stevens, J. Norwich, yarn factor.
Walsh, P. Bristol, linen-chaper.
Wheelhouse, W. Norwich, line-draper.
White, J. jun. Bishop-Wearmouth, iron-founder.
Williams, D. Depford, slate-merchant.

ALPHABETICAL LIST of SCOTCH BANKRUPTCIES and DIVIDENDS, announced September 1825; extracted from the Edinburgh Gazette.

SEQUESTRATIONS.

Aitken, Alexander, merchant in Dundee.
Hallingall, David, brewer in Leven.
Forrester, Alex. lithographic printer in Edinburgh.
Gemmell, Alexander, ironmonger in Paisley.
Kemp, John, merchant in Perth.
McCool, James, wright in Pollokshaws.
McLaren, John, distiller in Comrie.
Manuel, John, junior, & Co. distillers at Stobbs.
Park, Robert, & Co. commission-agents in Glasgow.
Steven, Robert, horse-hirer and horse-dealer in Edinburgh.
Wilson, John, senior, grocer in Glasgow.

DIVIDENDS.

Laing, John, late merchant in Aberdeen; by John Leslie, manufacturer there.
McCall, James, & Co. masons and builders in Ayr; by George Douglas, merchant in Glasgow.
McDonald, John, late merchant in Perth; by John Bower, merchant there.
Martin, James, & Co. merchants in Paisley; by the trustee there.
Stephen, John, junior, upholsterer and undertaker in Dundee; by William Kirkland there.
West & Eckford, coach-makers in Edinburgh, by Francis Burke, accountant there.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

1825, Feb. 28. At Matras, the Lady of David Hill, Esq. chief secretary to the Government, a daughter.
Aug. 4. At Hamburg, Mrs Thomas W. Matthews, a son.
23. At Birgham Cottage, Berwickshire, Mrs Douglas, 15, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, a daughter.
24. At Ballytruckle, in the liberties of the city of Waterford, a poor woman, named Duggan, who earns a livelihood by washing, was safely delivered of four children—two of them were born at six o'clock in the morning, and two at eleven.
25. At Glemiston Manor, Mrs Ramsay, a son.
26. At Glemiston Hall, Leicestershire, the Lady of Glemiston, a daughter.
27. At Kirkwall, Mrs John Haikie, a son.
28. At Dalquharr House, Mrs Meredith, Pentecost, a son.
29. At James Eakin, the mission of Colgrain, Esq. a son.
30. At Rosemount, the Lady of Captain Hugh Stewart, a son.
Sept. 2. At Mulliston House, Lindisgowshire, the Lady of E. W. H. Schenley, Esq. a son.

Sept. 2. At Lausanne, Switzerland, the Lady of A. Scott Broomfield, Esq. a daughter.
5. At No. 20, Pitt-Street, Edinburgh, the Lady of Colonel William Stewart, 5d foot, or Buils, a son.
7. Mrs Chancellor, of Shillhill, a son.
8. At Dunse Castle, the Lady of William Hay Esq. of Drummevie, a daughter.
9. At Portland Place, London, the Lady of Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Bart. a daughter.
— The Lady of Major Saml Harvey, of Castle Semple, a daughter.
10. At Elgin, Mrs Colonel Gordon, Inverlochy, a son.
12. At Barendine, the Lady of Duncan Campbell, Esq. of Barendine, a son.
— At Morungside, Edinburgh, Mrs Crawford, a daughter.
15. At 18, Hill-Street, Edinburgh, the Lady of Dr William Cairnes, Bolton-Street, London, a son.
15. At his house in Broughton Place, Edinburgh, the Lady of Patrick Boyle, Esq. surgeon, R. N. a son.
— At Edinburgh, Mrs George Wauchop, daughter.

Sept. 15. At Powfouhis, the Lady of Jas. Bruce, Esq. a son.

— At Dingwall, Mrs George Mackenzie, a son.
16. At Darnhall, the Lady of Captain Loch, R. N. a son.

— At Drumpellier, Mrs Buchanan, a son.
17. At Duncan-Street, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, Mrs William Maxwell Little, a son.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Moir, of Leckie, a son.
— At the College of Glasgow, the Lady of D. K. Sandford, Esq. a daughter.

19. At Morton Cottage, Portobello, Mrs Henry Steele, a daughter.

— At the Manse of Greenlaw, Mrs Home, a daughter.

19. At Bridge Castle, Mrs Watson, a daughter.
20. At Edinburgh, Mrs Richard Mackenzie, a daughter.

— At 22, Great George Square, Liverpool, Mrs Sillar, a son.

21. Mrs Mackenzie, No. 5, Forth-Street, Edinburgh, a daughter.

22. At Edinburgh, the Lady of Major Cubitt, Royal Artillery, a daughter, who survived but a short time.

— At 78, George-Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Robert Nasmyth, a son.

25. At Edinburgh, the Lady of John Hamilton Coli, Esq. a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

1825. Aug. 1. At Hamilton, Mr Alexander McKimby, to Eliza, eldest daughter of Mr John Brown, Dumfries.

22. At Langholm, Mr George Scott, senior, merchant there, to Miss Helen Scott, of the same place.

25. At Yethbyre, William Grierson, Esq. second son of Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, Bart., to Miss Jane Beattie, daughter of Thomas Beattie, Esq. of Crieve.

29. At Stockbridge, George Crichton, Esq. Viewforth, to Catharine, second daughter of the late William Forrester, Esq. of Culmote, Stirling.

— At Cannon House, Dr James Pitcairn, to Cecilia, youngest daughter of David Thomson, Esq. W. S.

30. At Edinburgh, Mr Peter Mitchellhill, surgeon, Downie Place, Port Hopetoun, to Rebecca, daughter of Mr Thomas Brumby, stoneware-merchant, Rose-Street.

— At Leith, Mr Robert Schaw, merchant, Leith, to Margaret, daughter of Mr William Auld, merchant there.

31. At London, Ernest, Comte de Geyssels, to the Honourable Maria Elizabeth Twissleton Pienies, only daughter of Lord Saye and Sele. His Royal Highness Prince Leopold honoured the ceremony with his presence, and gave the bride away.

Sept. 1. At Stirling, Mr Edward Carett, of Brigg, Lincolnshire, to Harriet, second daughter of Robert Peacock, Esq. of Sol-guth House, Perthshire, and niece of the Reverend William Cus, Dauby Hill, Yorkshire.

3. At London, the Right Hon. Stratford Caning, his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, to Eliza Charlotte, eldest daughter of James Alexander, Esq. of Sommerhill, Kent. M. P.

5. At New Scene, near Perth, the Rev. William Murray, Muchalls, to Miss Jane Stewart, eldest daughter of the late Mr Allan Stewart, Shuna, Appin.

— At Glasgow, Mr John Cullen, merchant, Stirling, to Miss Elizabeth Gordon, Wnlas.

— At St. Luke's, Chelsea, the Rev. Charles Grant, LL.B. vicar of West Bisham, Norfolk, to Caroline Mary, only daughter of the late Charles Graeme, junior, Esq. judge of Purneah, Bengal, and grand-daughter of Charles Graeme, Esq. of Dean House, Hants.

— At Thames-Ditton, Captain G. F. Lyon, R. N. to Lucy Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald.

6. At Stewarton Manse, James Monteith, Esq. Glasgow, to Lilia, second daughter of the late Rev. James Douglas, minister of Stewarton.

6. At Bonnington, John Haig, Esq. of Dublin, to Jane, daughter of the late John Haig, Esq. Bonnington.

9. At Edinburgh, Roger Duke, Esq. to Eliza, only daughter of the late Captain L. Oliphant of Kinnedar.

Sept. 9. At Aitkenhead, Mungo Campbell, Esq. merchant, Glasgow, to Isabella, Craigmie Gordon, eldest daughter of John Gordon, Esq. of Aitkenhead.

— At Edinburgh, Mr Alexander Turnbull, merchant, Leith, to Christian, fifth daughter of Mr Jas. Thomson, of the Cess Office, James-Street.

12. At New Monkland Manse, Robert McCulloch, Esq. writer, Aurdrie, to Margaret, eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr James Bogg, minister of New Monkland.

15. At Stirling, Francis William Clark, Esq. writer, Stirling, to Agnes, eldest daughter of Jas. Wright, Esq. writer there.

— At Tam, William Walker, Esq. merchant, Glasgow, to Sarah Wilson, youngest daughter of Robert Murray, Esq. Tain, Ross-shire.

14. At Gosford, Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, Esq. to Lady Charlotte Charteris, fourth daughter of the Earl of Wemyss and March.

15. At Montrose, Robert Hecart, Hecart, Esq. of Hecart, to Elizabeth Jane, eldest daughter of Thomas Bruce, Esq. of Arnot.

— At Castle Forbes, Aberdeenshire, Sir John Forbes, Bart. of Craigievar, to the Hon. Charlotte Elizabeth, daughter of the Right Hon. Lord Forbes.

16. At Lamlithgow, Mr John Stott, leather-merchant, Edinburgh, to Agnes, second daughter of Mr Joseph Greenock, of Lamlithgow.

— At Blythwood Hill, the Rev. Laurence Lockhart, minister of Inchman, to Louisa, only daughter of the deceased David Blair, Esq.

19. At Calderbank, James Finlay, Esq. eldest son of Kirkman Finlay, Esq. of Castle Toward, to Janet, eldest daughter of Hugh Bogie, Esq. of Calderbank.

20. At Kenkil, Mr Allan Anderson, merchant there, late of Balmacellan, to Miss Charlotte, youngest daughter of Mr John Edgar, late of the Bengal artillery.

— At Huntingdon, county of Huntingdon, A. P. Robertson, Esq. merchant, Leith, to Christina, eldest daughter of William Anslie, Esq. of Huntingdon.

At No. 50, Castle-Street, Edinburgh, William William Watkins, Esq. younger of Sholton, in the county of Salop, to Christian, daughter of the late Thomas Watkins, Esq. Lamlithgow.

25. At Yethbyre, William Grierson, Esq. second son of Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, Bart., to Jane, daughter of Thomas Beattie, Esq. of Crieve.

26. At Doncaster, Lieutenant General Sharpe of Hoddam, to Jane, daughter of Godfrey Higgins, Esq. of Skellow Grange, in the county of York.

Lately, The Count de Nipperg, to the Archduchess Maria Louisa, the widow of Bonaparte. The Emperor of Austria, who has, on all occasions, shown himself an indulgent parent, is supposed to have favoured this union, and, in token of his approbation, it is said, will raise the Count to the dignity of a Prince.

DEATHS.

1825. Feb. 21. At Broach, Bombay, Lieutenant James Hay, of the 10th regiment of native infantry.

June 12. At George Town, Demerara, aged 25, Mr James Macgregor, merchant, only son of Mr Macgregor, st. Andrew's Square. He was a most dutiful son, just and honourable in all his transactions. He is much and justly regretted.

25. On his passage to England from Bombay, aged 48, Lieut. Colonel Frances French Staunton, C. B. Aud-de-Camp to the Governor-General of India, and late Commandant of Ahmednagar.

Aug. 9. At Maravillas, Madeira, Lady Jardine, widow of Sir Alexander Jardine, Bart. of Apperlyth, Dumfriesshire.

11. At Thorpe, Mr Samuel Birks, aged 100. He was the only person living in these parts who recollected hearing the late Rev. John Wesley preach, before he left College. This was on a visit which Mr Wesley paid to Wentworth House, in company with his father, the Rector of Epworth, in 1753.

21. At his house, No. 6, Drummond-Street, Edinburgh, Mr John Ewart, stabler.

22. At No. 114, Lauriston Place, Edinburgh, William, youngest son, and, on the 20th current, Agnes, eldest daughter of Mr James McNaught, merchant.

Aug. 25. At Dundee, in the 62d year of his age, Mr. Archibald Ogilvie, merchant, and for several years one of the magistrates of that town.

— At the Manse of Abbotshall, the Rev. William Anderson, minister of that parish, in the 52d year of his age.—Under the guidance of an excellent father, in the bosom of an affectionate family, were fostered those pious and generous dispositions, so well suited to the sacred profession, upon which he entered with his whole heart. He sought not, in his public instructions, to obtain the reputation of popularity, but faithfully endeavoured to inculcate the principles of Christian faith and duty, and diligently to discharge the more unostentatious, but no less useful, offices of personal inspection, and private visitation. If, at any time, a shade of depression was thrown over his too susceptible heart, it was when the thought was awakened, that his delicate state of health prevented him from labouring yet more assiduously, in dividing the bread of life among his little flock. Their temporal, and, above all, their spiritual interests, were never separated from his thoughts; and those who were permitted to share his confidential hours must have witnessed how beautifully was displayed, in his unostentatious character, the affectionate pastor. Many of those among whom he laboured, with zeal and assiduity, for fifteen years, will bear testimony to the purity of his manners, the benevolence of his disposition, and the mildness of his piety. In private life, the irreparable privation of his amiable worth is testified by the grief of his desolate widow, and mourning relatives, by whom he was tenderly beloved. Though he disregarded the applause of the world, from a conviction of his being but an unprofitable servant, yet an upright and honourable man, and a faithful Christian pastor, should not descend to the grave without a tribute of grateful and affectionate remembrance.

27. At Dundee, Ann, and, on the 17th current, Margaret, daughters of the Rev. David Russell.

— At Auldeath, Miss Margaret Easton, daughter of the late Rev. Robert La Toth, minister of Abernethy.

— At London, Miss Core, wife of Mr. Charles Henry Core, late merchant in Edinburgh.

28. At Buchlyvie, the Rev. William Spens, pastor of the United Associate congregation there, in the 53th year of his age, and 15th of his ministry.

29. At Edinburgh, Mrs. Wight, relict of Alex. Wight, Esq. advocate, formerly Solicitor-General of Scotland.

— At Inverary, Mr. Donald McLean, merchant there.

31. At Greenock, suddenly, in the prime of life, Miss Margaret Maxwell, wife of the Rev. William Auld.

— At No. 18, Kier-Street, Edinburgh, Mrs. Margaret Thomson, wife of Mr. John Hill, merchant.

— At Portobello, Major James Davidson, late in the service of the Honourable East-India Company.

— At the Manse of Ormiston, Mrs. Mary Johnston, wife of the Rev. John Ramsay.

Sept. 1. At Glasgow, Miss Jean Duncan, daughter of Mr. Andrew Duncan, printer to the University.

— At Glenfuir House, Helen Geddes, wife of Robert Graham, Esq. Whitcomb.

2. At Cupar, Catharine, third daughter of Mr. Horsburgh.

— At the Manse of Abernethy, Perthshire, Mrs. Jane Gillespie, relict of the Rev. Wm. Duncan, late minister of Abernethy.

— At North Luffenham House, Rutland, the Right Hon. Lady Anne Noel, aged 87, sixth daughter and last surviving child of the late Baptist Earl of Gainsborough. By her death, Sir Gervase Noel, Bart. her Ladyship's nephew, obtains an addition of £2000 a-year to his property.

— At Aberdeen, William Shepherd, Esq. formerly one of the Bailies of that city, in the 89th year of his age.

Sept. 4. At her house, Melville-Street, Edinburgh, Mrs. Mary Stuart, relict of the late Charles Stuart, Esq.

— At Edinburgh, Mr. Alexander Hall, builder, Thistle-Street.

5. Mrs. Philadelphia Barbara McMurdo, wife of Norman Maclellan, Esq. of Tarbrax.

— At Oban, Mrs. Mary McLarty, wife of Wm. Campbell, late Collector of Customs there.

6. At his house, Carrubrie's Close, Edinburgh, Mr. James Borthwick, wire-worker, aged 37.

In Montague Square, General Stevens, in 85d year of his age.

— At Annis, Robert Montgomery, Esq. of Barnhill.

7. At North Park, Mrs. Helen Bogle, wife of John Hamilton, Esq.

— At Ivelsh, Mrs. Robson, relict of the late James Robson, Esq. of Samistoun.

— At his seat, Weston, Staffordshire, in the 61th year of his age, the Right Hon. Orlando Earl of Bradford, after a painful and lingering illness of nearly two years.

9. At Jersey, after a short illness, Thomas Du Maine, Esq. Deputy Commissary-General.

— At Alborough, of the cholera morbus, after a short but very severe illness, the wife of John Tempest, Esq. and only surviving sister of Henry, late Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K. G. &c.

— At Glasgow, Mrs. Sarah Riddell, relict of Mr. John Shaw, bookseller in that city, and sister of the late Alexander Riddell, Esq.

— At 25, New-Street, Canongate, Edinburgh, in her 17th year, Clementina, daughter of Mr. John Rutheven.

10. At 7, Stafford-Street, Edinburgh, Mrs. Elizabeth Forster, widow of Thomas Gregson, Esq. of Blackburn.

— At Ayr, Mr. John Gibb, merchant.

— At Edinburgh, W. M. Greig, second son of the Rev. C. Greig, St. Ninian's.

— At Stirling, Mr. Henry Reidpath, watchmaker.

12. At Richmond, Mrs. Wellesley Pole Long Wellesley.

— At Titchfield, Hants, James, fifth son of the late Admiral Sir Archibald Collingwood, Dick, of Sydenham.

13. At Cardross, in the 89th year of age, Sir David Maxwell, Bart.

— At her house, 121, Prince's Street, Edinburgh, Miss Catharine Gibson, daughter of the late Thomas Gibson, Esq. of Muirton.

— At Cooper's Hall, Surrey, Lord Langford, in the sixty-third year of his age.

11. At Banff, Patrick Duff, Esq. of Carnoustie, Banffshire.

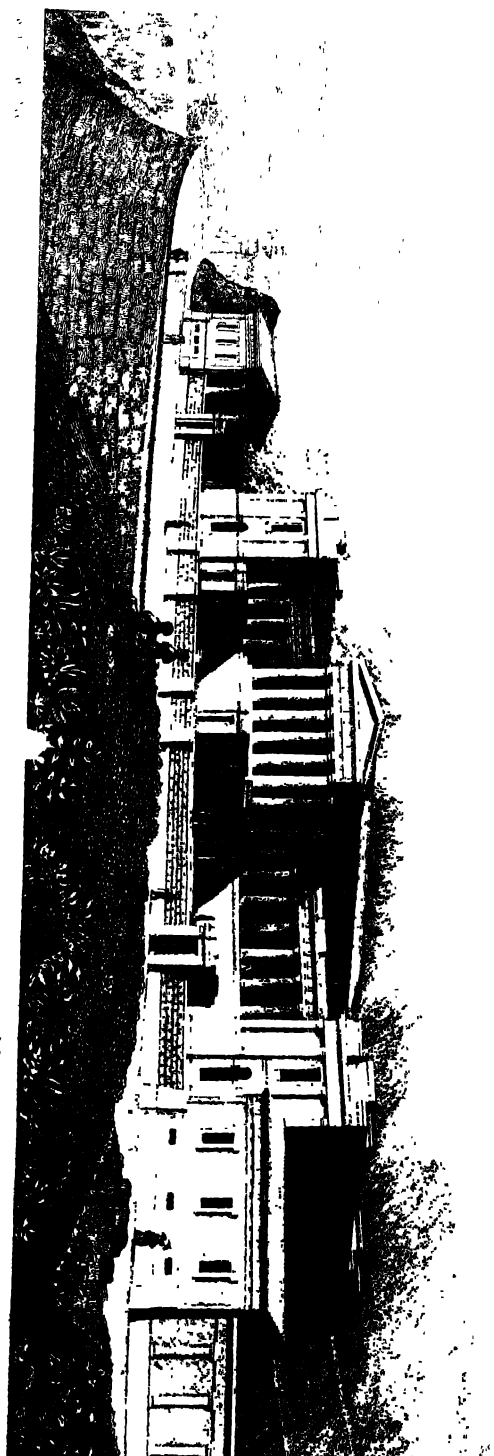
— At 58, Nicolson-Street, Edinburgh, much lamented, Mrs. Mary Lookup, spouse of Mr. John Ainslie.

Lately, in North America, where he had gone for the recovery of his health, Hugh Rose, Esq. of the colony of Demerara, eldest son of the deceased John Rose, Esq. of Ardrinmack.

— At his seat, Castle Howard, in the 78th year of his age, the Earl of Carlisle, K. G. and Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire.

— Of apoplexy, at La Mancha, the Baron d'Éroles, in the 40th year of his age.

— At Senna, Southern Africa, Mr. George Kilpatrick, surgeon R. N. son of Mr. George Kilpatrick, Craigmyle, Glasgow. In June 1825, a party, consisting of Mr. Forbes, botanist, sent out by the Horticultural Society of London, Lieutenant C. Brown, and Mr. Kilpatrick, both of his Majesty's ship *Leven*, on a voyage of survey along the eastern coast of Africa, under the command of Captain W. F. W. Owen, volunteered their services on an inland expedition to explore the river Zambesi or Cuama, and the country adjacent; they were next to have proceeded through the heart of the country to Lakea, where English missionaries reside, thence to Cay Gatoon. They had not proceeded far up the river, when Mr. Forbes fell a victim, and, soon after their landing at Senna, his two companions shared his untimely fate.



THE EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,

AND

LITERARY MISCELLANY,

BEING A NEW SERIES OF

The Scots Magazine.

NOVEMBER 1825.

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EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & COMPANY.

HIGH WATER AT LEITH.

<i>Days.</i>	<i>Morn.</i>		<i>Even.</i>		<i>Days.</i>	<i>Morn.</i>		<i>Even.</i>	
	H.	M.	H.	M.		H.	M.	H.	M.
Dec. 1825.					Dec. 1825.				
Th. 1	5	41	6	6	Sa. 17	7	9	7	34
Fr. 2	6	34	7	3	Su. 18	8	4	8	36
Sa. 3	7	35	8	7	M. 19	9	9	9	44
Su. 4	8	42	9	19	Tu. 20	10	19	10	51
M. 5	9	56	10	31	W. 21	11	23	11	54
Tu. 6	11	4	11	37	Th. 22	—	—	0	19
W. 7	—	—	0	8	Fr. 23	0	41	1	3
Th. 8	0	37	1	3	Sa. 24	1	23	1	43
Fr. 9	1	30	1	54	Su. 25	2	4	2	23
Sa. 10	2	18	2	42	M. 26	2	45	3	3
Su. 11	3	4	3	25	Tu. 27	3	23	3	42
M. 12	3	16	4	6	W. 28	4	3	4	21
Tu. 13	4	27	4	14	Th. 29	4	43	5	4
W. 14	5	2	5	22	Fr. 30	5	27	5	48
Th. 15	5	42	6	2	Sa. 31	6	13	6	38
Fr. 16	6	23	6	46					

MOON'S PHASES.

Mean Time.

	D.	M.	
Last Quart.~Sa.	3.	14	past 3 morn.
New Moon,~Fr.	9.	14	— 8 aftern.
First Quart.~Sa.	17.	52	— 6 morn.
Full Moon,~Su.			9 morn.

TERMS, &c.

<i>Dec.</i>	
10.	Salmon Fishing in Forth and Tay begins.
22.	Shortest day.
25.	Christmas Day.

ERRATUM.—In our last Number, page 429, line 18 from the top, for Parkhurst, read Hackluyt.

Note to Correspondents.

Various Articles are still necessarily postponed.

THE
EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,
AND
LITERARY MISCELLANY.

NOVEMBER 1825.

ADDRESS FROM THE TOWN COUNCIL OF EDINBURGH, ON THE SUBJECT OF
THE NEW BUILDINGS FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL, OF WHICH THE FOUNDATION
WAS LAID ON 28th JULY 1825 *.

A GRAMMAR SCHOOL, of Royal institution, existed in Edinburgh in 1519. Being on a limited scale, it was latterly found inadequate for the purpose; and, in 1578, the HIGH SCHOOL was set on foot upon an extended plan, bearing the same name of *Schola Regia Edinensis*. It owes its establishment to the enlightened zeal of some individuals of the Clergy and Town Council of Edinburgh during the eventful period of the reign of Queen Mary, a period distinguished by controversies, which, while they ultimately confirmed the Reformation in Scotland, created at the same time an increasing desire for the acquisition of knowledge.

The course of education at the High School appears to have been from its commencement upon an extensive scale; at least we know, that early after its erection, it was conducted by a Rector and four Masters, as at present; a circumstance highly creditable to the liberal ideas of the projectors of the Institution, and equally so to the character of the citizens of that day, whose co-operation in its support must have been known and anticipated.

The original building of the High School was erected, as was also that of the College, on the ground of Kirk of Field, then first appropriated to public purposes; a situation which, at that time, had the advantages of

being quite detached from the town, of free air, and open space around it. This building continued to serve its purpose, without addition or enlargement, for two centuries; as it was not until 1777 that the increasing population of Edinburgh induced the citizens to erect a larger and more commodious edifice, on the same ground, close to the old one, which was then taken down, and the space enclosed. Since that date, with the exception of a small addition made to the Rector's room, and the division of the Common-hall into two classrooms, in order to give the Rector the farther advantage of two contiguous apartments above, no alteration has taken place in the building; although it must be obvious to every one acquainted with Edinburgh, that, during the period which has elapsed, of nearly fifty years, and especially in the latter part of it, the increase of the inhabitants has been such, as to require a great extension of accommodation in a School, which may truly be considered not only as Metropolitan, but National.

Besides the additional accommodation in respect of the size and convenience of class-rooms now requisite, it is equally obvious, that the present situation of the School, however excellent and advantageous at the first, and for a long period of time, has, ever since the commence-

* We are indebted to the active and enlightened promoters of this Institution for the Engraving which we have the pleasure of laying before our readers in this Number.—*Ed.*

ment of the New Town, but chiefly since its more recent and rapid extension, become extremely inconvenient for the body of the inhabitants, whose sons form by far the largest proportion of the pupils, both in respect of distance and of access by the crowded thoroughfare of the two Bridges. The removal of the School, therefore, from its present obscure, confined, and incommensurable situation, has long been in the contemplation of the Town Council of Edinburgh, the Patrons, for the sake of the public, whose comfort they are bound to consult, and also as inseparably combined with that consideration, for the sake of the School itself, the prosperity of which has ever been to them, as it always was to their predecessors in office, an object of intense interest.

In pursuance of this design, they turned their attention to different situations in the New Town, which appeared to them adapted for the purpose, but have, from various causes, been under the necessity of finally relinquishing all thoughts of these. They are, however, of opinion, that the site they have at last fixed upon, on the southern slope of the Calton Hill, adjoining to, and north of the Regent's Road, is one which combines many advantages essential to a public school. It is of easy access to those districts which are found to supply the largest number of pupils: it has ample space for play-ground, which cannot be hemmed in by other buildings, and it is uncommonly well aired. The situation is, however, one which, while it affords room for a building constructed with a view to full accommodation for conducting every branch taught at the School, requires also that such an erection should be of an ornamental character, as it will be a conspicuous object from many points, and particularly prominent on entering the town by the splendid approach of the Regent's Road. In fact, the credit of Edinburgh is deeply concerned in the taste displayed in this structure, and the Town Council, under this impression, have called in the aid of an architect of celebrity, Mr Hamilton, whose plan, of which an engraving is prefixed, has

been highly approved by the first judges, as not only elegant in itself, but harmonizing with the magnificence of the surrounding scenery. The foundation of it was accordingly laid with the usual ceremonies on the 28th of July last.

The expense of a building, in the plainest form, to contain five classrooms, of proper size and ventilation, with the appropriate additional requisite apartments to each, a Common-Hall, Library, Writing-School, and other rooms, which the improved system of education renders necessary, must obviously be very considerable; but when its ornamented form is taken into account, it is found that a sum not less than £17,000 will be wanted for the purpose. The Town Council, anxious as they are for the execution of this plan, are evidently limited by motives of prudence as to the sum they can allot from the funds of the city; and although, in addition to this, they expect a considerable sum from the sale of the present School-House and ground, yet it is to the Public that they must look for the greatest proportion of the required amount, and they are confident that to the Public they will not appeal in vain.

They trust they need hardly remind the citizens of Edinburgh, that the High School, as it originated, at a remote period, in the enlightened zeal of their forefathers, so it has continued to be the glory and the pride of the successive generations of this ancient city. It has been the means of imparting the blessings of liberal education to all ranks of the community, by the extreme moderation of its fees; and while it has thus essentially contributed to raise the general tone of information and mental acquirements, it has also laid the foundation of prosperity in after-life to countless numbers of humble individuals, who have, by the aid of the advantages it conferred, risen to situations of the highest respectability, both at home and abroad. But the High School is not merely to be estimated by its effects in raising the tone of intellect throughout the sphere of its influence, or by the talent it has elicited in humble life; it must be remembered, that the annals of the successive periods of its exist-

ence contain also a memorial of the greatest characters of our country who were born to hereditary rank, wealth, and honours. In fact, with few exceptions, the greatest Statesmen, Lawyers, and Divines, and public men in every department of national service whom our country has produced, were initiated into liberal studies at the High School of Edinburgh, and have never failed to express their grateful remembrance of the solid foundation of knowledge they there acquired. Its real utility, however, is not even to be measured by these splendid facts in its history. Its characteristic excellence is to be traced in the mingling of all ranks of life in its classes, with no recognised preference or distinction whatever, save that which is earned by talent and virtue; thus teaching the high, that, without intellectual exertion, rank and wealth are an empty name, and practically holding out to the humblest individual, who there enters the lists of literary competition, the fame and respectability to be attained by persevering mental labour, worth, and industry.

From this admirable system, so analogous to the principles of the British Constitution, which interposes no artificial bar to the attainment of wealth and honours, the most beneficial effects have been found to result to the community at large. The different orders of society have been cemented by means the purest, the most honourable, and the most efficient; just views of life, and of truly valuable pursuits, have been impressed on the minds of the youthful pupils; attachments have been formed between those born to move in different spheres, which have subsequently proved mutually advantageous, and friendships have commenced, which have sweetened existence to its latest period. Even in distant regions, to have been a class-fellow, or even a scholar of the High School, has never failed to awaken a kindred vibration of heartfelt delight, and, in many cases, where circumstances required it, has been found to constitute the sole but respected

claim on efficient patronage and assistance.

Such being the advantages, proved by incontestable facts, to have resulted from the High School of Edinburgh, it has been matter of anxious care to the Town Council to provide, by every means in their power, that these advantages should still be preserved to the community, and not be suffered to be frittered away, or ultimately lost, by any inattention to the School, on their part as Patrons. The conviction that it would so suffer by remaining in its present situation has been deeply impressed on the Town Council, by facts to which they have access, as to the number of pupils attending, and the quarters where they reside*, and also by every consideration they have been able to bestow on the subject in respect of its future prospects; and it is this conviction which has been the sole cause of the steps they have at last taken for its removal to a site where it may have a fair chance, at least, of that public support which, should the School remain where it is, cannot, in the face of competition powerfully exerted and advantageously circumstanced, be expected to be given to it.

They trust they have said enough to justify their attachment to this Institution, and their anxiety for the maintenance of what they consider as of paramount importance for the excellence of its system, namely, the keeping the price of education in it at a moderate rate. To attain the preservation of this most important object, it is absolutely necessary that the assistance given by the Public should be such as to enable the Council to complete the building without imposing any tax on the pupils, in the name of entry-money or otherwise. They hope, therefore, that their fellow-citizens, who have a regard for the honour of the city, as connected with this ancient Institution, and all who value as they deserve the advantages it confers on the community, will evince the sincerity of their sentiments by liberal contributions in its behalf. If any

* In the year 1821, 887 boys attended the High School. During this present year, 1824-5, only 601 were enrolled, of whom 82 only attend the first, or junior class. Of the whole number, but one-fifth is supplied by the Southern Districts.

thing can add in the opinion of the Council to the claim which the School has on the Public, it is this, that, however celebrated the names of its successive masters in former times, yet at no period of its history was it better, or more efficiently taught than at present; and as it is not, like many ancient endowments, which are fettered and trammelled by antiquated regulations, the system of education which is there pursued is open to all improvements, which may either occur to the masters themselves, or be suggested by others. It should also be kept in mind, that the manner in which classical education is conducted in the High School of Edinburgh actually gives a tone to that department of instruction throughout the country; and as its Chairs hold out a fair object of ambition to parish and other schoolmasters, so the corresponding effects of its system, in stimulating professional exertion, will be proportionally felt and diffused.

To the former pupils of this celebrated School the Council look with entire confidence for assistance in promoting an object at once literary, local, and national. When they consider how many now illustrious, learned, and public characters, were there first imbued with the love of letters, and to whose habits of intellectual industry this Institution may have mainly contributed,—when they contemplate the success in all the various departments of civil life that has attended numbers who there laid the foundation of those acquirements, or formed those connexions, which materially and confessedly forwarded that success,—when they think of the sum of human happiness actually existing in society by the virtuous and enduring friendships which there originated,—when they reflect on the numerous individuals in foreign lands in all quarters of the globe, whose fondest recollections at a distance revert to the period passed at the High School of Edinburgh, and to the friends of their boyhood there, with a warmth and an intensity which no other topic of remembrance can excite,—it is impossible for the Council to doubt for a moment of the success of an appeal to the old scholars of this far-famed Seminary; an oppor-

tunity thus afforded for showing their respect for its name, and their attachment to its interests, as connected with the literary reputation, not only of Edinburgh, but of Scotland, will not surely be allowed to pass unnoticed, but be eagerly embraced and improved.

Council Chamber, Edinburgh, 19th Sept. 1825.

Subscriptions in Aid of this Public Object will be received in Edinburgh, at the Office of Mr Turnbull, the City-Chamberlain; at the Banks and Banking Houses; and by all others entrusted with Subscription Papers.—In London, at the Banking Houses of Sir Peter Pole, Thornton, and Co., Bartholomew-Lane; Messrs Coutts and Co., Strand; and Messrs Drummond and Co., Charing-Cross.—At Calcutta, Messrs Colvin, Bazett, and Co.—At Madras, Messrs Arbuthnot, De Monte, M-Taggart, and Co.—At Bombay, Messrs Forbes and Co.—And at Kingston, Jamaica, Messrs Williams and Co.

APPENDIX,—*Containing an Account of the Ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone; taken from one of the Edinburgh Newspapers.*

The foundation stone of a new edifice on the Calton Hill, for the accommodation of this ancient Seminary, was laid on the 28th July 1825, by Viscount Lord Glenorchy, Grand Master of the Masons in Scotland. It was one of the most interesting and delightful spectacles which we ever witnessed, and one which was well calculated to affect both the imagination and the heart. As a pageant incredibly, the effect was highly imposing, but when the objects with which it was connected, and the moral associations with which its formalities were blended, present themselves to our consideration, it may be regarded as one of those proud and distinctive exhibitions, which are only to be contemplated in a land of light and liberty. The ceremony was performed by the Right Worshipful Grand Master and his Brethren, in presence of the Magistrates of the capital of Scotland—of the Senatus Academicus of the University—of the Nobles and Commons of the land; and many thousands of our countrymen beheld, with delight and sympathy, a scene consecrated to the honour of learning, and the diffusion of knowledge and civilization. That part of the scene, however, which affected us most deeply, was the procession of the youths in attendance at the High School. There were

six hundred boys, neatly and suitably attired, blooming and joyous, who walked arm in arm, to see the first stone laid of an edifice destined for their future education; and a lesson fraught with precious instruction was practically taught them—that the cultivation of their minds, and of useful knowledge, are regarded as matters of the highest importance by the wise, and the venerable, and the exalted—that the rulers of their country, and their affectionate parents, are deeply interested in their improvement—and that the eyes of the Public are directed to their future progress and their conduct. It is not easy to calculate the benefits resulting from such a combination of circumstances, on youthful and ingenuous minds; and we could not, as the little fellows passed in review, suppress some ardent anticipations of their future fame and usefulness—quickenings as their exertions must inevitably be by the notice and the kindness of all around them.

So early as eleven o'clock in the forenoon, crowds of well-dressed people began to assemble on the Calton Hill for the purpose of witnessing the procession; and at half-past one o'clock the south and eastern sides of the hill presented one dense mass of spectators. The monument, the towers in front of the jail, and roof of that building, the roof of the Calton Convening House, and the wall of the burying-ground, were occupied in every part, as were the roofs and windows of the houses in all the streets through which the procession had to pass. Even the balustrades of the North Bridge were occupied by hundreds of young men. The scene bore a close resemblance to that which our city exhibited on the day of his Majesty's entrance, when Scotland poured forth nearly half a million of loyal hearts to welcome their Sovereign to his Northern Capital. The behaviour of the crowd, as on that occasion, was distinguished for propriety and order. At one o'clock, the different public bodies, &c., intended to form the procession as, assembled at the High School Yards, and were arranged according to the programme previously published by authority. Soon after, the bell of St. Giles's announced the moving of the procession. The yeomanry kept the streets clear, and a strong body of constables also assisted, to prevent the crowd from encroaching on the line. The procession, on advancing to Waterloo Place, was joined by the Lord Register, Lord Abercromby, the Solicitor-General, and a number of distinguished individuals. It then wheeled slowly round the base of the hill, the various bands playing martial airs, in the following order:—

A body of ordinary High and Extraordinary Constables, in threes.

Mr Ritchie and Mr Stenhouse, Moderators of the High and Extraordinary Constables.

Mr M'Kean, Writing-Master,
Janitor of the High School.

First Class of the High School, in threes, according to their size, the tallest in the rear.

Mr Pyper, Master.

Second Class in the like order.

Mr Mackay, Master.

Third Class in the like order.

Mr Lindsay, Master.

Fourth Class in the like order.

Mr Irving, Master.

Fifth Class, in the like order.

Mr Carson, Rector.

Gentlemen who have attended the High School, in threes.

University Mace-bearer, with his Mace.
Professors.

The Very Reverend Principal Baird.
Clergy of the City.

City Officers, two and two apart.

The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, in their robes and usual state.
Architect for the building.

Grand Lodge.

Lodges holding under it, according to their seniority, preceded by their officers.

The Lodge of the Sixth Dragoon Guards, and small party of Yeomanry, closed the procession.

The arrangements at this site were calculated to accommodate a very great number of spectators. A temporary quadrangular structure of wood was formed so as to dip progressively towards the centre, where tables, covered with green cloth, were placed for the use of the Office-bearers of the Grand Lodge, and of the Magistrates. At twenty minutes before three, the head of the procession reached the head of the amphitheatre round the stone, and formed in nearly the following order:—

The High Constables, and the young Gentlemen of the High School, on approaching, diverged to the right, the latter filing into their appointed seats. The Constables then formed behind the boys on the north side of the platform. The Clergy, Senatus Academicus, Rector, and Masters, took their stations on the south side. The Lord Provost, Magistrates, Sheriff Duff, and several other official gentlemen, took their stations on the west side; the other gentlemen and the Calton Constables formed on the hill behind them. The Grand Lodge passed behind the High Constables, taking their station

on the east side, the other lodges forming behind.

The scene in the excavation was peculiarly grand. On the west side were the Lord Provost, the Magistrates, and Council, Noblemen, and official characters; Mr Sheriff Duff was at the Provost's right hand, before whom was a bench covered with green cloth, on which the mace and sword were placed; on the south side were the Very Reverend Principal of the University, Dr Baird, the Professors, and the Clergy of the city; on the east side was the Grand Lodge of Scotland, before whom was a table covered with green cloth, on which the masonic emblems were deposited; and on the north side, (which was considerably the deepest from the acclivity of the hill.) were the scholars, all neatly dressed, most of them having nosegays in their jackets, and all white wands in their hands, forming not the least interesting portion of the assemblage.

A band stationed within the enclosure played "God save the King," the company uncovered. The Rev. Dr Brunton then, in a most impressive prayer, invoked a blessing on the undertaking, after which the masonic part of the ceremony proceeded. Two crystal jars were placed in the cavities prepared for them; one contained the coins; the other, a copy of the latest of each of the Edinburgh newspapers, and an Edinburgh Almanack. In another cavity were deposited copperplates, on which were engraved the following inscription, and names of the City Magistracy, and office-bearers of the Grand Lodge of Scotland:—

Q. B. F. F. F. Q. S.

Reguante, Georgio. IV. Patriæ. Patre.

Scholam. Regiam. Edinensem.

Jam. per. Trecentos, Annos. Illustrem.

Ut. Juventuti. Ingenuæ.

In. Studia. Literarum. Humaniorum.
Incumbenti.

Melius. Consulatur.

Utque.

Frequentia. et. Magnificentia. Urbis.

Ornatissima. Atque. Florentissima.

Ædium. Ipsarum. Amplitudo.

Splendorque.

Aptius. Convenirent.

E. Sede. Antiqua.

In. Hunc. Collem Transferendam.

Vir. Amplissimus.

Alexander. Henderson. Præfectus. Urbi.

Senatusque. Edinensis.

Decreverunt,

A. R. Carson. A. M.

Soc. Antiq. Scot. Necnon. Soc. Reg. Edin.

Socio. Rectore.

Geo. Irvine.

Sam. Lindsay. A. M. } Benj. Mackay.

Magistris.

Tho. Hamilton. Architecto.

A.D. MDCCCXXV.

Primum. Lapidem. Posuit.

Vir. Nobilissimus.

Joannes. Glenorchiae. Vicecomes.

Amplissimi. Sodales. Architectonici.

Scotorum.

Curio. Maximus.

V. Cal. Augusti.

Ærae. Architectonicae. 5825.

Anno. IDIDCCCXXV.

An anthem was then played by the band, during which the stone was lowered to its position, when Lord Glenorchy, taking a gilded mallet in his hand, bestowed three strokes on the stone; the wine was then poured upon it from a silver cup, and the corn from a cornucopia. Nine hearty cheers were then given, and his Lordship resumed his situation on the platform, from whence he addressed the Lord Provost, and those present. He said he had performed the ceremony of laying the stone according to masonic rule. He trusted that the edifice, the foundation-stone of which had been laid under the auspices of the Lord Provost, would prosper: that it would rise as an ornament, while it would confer everlasting blessings on the city and the nation.—(*Applause.*)—The craft appeared there as assisting at the ceremonial, but it had a greater object in view in all its ceremonies—that all things may be regulated for the welfare of mankind. The education of youth must ever call for the most anxious attention,—there could not be a greater blessing to a country, than to have its seminaries properly established and conducted; and there could not be a greater evil than to have these conducted on contracted or illiberal principles. The enlargement of the High School, which had existed in its present form and situation for fifty years, would add another to the many ornaments of our city; and he trusted that the same system which had been followed in the old High School would be preserved in the new Seminary in all its purity. If such were the case, future ages would see men arise distinguished for their talents as statesmen, and lawyers, and heroes, and go forth as the lights of their country,—such as those who had been educated at the old High School,—(*Long and enthusiastic cheering.*) His Lordship then congratulated the Provost on the liberality of sentiment which had distinguished the councils of the city, by which

a new character had been given to the magistracy. He fondly trusted that those who would succeed his Lordship in office would follow the same course, when the city would be sure to prosper for ages to come.—(*Cheers.*)

An anthem followed, after which the Lord Provost replied in the following terms:—

“Most Worshipful Grand Master.—On the part of my brethren in the Magistracy and Council, I beg leave to express the high satisfaction we feel in being honoured by the attendance of so respectable a body of the Grand Lodge, and our gratitude for the share which your Lordship has taken in the ceremony of this day, as well as the very handsome manner in which your Lordship has adverted to the exertions we have made for the embellishment and improvement of the metropolis of Scotland. Among all our efforts to promote the best interests of the city, there is no object that has more engaged our attention than the selection of a situation better adapted than the present High School for accommodating the numerous youth in the royalty and suburbs, for whom their parents are anxious to obtain the benefits of classical education, in an institution which has existed for 250 years with distinguished reputation. By the advice of those who appeared to us most capable of judging, we have been guided to the spot

that has been fixed on, as the most preferable upon the whole; and, whatever else may be said of it, surely it cannot be denied that it possesses the advantage of free and salubrious air. We trust also, that instead of deforming this much-admired hill, the building proposed to be erected will form one of the finest pictures in the scene, and will accord well with the natural beauties of the place, and with the other edifices which are soon to be reared in the vicinity. We cannot allow ourselves to apprehend that the aid of the public will be withheld from the accomplishment of the scheme; and we hope there is no presumption in considering the countenance we have received this day as a favourable omen of ultimate success.”—(*Much cheering.*)

The Procession then returned to the High School Yards.

In the afternoon there was a splendid public dinner, connected with the business of the day, which was attended by upwards of three hundred of the nobility, gentry, and citizens, the Lord Provost in the chair. On this occasion, along with many interesting details of the history of the School, an ample tribute was paid to the services it had rendered to the community; in the justice of which sentiment, and in the importance of maintaining the respectability of this ancient Institution, every individual present warmly and enthusiastically concurred.

Glen-Avon.

It is a spot so fair, so beautiful,
So full of gentle fragrance and sweet sound,
That it were fitting scene for Love to choose
As its own sanctuary. The magic hues
That gild the sunset sky are not more
bright
Than the rich tints that clothe it: the
soft strains
That viewless forms breathe on the dream-
ing ear
Are not more lovely than its melody;
And the repose of infant innocence
Not sweeter than the stillness of its shade.
It is the hallow'd grave of Memory,
Where all my cherish'd visions of the past
Lie buried. I have pass'd in its seclusion
Hours of bliss, ere sorrow's blight came
o'er me,
Which the wide desert world can yield
no more;
And in the darkness of despair I've calm'd,
'Mid its tranquillity, the burning vein
And troubled heart. With thee, my Julia,
In the spring-time of youth, and love, and
hope,
I woo'd its solitude; and as the sun,

(Sweet emblem of my transient happi-
ness!)
Kiss'd each pale weeping floweret ere he
went,
And flung a long sad crimson gleam
around,
I've read within thine eye the raptur'd
heart,
And felt it in thy sigh. That time is
gone—
And now that thou art lost to me, I seek
Thine angel glance amid the slumb'ring
stars,
And hear thy lone-sigh in the murm'ring
breeze.
It is an idle notion—but at night,
When winds are hush'd, and silence
reigns above,
I love to linger in the deep moonlight,
And as my feverish thoughts are upward
borne,
To dream my days of vanish'd joy re-
turn'd,
And listen for thy coming. Vain the
thought!
Thou'rt lost to me for ever!

W. S.

A SUMMER RAMBLE IN THE NORTH HIGHLANDS.—EDIN. W. HUNTER. 1825.

THIS is really a very modest, unpretending little work,—full of pleasing, and sometimes eloquent descriptions,—containing many useful observations, put together in an easy and agreeable form,—breathing a placid spirit, the benignant tone of which contrasts strikingly with that of some recent publications on the Highlands,—and altogether creditable to the talents, taste, and feelings of the author. If it exhibits nothing very remarkable for its originality, it shows at least a competent knowledge of the different subjects treated of, and, which is far better, a decent regard to truth, and a gentlemanly contempt for that ridiculous exaggeration which has disfigured and disgraced the works of so many preceding Ramblers. By directing his steps to a part of the Highlands seldom visited by Tourists, he has also been enabled to give to his remarks something of the fresh and vivid hue of novelty, and to create an interest in favour of his observations and descriptions, which no talents could have produced, had he slavishly followed the beaten track of his predecessors.

But although our general opinion of the book be thus favourable, there are not a few statements which require to be modified, and several errors which should be corrected, in the event of the volume reaching a second edition. As we have little doubt that this will be the case, we shall devote a few pages to the ungrateful task of pointing out to the author, in what respects, and upon what grounds, we have the misfortune to differ with him.

Speaking of St. Andrew's, he says, page 7, "*The University; though admitted to be in a declining state, still draws together the majority of the youth of Fife and Forfarshires.*" So far from being "*admitted to be in a declining state,*" the University of St. Andrew's has, for many years past, been progressively increasing both in the number of Students and the reputation of the Professors. About eighteen years ago, when we were first acquainted with that venerable Seminary, the number of Stu-

dents was scarcely one-third of that attending it at present; and every year brings a fresh accession of strength. The public have at length begun to discover that the value of a system of education at a given College is not fairly estimated by the crowds who flock to it; and that the daily examinations and exercises, with the rigid *surveillance* of the morals and conduct of youth, for which St. Andrew's is distinguished, are more likely to make accomplished scholars and useful members of society than vapid lectures, purchased, perhaps, from the heirs of a predecessor, and the total neglect of all discipline for enforcing application. There are, no doubt, many branches of knowledge, now much in vogue, for which the statutes of St. Andrew's have made no provision, and for which those anxious to acquire them must resort to other Universities; but with regard to the departments there professed, instruction is nowhere conducted on a more efficient plan, nor is it possible that the elements of literature and science, which comprise all that anybody learns at college, can be any where more zealously, ably, and successfully communicated. In the classical department, it is sufficient to mention the name of the venerable Dr Hunter, who has now, for half a century, sustained the ancient reputation of the College, and whose pre-eminent acquirements as a scholar and philologist are acknowledged by the learned of all the countries of Europe. Truly it is an interesting and unique spectacle, to observe this celebrated octogenarian, in the full possession and exercise of his great faculties, labouring, at his advanced age, with all the zeal, activity, and energy of his youth, to imbue his students with a taste for the severe models of Roman Literature—to form their minds to habits of close and accurate thinking—and to possess them with his own clear, distinct, and original views of the principles and analogies of language. Odd as it may sound in the ears of superficial scholars, this celebrated man has made more discoveries in regard to the

theory and formation of language, with the principles that regulate the affiliation of our ideas, through the medium of conventional signs of thought, than all the philologists and metaphysicians whom this country has ever produced: and it will be an irreparable loss to the world, if those inimitable prelections, which he has now for fifty years been delivering orally to his pupils, be not embodied in writing, and preserved, that when dead he may yet speak.

But great as he undoubtedly is, in the truest and best sense of the term, he does not sustain the whole fame of the University on his own Herculean shoulders. The Mathematics are taught by a profound and skilful geometer; the abilities of the Professor of Natural Philosophy are well known; and it is enough to say, that Moral Science is taught by Dr Chalmers. We could certainly have wished that the Greek had been in other hands; but some fatality appears to attend that noble language in all our Scottish Colleges. St. Andrew's has been long celebrated for its admirable course of instruction in Theology, and for the ability and learning of the men whose duty it has been to superintend the studies of the youth destined for the church, no less than for the other advantages which they there possess for the prosecution of their studies, not the least of which is the liberal plan on which the library is conducted. With all these appliances and means to boot, and with the fact before us, that the number of students is every year increasing, we cannot, therefore, "admit" that this ancient and venerable institution is "in a declining state."

The different places visited by the author, in his progress along the north-east coast, are all of them accurately, many of them very graphically described; but as it is chiefly with his statements in regard to the actual condition of the Highlanders that we mean at present to concern ourselves, we shall omit all that he has said on matters of inferior importance, in order to come at once to the opinions he has expressed on this very interesting subject. Near Tain he encountered some stragglers from a party of emigrants whom he had seen at Cromarty, preparing for

voluntary expatriation; of these he gives the following account:

They were chiefly young people, who had probably remained behind to quench the household fire, or pay farewell visits to kindred residing at a distance. Only one or two of them understood or spoke English. They declared, that since they could no longer reside in Sutherland, they would much rather go to America than settle in any other part of Scotland. Shortly after meeting them, we picked up a letter, which, as the seal was broken, we took the liberty of perusing. It was the production of an emigrant, dated from the "promised land," and professed to give his parents a faithful narrative of the fortune which had attended him in the wilds of Canada. He acknowledged that unremitting toil was the emigrant's lot, but still eulogized the country of his adoption as a land of refuge. "Come out next spring, one and all of you," were his concluding words.

The author does not seem to be aware that the letter he picked up was beyond all question the production, not of an emigrant, as he supposes, but of one of those miscreant skippers, who carry on what has been appropriately denominated the White Slave Trade; and, trafficking in the miseries of these poor persecuted people, circulate lying descriptions of America, as a land flowing with milk and honey, that they may seduce the ejected tenantry to emigrate; and thus, as they have no funds to pay for their passage, be enabled to sell the reversion of their labour in the promised land. Misery is credulous. The Highlander, denounced as an unimprovable savage by those to whom he cherished an hereditary feeling of attachment, and whom, in the simplicity of his heart, he considered as his natural protectors,—ejected, peradventure by fire, from the spot endeared to him as the home of his ancestors and as his own birth-place,—and told that there is no longer room for him in that land which he has perhaps shed his blood to defend,—naturally grasps at the first reed of safety that drifts past him on the "sea of troubles," and thus becomes the victim of such a clumsy, yet abominable artifice, as that which our author has, with so much simplicity, described. He knows that starvation awaits him if he remains

in his own country ; and thus, fluctuating between hope and despair—certain that his condition can hardly be worse, anxious to be persuaded that it may be better—he swallows the bait thrown out by those who have found out the secret of deriving a profit from his misery, and thus virtually sells himself as a slave for a large portion, perhaps the whole, of the remainder of his life, in order to escape from a country where he was worse than a slave, and deprived of the very means by which life might be prolonged. If systems, like men, are to be known by their fruits, it is needless to forestall the public opinion in regard to that presently in operation in the Highlands of Scotland.—But we must allow the author to complete the picture in his own way.

It was from this district (Brora, in Sutherland) that many of the wanderers we saw at Cromarty had been ousted. All was silence and desolation. Blackened and roofless huts, still enveloped in smoke,—articles of furniture cast away, as of no value to the houseless,—and a few domestic fowls, scraping for food among hills of ashes, were the only objects that told us of man. A few days had sufficed to change a country-side, teeming with the cheerless sounds of rural life, into a desert. Man, the enliverer of the scene, was gone,—gone into the wilderness, like our first parents, a pilgrim and an exile ; and the spirit of desolation sat exulting on the ruins of his forsaken abode.

And that the country may be depopulated, to make way for black-faced sheep, this “ spirit of desolation” has indulged in its most demoniac freaks ! But our Rambler would willingly find an apology, if he could, for the manner in which the Highlands have been recently improved.

We heard of agents, factors, grievers, gardeners, and masons ; of a slater, saddler, dyker, and carpenter ; all of whom had been born south of the Highland boundary. *It was not in the nature of the native peasantry to witness with indifference this influx of strangers ; and hence their loud and frequent appeals to public sympathy, and their simultaneous desertion of their father-land.*

This is a fair specimen of the loose way in which some people, who favour us with their opinions in regard

to Highland improvements, chuse to write on the subject. In the first place, it is notorious to all well-informed persons, that the Highlanders were proscribed on an hypothesis ; for it was gratuitously assumed, that they were utterly unimprovable, and, on this assumption, strangers were advertised for to take their lands, and their offers were solicited by a patriotic intimation, that “ a decided preference” would be given them. It certainly “ was not in the nature of the native peasantry to witness with indifference this influx of strangers,” who came to dispossess them of the means by which they earned their subsistence, and to give place to whom they were driven out to “ herd with the tod and the heathcock on the moors.” They must have either been more or less than men, if they could have witnessed such a proceeding with indifference. But does the author mean to insinuate that they committed any acts of violence against the intruders,—that, in despair of reaching the guilty, they revenged themselves on the innocent ? We cannot believe that such is his meaning, because such is not the fact. We know well what, in similar circumstances, would have inevitably happened in Ireland : but the Highlanders have proved themselves undeserving of the treatment they have experienced, by the patience and fortitude with which they have borne it. It would not be wise to try that patience and that fortitude too far.

But if they have not resorted to violence, their hatred of the strangers has at least, according to our author, led them to make “ loud and frequent appeals to public sympathy,” and simultaneously “ to desert their father-land.” This is really precious fudge. When and where were these “ loud and frequent appeals” made ? With the exception of General Stewart, and the author of the “ Critical Examination” of Macculloch’s book on the Highlands, every writer we have ever heard of has invariably espoused the cause of the landlords, and, like poor Macculloch, attempted to bolster up their plea by calumniating the people. But neither the gallant General, nor the anonymous author in question, made any appeal, either loud or low, to public sympathy.

They were not such fools, as to expect that the public had any sympathy to spare for the poor Highlanders. They knew that if a case of oppression, exercised at the Cape of Good Hope or the Antipodes, were brought forward, and decently advocated, it would become the subject of fine speeches in Parliament, and vehement tirades in the Newspapers: a Negro, or a New Hollander, they were aware, would be taken under the especial protection of "public sympathy;" but they knew also, from sad experience, that the "public" have no "sympathy" for misery at their doors, the existence of which impeaches equally their understanding and their humanity. Hence these writers contented themselves with denouncing the injustice exercised to a valuable and moral race of men, and exposing the systematic falsehoods and contradictions of those who attempted to screen iniquity behind a veil woven thick with lies and deceit. As to the Highlanders "*simultaneously* deserting their father-land," our only regret now is, that the thing is impossible. Fortunate would it be for thousands, were they able to "desert" it, and to fly to some more benignant and auspicious region, where oppression, less cunning, has not yet learned to disguise itself in the mock shape of improvement, nor to justify its inhuman proceedings by perverting the maxims of a useful and important science.

Let us now attend to what the author says by way of apology, or defence, for the Marchioness of Stafford.

Prior to her marriage, the attachment of the clan to their young Countess was without parallel even in the Highlands. Various circumstances, connected with the depopulating system recently pursued on the estates, have contributed to suppress this enthusiastic feeling; and at present many, who would, in former days, have kissed the ground she trode on, now freely blame her for having placed Sassenach task-masters over them. Both parties, it seems, have submitted the matter to the public; and, as in all such disputes, each side of the question has been too hotly advocated. In the outset, the Marchioness *intended* to act the part of a benefactress, not an oppressor. But she was thwarted, disunited from her people

by false reports, and, as any other person in her place would have done, persisted, even to her own loss, in following out her schemes. Her actions took the stamp of oppression, because her stubborn tenantry were resolved that they should receive it. The people scouted all compromise, proclaimed their grievances without the extenuating circumstances, and flung themselves upon the world, almost from a spirit of revenge. But time will do justice both to hind and noble. "The lady" may be blamed for relying too much on interested statements, and adhering too pertinaciously to a system beneficial in theory, but severe in practice; yet she deserves, and will receive credit, for the gigantic nature and pure object of her original plan.

With the motives of Lady Stafford we have nothing to do; they may have been such as the author describes, or they may have been the reverse; but before he undertook her defence, he should have made himself acquainted with the facts. When he describes the people as "habitually opposed to improvement," and as "rendering a large rental, in a great measure, nominal," by their inveterate addiction to ancient habits, he talks in utter ignorance of their character, and of the results of which the modern improvements have been productive. That they are not "habitually opposed to improvement," is demonstrated by the fact, that they *have* improved wherever they were allowed the time necessary for that purpose; and that the landlords who retained the native population upon their estates, and encouraged them, by their precept and example, to adopt the improved modes of cultivating the land, and rearing stock, are at this moment in the receipt of *higher* rents than those who, "at one fell swoop," drove away the original tenantry, and gave their lands to the stranger. Nay, on the very Sutherland estate, which it has cost nearly £.300,000 to depopulate, so completely has the new system failed to realize the benefits expected from it, that, after deducting £.15,000, the interest of the sum expended on improvements, the actual rental was, in the years 1823 and 1824, below what it was *before* these improvements commenced, and before the people were compelled *simultaneously* to "desert their father-land:" And there are at

present symptoms of an inclination, on the part of the proprietor, to return to the old system, were it possible, from the leases given to the new tenants, to do so. In the shape of rent, then, no advantage has followed the adoption of the new system: And, in God's name, let us ask, of what other benefit has it been productive? It has depopulated the country; is that a benefit? It has inflicted incredible misery upon a loyal and virtuous peasantry; is that a benefit? It has sown, among those that remain, a spirit of discontent, and prepared their minds to imbibe the doctrines of pestilent demagogues, and the delirations of mischievous enthusiasts: it has laid the foundation of a spirit of revenge and hostility, such as now exist in Ireland against the Government and landlords: are these benefits? Are these improvements, for which the whole country must testify its gratitude? Are these the fruits that are to reward the skill of the modern devastators?

Reverse the picture, and consider what has ensued from the policy of those who have retained their ancient tenantry. And, first of all, instead of "the abomination of desolation" which appalled our author on the Sutherland estates, the traveller will find a contented and happy people, paying a fair value for the lands they cultivate or graze, blessing their generous protectors,—moral, industrious, and rapidly improving. In the next place, he will find the landlords in easy circumstances, felicitating themselves on pursuing the course pointed out by interest, humanity, and even religion,—enjoying their estates unincumbered,—beloved and respected by their tenantry, and inheriting, in the fullest extent, all the moral influence possessed by their forefathers. "Look on this picture, and on this;" let the tree be known by its fruits. It is a singular fact, that all, or nearly all, the estates of the great improvers are heavily encumbered, and rapidly approaching to the condition of evanescent quantities; and that many estates belonging to those who ran foremost in the race of improvement, have either been brought to the hammer, or are fast approaching that consummation; while not an acre of land has been

sold from necessity by any one proprietor who resisted the mania that has led so many ancient families to the brink of destruction. This speaks for itself. In the present enlightened age, the curse of breaking and broken hearts will not, of course, disturb the repose of those who have been the authors of the calamities endured by the people; but we are superstitious enough to feel, that the simple and affecting words applied to the *Bhan Bhorav* of Sutherland, by the poor "old toothless woman," near Port Gower—"She has the malison of many whose heart's blood she could once have commended,"—envelope a sting, one wound of which we would not endure for all the wealth that ever was earned by inhumanity and oppression.

At page 129, the author quotes in a note Dr Macculloch's description of the Inn at Houma, which his good sense leads him at once to pronounce a "caricature." If he happen to refer to the "Critical Examination" of that worthy's book, he will find it, as usual, demonstrated to be false in every part. Such of our readers as remember the incessant abuse poured out against Highland Inns by the rabid Geologist now named, will read with pleasure the following extract from the work before us:

This day's journey terminated at Golspie, the romantic inn of which, like almost every other house of entertainment on the road, afforded good accommodation. In this respect, the northern counties are much better provided than strangers are usually led to anticipate; indeed, in many instances, the inns surpass in comfort those of more populous districts. Here the traveller's welcome is not meted out by the appearance of his external man. *The humble pedestrian is received with the same civility that awaits the gay cavalier; and, in most Highland inkeepers, there is a suavity of manner, blended with an independence of carriage, which particularly distinguish them from their servile, and, at the same time, arrogant brethren of the South.*

At page 232, the author quotes, also in a note, President Forbes's Memorial of the military force of the Clans, and informs us, that "*it is said*" to have been drawn up by that celebrated individual. There can be no doubt whatever that the Lord

President was the author of the Memorial; but what we have to state is, that this remarkable document was first published complete in General Stewart's "Sketches," and that the Rambler ought, in common fairness, to have mentioned the circumstance, and referred to that gallant officer's work, from which he borrowed it.

The last extract we shall give does honour to the author's feelings, and delicately intimates that he belongs to the profession of arms. After alluding to the company he found at Houna Inn, and his repugnance to burrow with a posse of smugglers who had acquired a right of possession by pre-occupancy, he adds,

After due deliberation, we preferred intruding on the hospitality of a widowed lady residing in the neighbourhood, of whom we had some knowledge, having been acquainted with one of her sons, who had ended a gallant career on the plains of Waterloo. A note, descriptive of our situation, was accordingly despatched; and in less than an hour it was answered by a handsome young lad, who, in his mother's name, warmly invited us to her abode. From this family we experienced such attention and hospitality as in other

countries only fall to the lot of tried friends. Though bowed down by that decree which had doomed three of its members successively to perish in battle,—and few are the Highland families that have not sons laid in a soldier's grave,—every means that half-broken spirits could devise were exerted to render us comfortable and happy, simply, because a departed son and brother had been our friend and comrade in a distant land.

We must now take leave of the Rambler. The reader will observe, that we have only remarked on that part of his book which contains opinions diametrically opposite to our own, in regard to the recent changes in the Highlands; but we must add, in justice to the author, that these opinions, so far from being obtruded in the offensive manner common with those who espouse them, are stated with great modesty, and accompanied by expressions of strong sympathy for the poor unhappy sufferers. We have, therefore, no hesitation in cordially recommending it to the perusal of our readers; and if it afford them as much pleasure as, upon the whole, it does ourselves, they will thank us for calling their attention to its merits.

MR M'CULLOCH'S DISCOURSE AT THE OPENING OF THE CITY OF LONDON
LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION*.

HOWEVER much the monks, and other bigots of the day, may exert themselves to prevent the inferior classes of society from acquiring knowledge, they have not yet ventured to carry their dark-age notions so far as to deny that instruction in literature and science may be of some use to the middle ranks of mankind. It is, we doubt not, the fervent wish of the worthy, and gifted, and all but infallible successors of Joannes Duns Scotus, and other writers who lived in ages long gone by, and whose great works contain all that is *knowable*, to prevent all ranks in society from knowing any thing except the great and most important principle, that all knowledge is treasured up in the minds of these same bigots, and

that it belongs alone to them to determine what quantities of that knowledge is to be distributed to other mortals. This wish has never been distinctly avowed in words by these haters of the light; but their conduct, and the general tendency of the principles they maintain, lead by no very circuitous route to a belief that they entertain such a desire. The general improvement of society, however, precludes the possibility that such longings should be attended with effect, even in countries subject to the most powerful and determined tyranny. In this country at least, and more especially in Scotland, the efforts of the bigots are held in the most profound contempt. Not only the highest classes of society have

* A Discourse delivered at the Opening of the City of London Literary and Scientific Institution, 30th May 1825. By J. R. M'Culloch, Esq. J. Richardson. London, 1825.

gained an acquaintance and familiarity with the great elements of human improvement and happiness; but the middling, and almost the inferior orders, have had access for a long period to our universities, where, if men do not often become profound scholars or philosophers, they at least acquire so much practical knowledge of the opinions and the discoveries of past times, as to fit them for entering with effect on the field of multifarious enterprise, which the genius of our great empire presents to their view. For reasons which it is not easy to discover, England has hitherto remained destitute of seminaries for the scientific and literary instruction of the middling ranks of society. The enormous expense attending education in either of her two Universities precluded all but the most wealthy men in the kingdom from sending their sons to these seminaries; and the classes below the wealthiest were in a great measure compelled to withdraw their children from the grammar-school, imperfectly instructed in a few pitiful rules of Latin grammar, indebted to themselves, and not to their teachers, for any knowledge they might have acquired either in literature or science, that would be of the least use to them in the pursuits of active life.

To remedy as far as possible this glaring defect in the education of the youth of England, an institution was established on the 3d of June last, at a public meeting held in the city of London. In our Number for June, we adverted very shortly to the formation of this Institution, and we recur to the subject with much satisfaction. It is intended that this Institution should hold a middle place between the Schools for Mechanics and the Universities, and is designed chiefly for persons engaged in commercial and professional pursuits. This description embraces a very numerous class in the metropolis, who, though desirous of instruction, have not individually the means of commanding those aids and facilities, without which, the acquisition of knowledge is tedious and painful. It is evident, however, as has been stated in the prospectus of this Institution, that the associations lately formed for operative mechanics have

manifested a more decided leaning towards the manual and practical arts, and the sciences immediately connected with them, than is either suitable or interesting to persons of different professional avocations. For these persons, consisting of clerks and others engaged in commercial and professional pursuits, a more extended and purely intellectual course of instruction is required, without that reference to manual skill which is so important to operative mechanics. Omissions and modifications have therefore been made on the plan of these Institutions, suitable to the individuals above referred to. We shall take the liberty of repeating the objects of the Institution, in the words of its founders: "This institution," say they, "proposes to secure to its members facilities for intellectual improvement in the three following ways:

"1st, By the delivery of Lectures on the most interesting and important departments of Literature and Science; including Polite Literature, History, Mathematics, the principles of Trade and Commerce, and the most instructive branches of Natural and Moral Philosophy. By this varied range of subjects, it is hoped that the tastes of all will be gratified, and the powers of reflection and judgment will be strengthened, by the habit of following the Lecturer through a series of well-connected facts, and of accurate and philosophical reasonings.

"2d, By the delivery of Lectures, and the formation of classes for the attainment of the French, Latin, or any other language which the members may wish to learn. The improved methods of teaching languages lately introduced render the advantages of co-operation greater in this department of learning than in any other; and it is superfluous to insist on the entertainment, or on the improving tendency of acquisitions, which open a new world of literature to the view of the student.

"3d, By the establishment of a Library of reference and circulation, and also rooms for reading and conversation. The Library is designed chiefly to assist the effect of the Lectures, and to promote and facilitate the private instruction of the Mem-

bers ; the greatest care, therefore, will be employed to provide it with those works which combine interest with instruction, and which may harmonise with the purposes of improvement contemplated by the Institution."

The subscription is Two Pounds per annum, payable half yearly, a sum which can easily be paid by every individual in that rank for which the Institution is intended.

In the beginning of June upwards of four hundred and fifty persons had become members of the Institution, and we are glad to understand that the number has, since that time, greatly increased. We are also happy to find among its supporters some of the most respectable and influential characters in the city of London. Mr John Smith, M. P., is the President ; and it is but a small part of the praise due to this distinguished individual to say, that his enlightened conduct as a legislator is only equalled by the zeal and activity which he displays as a private individual, in promoting every institution within the sphere of his influence, which has for its object the intellectual and moral improvement of his fellow-citizens.

So well satisfied do the inhabitants of London seem to be of the utility of the Institution which we are describing, that, at the moment we write, a Public Meeting has been called, under the auspices of Mr Drummond, the patriotic founder of the first chair of Political Economy in the University of Oxford, for the purpose of founding a similar association in the west of London. There cannot, we think, be a doubt that the proposers of this additional Institution will meet with similar encouragement as those who have led the way in founding the other Institution in that part of London more properly called the *city*.

At the opening of the Institution in the city, Mr McCulloch, who happened then to be in London, delivering the usual course of Lectures on Political Economy at the Ricardo Institution, pronounced the Discourse of which we have prefixed the title to this notice. It was listened to by his audience with profound attention, and received the

most distinguished marks of their approbation. If the spirit in which this Discourse is composed shall continue to pervade the oral instructions which shall hereafter be delivered at the Institution, we have no hesitation in saying, that it will prove one of the most beneficial associations, either in a moral or intellectual point of view, which has ever been established in the metropolis. The leading object of the Discourse seems to be, to impress upon the mind of its readers the paramount influence which the cultivation of the intellectual powers, and the consequent knowledge of sound principles in legislation, in commerce, and in the arts and sciences, have in promoting national wealth and happiness.

It seems to me, (says the author,) that, in estimating the various circumstances that have conspired to elevate the British Empire to the extraordinary degree of opulence, power, and civilization, to which she has attained, we have, I will not say wholly overlooked, but certainly not laid sufficient stress, on one which is of the very first importance. Our prosperity has been said to be the result of the comparative freedom and excellence of our Constitution,—of the perfect security of property we have long enjoyed,—the absence of all oppressive feudal privileges,—the general equality and fairness of our system of taxation,—and of our many natural advantages. But though these are unquestionably circumstances of the utmost importance, and though their conjoint existence and co-operation are indispensable to the high elevation of any nation, in the scale of improvement, they are not alone sufficient to secure that result. It is not enough that the means of advancing in the career of wealth and improvement should be placed within the reach of man. The *intelligence* which enables him to make use of these means, and to apply them to their proper purposes, is the grand desideratum. The past and present state of the world proves that such nations as are ignorant and uninstructed, are invariably sunk in poverty and barbarism, though placed, in other respects, under circumstances the most favourable for their advancement : and until the sun of science has shone upon them—until their mental powers have begun to expand, and they have been taught to exercise the empire of mind over matter, the avenues to improvement continue shut against them, and they neither have the power nor even the wish,

to emerge from their low and degraded condition.

Mr M'Culloch proceeds then shortly to illustrate these principles ; and in referring to the diffusion of knowledge among the lower orders, and the objects of the Institution now formed, he says,

It is, doubtless, of the last importance, that the labouring part of the population should be as well instructed as possible ; —but no one will venture to say, that the education of the middle classes, which has hitherto been most strangely neglected, is not of equal, or even greater importance. It is on the intelligence, public spirit, and morality of those classes—of those who are alike removed from the temptations to idleness and inconsiderate conduct, caused by the possession of vast wealth on the one hand, and from the contracted and selfish feelings, apt to be generated by the necessity of unremitting application to some species of bodily labour, on the other—that the good government and lasting prosperity of every country must be principally dependent. And when such is the case, can there be any worthier object than the devising of means whereby the intelligence of the middle classes may be made to keep constantly on the advance ? Mechanical improvements extend our command over the necessities and conveniences of life ; but it chiefly depends on the state of intelligence among the middle classes, whether this increase of wealth shall be permanent, and whether it shall contribute to expand our views, purify our taste, and lift us higher in the scale of being.

It was in the view of endeavouring to promote this most desirable object—the improvement of the education, and, consequently, the intelligence of the middle classes—that this Institution has been projected. It readily occurred to its Founders, as it must have done to all who ever reflected on the subject, that there is, in all great cities, a large class of comparatively well-educated young men, generally engaged in the various departments of commercial industry, and unnumbered with family connections, who, from no fault of their own, but from want of convenient opportunities for the cultivation of their intellectual faculties, trifle away the greater part of the time that is not engrossed by professional avocations. But, in so far as respects

London, these opportunities will, in future, be supplied ; and the youth of this great metropolis will have the means of distinguishing themselves equally in the career of science as in that of wealth. The Institution now founded will furnish those who have a taste for reading with a selection of the best publications ; and those who desire to render themselves acquainted with scientific principles, and experimental philosophy, with the cheapest and best means for attaining their object. The instruments of improvement will thus be brought within the command of all ; and the middle classes will have those facilities for the acquisition of knowledge which have hitherto been enjoyed exclusively by the rich. As it is not intended for the use of artisans, but for those who are engaged in what are considered the higher departments of life, it is not ~~meant~~ ^{meant} that any of the common mechanical arts should be taught at this Institution, but that it should be confined to the teaching of such branches of moral and physical science, of the theory of public wealth, and of elegant literature, as may be judged best for enriching and polishing the mind, and giving additional respectability to the character.

After explaining at some length, and with much clearness and precision, the vast utility of an acquaintance with the principles of commercial philosophy, the author concludes a Discourse, which we are sorry we have not room to lay before our readers at more length, with the following reflections :

It would have been strange, and not more strange than lamentable, if, at a period when the science which unfolds the principles of public wealth and commercial intercourse, is becoming of such infinite importance and when it is exerting so powerful an influence on the legislation of the country, the mercantile youth of London had made no efforts to render themselves masters of its doctrines and conclusions. It is only by their proficiency in them that they can expect to fill that place which their ancestors have so long filled in society, with credit to themselves and advantage to the community. It is only by the superior intelligence of her merchants, that the lasting prosperity of this great metropolis can be secured ; and that she can be rendered, in time to come, what she has long been, and I trust will long continue to be, *Univrsi Orbis terrarum Emporium.*

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT POLITICAL STATE OF
RUSSIA, WITH A PLAN FOR THE INVASION OF THAT EMPIRE.

By a Traveller who resided many years in Russia.

By some, it was maintained as an infallible creed, that France and Great Britain held the balance of Europe, and ruled in the various Cabinets of the other States, through direct or indirect influence. So long as France and England were determinedly opposed to each other—that is to say, before the year 1814—there was considerable truth in that opinion. But the great revolutions of the last ten years, both in Europe and among the neighbouring powers, as well as in America, have greatly changed the face of affairs throughout the globe. By others, it has been argued that only France and Russia could conquer and divide Europe, and that this great measure achieved, they could next proceed to the survey and subsequent conquest of Asia. But such sweeping and hasty conclusions scarcely deserve a serious refutation. It is enough to say, that such assertions could never be made by any individual at all acquainted with the *real power* and the *political influence* of Great Britain, either at home or abroad. The Russian Empire, *in toto*, presents a curious and heterogeneous appearance. It consists of innumerable tribes and nations, who speak a great variety of languages. The two-headed eagle of *Russia Proper* has stretched forth her talons to the north and south, to the east and west,—has pounced upon her prey, and has held it fast in the grasp of despotism. For some hundred years, Russia has never been at rest, except for a period suitable to prepare her future means of attack, and await her projected aggrandisement. She has added province to province, principality to principality, and kingdom to kingdom; so that within the last three centuries she has augmented her territory to no less than *seventeen* times its former extent; while she has, by artful policy and overawing armies, more and more consolidated her political power and the influence of her despotic sway.

The rapidly progressive augmentation of Russian territory by seizure and conquest,—the incredible increase of her population by births,—the introduction of foreign colonies,—the astonishing advance of her people in the arts and sciences, in philosophy and literature, general knowledge and civilization,—the deeds of her arms, and her present enormous army of nearly a million of men, one-third of whom, at least, are chosen troops, in a high state of discipline,—the extraordinary, and, we would say, *unnatural* and preponderating political influence she has acquired in the courts of Europe,—her rapid march in the improvement of her arm-manufactories, cannon-founderies, arsenals, and other appendages of warfare,—the institution of various kinds of schools, civil and military, for the instruction of the rising generation,—the establishment of Bible Societies even in the remotest regions,—the self-conceit and haughty spirit of the higher classes of society,—the excessive desire of aggrandisement characteristic of her sovereigns and her generals, her nobles and clergy, her merchants and her slaves,—her intriguing and perfidious policy in every court in which she has a representative or employé,—her obdurate perseverance in the overthrow of the liberty and the rights of man in some once powerful nations, while she solemnly professes the wish to emancipate her own serfs,—the corruption of her morals, and the superstition of her religion,—are so many topics for the meditations of all politicians, and more especially of the sovereigns of Europe.

Is it not a disgrace to humanity, that, comparatively speaking, so young a nation as Russia—a nation so depraved in morals, so bigotted in religion, and, notwithstanding her wonderful advancement in every species of knowledge, so far behind most of her neighbours—should ever have obtained, or for a moment have retained, her late ascendancy in conti-

mental affairs? We speak of the late ascendancy of Russia, because within these few months the whole face of European affairs has been changed, by the recognition of the South-American States. This great measure has proved the death-blow to the Holy Alliance—that unprincipled, but gigantic coalition of sovereigns, whose motions and resolutions have often kept Europe in a feverish anxiety and alarm, but which now scarcely excite curiosity, and are no more than an “empty sound.” Congress after congress may be held by the sovereigns of this continental alliance, but their influence over other courts is now nearly lost, and, thank Heaven, they have no longer an English minister who listens to their propositions, values their smiles, or joins in their measures; in a word, who can be cajoled by flattery and craft, to forget the true interests of his own country.

In the present happy and prosperous state of Great Britain, it is the highest consolation for us to know, that the government is committed to the hands of men, the more influential part of whom stand pre-eminent in public esteem for their political knowledge and their liberality of sentiment,—for their caution in devising, and their vigour in carrying into effect the measures of government. It may be hoped that they will be able to discomfit the plans laid by the deep and dark policy of the northern Cabinet, against the rights and the privileges of man throughout the world; while the æmè of liberty—rational liberty, without licentiousness—suitable to the rank and character of Britons, may be reached amid tranquillity at home and peace abroad.

Since the year 1812 we have heard much from able writers of the impossibility of invading Russia with success. Dr Lyall has paid considerable attention to this subject, and in opposition to the views of Sir R. Wilson, Mr Lack Szcyrma, the Abbé de Pradt, Count Rostopchin, M. Dupin, and others, has stated, that, in his opinion, *Russia is acces-*

sible, and even her best provinces conquerable, by a proper and cautious method of procedure, and by a smaller army than Napoleon had when he took possession of Moscow*. The Count de Segur is of the same opinion. In his lively and interesting volumes, lately published, he compares the relative strength of the North and the South, and then remarks: “The North, victorious over the South, in her defensive war, as she had been in the middle ages in her offensive one, now believes herself *invulnerable and irresistible*.”

“Comrades, believe it not! Ye might have triumphed over that soil, and those spaces,—that climate, and that rough and gigantic nature, as ye had conquered its soldiers.

“But some errors were punished by great calamities. I have related both the one and the other. On that ocean of evils I have erected a melancholy beacon of gloomy and blood-red light; and if my feeble hand has been insufficient for the painful task, at least I have exhibited the floating wrecks, in order that those who come after us may see the peril and avoid it†.”

The applause of Europe, since 1812, has quite intoxicated the Russian nation. The officers, and the soldiers especially, believe themselves the *first* in existence, and seem to imagine that they could now conquer the globe; and, therefore, that wherever their hordes are sent, they will march to certain victory. Such a conviction prevailing in an army forms an *host* of itself, and has led to deeds almost supernatural. Was it not the *long-credited infallibility of Napoleon* that fought half his battles, and animated his soldiers with the idea of their own invincibility? Master of the human mind, that General spoke in an oracular style. He issued orders to his soldiers as if he had been giving instructions for a parade or a general review. His armies never hesitated; they never dreamt of defeat; they fought, and they conquered, and thus fulfilled the commands of their leader. The Russians wish to inspire their armies

* Travels in Russia, Vol. II. page 409.

† Napoleon's Expedition to Russia, Vol. II. page 405.

with the same sentiments as those of *Napoleon's troops*; and indeed their commanders proudly insinuate that they hold the keys of Europe,—that the destiny of nations is in their hands, the moment their Tsar shall pronounce the words, “*Now for the conquest of Europe!*” It becomes a serious duty to enquire whether these opinions of the Russians are well-founded. We have endeavoured to do so, and are led to conclude, that the nations of Europe not only can resist the attacks of the *apparently colossal power of the North*, but even can retaliate her future aggressions, by taking possession of her best provinces, and reducing her to advantageous, if not to unconditional terms.

We shall therefore now lay before our readers our opinions on this subject, which may soon become of the utmost importance to Europe, and of course to this country, and which is now much agitated on the Continent.

In our reasonings on the political state, the probable policy, and the vaunted military prowess of Russia, we ought to recollect, that this empire is composed of the most heterogeneous and discordant materials, of tribes of all languages and creeds, and that she is every where accessible by land, except in Siberia, (a country not worth conquest,) and in many vulnerable points also accessible by sea. It should also be remembered, that beyond her own provinces she is surrounded by half-a-dozen powerful empires, most of which, through the agency of other countries, especially of Great Britain, could be excited to act against her. And it should more especially be borne in mind, that *Russia Proper* is surrounded by territories which were once independent kingdoms, or were wrested from other states; and that these *adventitious territories*, as Dr Lyall calls them, are retained by force—not by consent—under the sway of the Moscovite Imperial eagle. Among these states may be reckoned Kazán, Astrachán, Siberia, the Kuban, Mount Caucasus, Geor-

gia, the Persian provinces, the Crimea, the Baltic provinces, but especially Finland, Poland, and the Turkish provinces.

With respect to the ancient kingdoms of Kazán and Astrachán, as well as that of Siberia, they may be reckoned as indissolubly attached to Russia, or at least their separation may be looked upon as distant. The two former are indeed now completely become *Russian*, and the geographical position of the latter immense district, bounded by the Frozen Ocean, the Eastern Sea, and European Russia, almost render certain its dependence upon the empire of the North.

Mutual and bitter hatred separates Russia and Persia. Abbaz Mirza, the brave and enlightened heir-presumptive of the Persian crown, it may fairly be presumed, earnestly awaits a favourable opportunity to attack the Russians, and to drive them from the Persian provinces, which they obtained, *chiefly through British policy*, in the year 1812, as also from Georgia, and beyond the Caucasus. The Persians have been long exasperated against the Russians, who not only despoiled them of provinces, but seem to reckon that it would be no difficult matter to annihilate the kingdom of Persia, and to render her a province of the Russian empire*.

The policy of the Georgians is dictated by necessity, because they are surrounded by three great powers, Turkey, Persia, and Russia, with none of whom, from the smallness of their number, they are able to cope, and on one or other of whom they must be dependant. The moment, therefore, the current turns, whether in favour of the Persians or of the Turks, the Georgians must join with them against the Russians, and assist in their expulsion from the trans-Caucasian regions. Besides, Prince Alexander of Georgia, who never yielded his right or title to that country when it was abandoned by the rest of his family, remains under the protection of Persia; and, unseduced by Russian flattery or craft, awaits

* The valuable Journal of General Yermolof's Embassy to Persia, of which an abridged translation is inserted in Dr Lyall's *Travels in Russia*, completely develops the above important fact, which ought to be made known to the Persian Government.

the time for avenging himself of the spoilers of his country*.

The Caucasian tribes, who are more allied in religion, in language, in customs, and manners, with the Persians, and still more so with the Turks than with the Russians, whom they heartily detest, would almost unanimously rise against their present masters, by whom they are incensed to fury, in consequence of the oppressive and cruel measures pursued toward them†. With the joy of savages, and the strength of desperadoes, they would join either Turks, Persians, or Georgians, were their own mountain freedom and independence the promised and expected reward.

The deadly enmity which the Turks bear to the Russians is quite proverbial, and dreadful may their revenge be, if they ever have the power of inflicting it. They cannot forget the encroachments of the forces of the Tsar in the Kuban, Bessarabia, the Crimea, &c. and they long for an opportunity to advance their frontiers again to the Boog and the Don, and to reconquer their admired peninsula, the Taurida. That the Crimea-Tartars would readily shake off the yoke of the Russians, and render homage to their old masters, the Turks, cannot be matter of doubt; for the subjection and fidelity they show *their conquerors*, arises more from a lethargic stupidity and a sullen acquiescence, than from affection or reverence.

With regard to Sweden, there can be as little doubt that she looks with no contentment at Finland's being under the sway of Russia, not to take into account other provinces, of which she has been long bereft. Over Sweden, the British Cabinet will always have great influence, as she is so vulnerable on many points by sea. From the similarity of their origin, their language, and manners, it might be expected that the Poles would readily form a coalition with the Russians. But it ought to be remembered, that this people have ever been separated from the Russians in religion. The Poles are chiefly Roman Catholics,—the Russians are all

of the Greek church. Besides, the intriguing and treacherous conduct of Russia towards Poland for a long series of years, and especially the seizure and the government of her provinces, have totally alienated the hearts of the Poles from their haughty and imperious masters. In a word, the Poles heartily dislike, nay, detest the Russians, and may be reckoned their natural enemies.

The Poles—the once free, independent, high-minded, and brave Poles—would hail with delight the prospect of being relieved from the galling yoke of Russia, for they well know, that the present constituted *Kingdom of Poland*—as it is craftily called—is, in fact, little different from a province of the Autocrat's empire, and that at the next agitation of political affairs, even the name of their country may be lost, while it may be divided into the 52d and 53d Governments of Russia.

Indeed, the Poles are groaning under the oppression of their conquerors, and under the truly despotic administration of Constantine, representative of the King of Poland. But they have not forgotten that they once possessed an elective Government,—that the iniquitous partition of their country was made by a triumvirate of Sovereigns, and was confirmed by the *Holy Alliance*.

Let but the prospect of freedom be then presented to the Poles, and let the tocsin of war be but sounded, would not the nation rise *en masse* against the invaders and the oppressors of their country? The best proof that this would be the case is afforded by the fact of their cordial junction with Napoleon in the year 1812, till, by his treacherous conduct, he disappointed their ardent and patriotic wishes. There is another point of considerable importance in the discussion of this subject; we mean the real strength of the Russian army. We shall concede that its numerical amount, throughout the whole empire, is a million of men,—a number which has a much more overpowering aspect at a distance than in Russia; for it cannot be denied, that one half

* *Full Travels* of Sir R. K. Porter, and of Dr Lyall.

† Lyall's *Travels in Russia*, &c. Vol. II. 71, 76.

of this army are only half-trained, and that many of them scarcely know the duty of soldiers. Allowing that 300,000 or 350,000 men form the really effective army, it must not be forgotten that they are scattered over an immense empire, from the Frozen Ocean to the sultry climate of Persia; and from the Dvinà and the Dnèper to the Eastern Archipelago; though, at the same time, we know that the chief armies extend from the Turkish provinces in a line toward St. Petersburg. Besides, there is a large army in Georgia; said by some to consist of 60,000, by some of 80,000, and by others of 100,000 men. The character of the Russian soldier is established. He is brave, hardy, obedient, and devoted,—qualities of the greatest importance in a military point of view. In so far, therefore, as the character of the Russian army depends upon mere *physical* or *brute force*, it may be said to be very great, *if that force could be easily concentrated*, which is not the case. In as

ch as its force depends upon *discipline*, it may be reckoned considerable, especially since the year 1815, because the Emperor has taken immense pains to improve in military tactics. With regard to the *moral* force of the Russian army, it must be estimated to be extremely little, as all denominations of the Russians are little acquainted with the practice, however much they may speak of their knowledge, of morality. But what is lost in *moral force* may be said to be gained in *divine force*, or that force which is generated, and which is supported by the soldier's confidence in the justice of his cause, and the glorious reward which awaits him should he fall in battle. The policy of Mahometans and Christians has equally perceived the advantage of such a belief; and the Russians are animated with the highest enthusiasm, by the idea that if they die in the cause of their country and of their sovereign, their souls will gain a blessed immortality.

We shall now call the reader's attention to the invasion of Russia by the other powers of Europe.

When Russia is to be successfully attacked, it must be on a well-digested plan. The European powers who league against the North should secure the co-operation, or at least the neutrality, of Sweden, Turkey, Persia, and Poland. We shall suppose that Austria and Prussia,—France and Prussia,—or France and Austria,—or all of these powers,—having received further and satisfactory evidence of the ambitious desire of Russia to penetrate still further into the regions of western Europe, are roused by jealousy, or sound policy, to form a league against the Autocrat of the North, and that Great Britain joins the confederacy, and engages to furnish a considerable sum of money to assist in the payment of the land-forces, while she equips a fleet for an attack in the Baltic; and another to enter the Black Sea. We shall conclude, that the coalition has employed proper means to excite Poland to revolt, by the solemn promise of restoring to her her former place among the states of Europe; that it has engaged Persia to assume a menacing aspect, or to carry on active warfare, if circumstances should prove propitious; that it has obtained the friendship of the Turks, and excited them to begin war in Moldavia and Wallachia, and to endeavour to push forward to Bessarabia*. We shall likewise suppose that Sweden has mustered an army, and threatens to make a diversion in Finland, and has actually put her troops in motion. The grand army of the coalition, however it may be formed, in our opinion, should advance through Poland and Galicia, toward the south-east, and endeavour to press forward in a line, nearly parallel with the western boundary of Bessarabia and Kief. Thus the forces of Russia would be divided: so many would be left in Georgia, so many in Finland, and a large army to oppose the Turks. Their chief forces, however, would be opposed to the grand army of the coalition and the Poles; and in proportion as they advanced, Russia would be necessitated to draw her forces from Wallachia and Bessarabia, and

* If the Greeks continue to be successful, they might become allies in the cause, in place of the Turks.

thus, by weakening the power of resistance, favour the advance of the Turks.

We shall now suppose that the Turks have succeeded in driving the Russians from Bessarabia, and that, assisted by the British fleet, they wish to get possession of, or rather to retake, the Crimea, whose inhabitants would hail them with open arms. The Peninsula being secured, the lines of Pereköp, which command its entrance by land, would be fortified and guarded, while a sufficient force was also placed at Irbit, to prevent a landing in a way similar to what took place by command of General Lascey in the reign of the Empress Ann.

Odessa, Nicolaëf, Kherson, and even Taganrog, if necessary, should also be taken; and the whole of the Russian fleet, which might be in these parts, or at Sovastopole, in the Crimea, should either be taken or destroyed. Thus, in the south, the Black Sea, the Sea of Azoph, with the Crimea, and the frontiers of Bessarabia, as well as the Boog and the Dnèper, Kief, Kharkof, and Odessa, would form the first line of military operations, and the conclusion of the first season of the campaign. A line of defence being thus formed, which would prevent the Russians effectually from turning the flanks either of the Turks or of the grand army of the European confederacy, the whole might go into winter quarters quite secure of abundance of provisions. The confederate army would be supplied by Poland, the Turks also by that country and their own provinces, and the Krimca by the Turks through the British fleet. Indeed the Krimca would form, as it were, an excellent magazine for all kinds of military stores and warlike machinery, whence supplies could be obtained at the commencement of the second season of the campaign.

After the dissolution of the frozen snows, the confederate army, and the Turks and Tartars, might advance toward Mohilef, Voroneje, Kursk, Orel, Tula, and Moscow, as well as toward Yekaterinoslaf, Simbirsk, and Tambof; thus allowing no enemy to get into their rear, but driving all the forces of Russia before them.

Let us now pause, and turn to the North. Suppose that the Swedes have alarmed the Russians, and have demanded the presence of a very considerable army to keep them in check, a powerful diversion would thus be produced in favour of the grand invading army. With the opening of the second campaign, all necessary preparations having been made, a simultaneous attack might be made by sea on Riga, Revel, and Petersburg. The British fleet would find no difficulty in passing the batteries of Cronstadt, with a favourable breeze or by the assistance of steam-boats. Indeed, were it of much consequence, the batteries of Cronslot, Cronstadt, and all the rest which were erected in the Gulph of Finland at the time Paul expected the visit of a British fleet to Petersburg, could soon be destroyed, and even the island of *Retusari* (on which Cronstadt stands) could be taken. The south of Russia thus being in possession of her enemies, a British fleet riding triumphant in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoph,—Petersburgh being blockaded and threatened with a bombardment by steam-vessels, sailing-vessels, and Congreve rockets,—commerce being at a stand, the ports in the Baltic, the Black Sea, the Sea of Azoph, and the White Sea, being all blocked up, and the whole empire suffering under a variety of wants, is it not reasonable to presume that Russia would be glad to conclude a treaty of peace on terms very advantageous to her opponents, or that her forces would fly to Siberia to await future events? If Russia delayed coming to terms, the southern provinces would yield abundance of food,—time would be granted for gaining over the inhabitants, by attention to their customs and manners, by humouring their prejudices, by condescension toward their religion, and by adopting a kind, conciliatory manner of treatment,—means which are sometimes infinitely more important than military armaments.

Whatever be the powers which might wish to invade Russia, or whatever the politics which might dictate such a measure, it would be of the utmost consequence to convince the army, not only of the possi-

bility, but of the facility of invasion ; and, to prevent all misgivings on their part, by reflections on the fate of Napoleon's magnificent army, they should be acquainted with the causes of his failure, at least the officers, and that great circumspection would be adopted by their commanders. As we are no admirers of war and of military glory, we sincerely wish

that peace may be long maintained between Russia and the Continental States, as well as Great Britain ; but we do think it of some importance, that neither Russia, nor any other State, should be imbued with false notions as to the power of the Autocrat of the North, and the inaccessibility of his territories.

THE NORTHERN COTTAGE, AND OTHER IRISH POEMS

THE volume whose title we have prefixed to this article is, by its own account, the production of "an uneducated genius," who, in this capacity, has made his debüt, "alike disdaining the praise or censure of the wittings or wordcatchers of the day,—professing himself an humble follower of the illustrious names of the genuine old school of Nature and common sense." Conscious, as he says, "that there is no record of a performance having sunk into oblivion, otherwise than by a just cause, viz. the weight of its own defects," how far he is entitled to the self-conferred dignity of "a true follower," or whether this production is soon likely to reach the region of oblivion, or fulfil "his prospect of an honest fame," shall be the subject of our present enquiry. Of all the subjects with which we have any concern, that of untaught genius is decidedly the most delicate ; the rarity of the occurrence of any thing very brilliant in this way, to be sure, relieves us from the necessity of coming more frequently in contact with its endless pretensions ; but even in some few instances, when we might wish to be a little more diffuse than our general indifference seems to indicate, we feel beset with difficulties so unmanageable, as offer but a miserable compensation for the courage or humanity of the undertaking ; and in most cases, therefore, rather than squabble with the persecuting irritability of the selfish, or run the risk of annihilating the slender props of the timid adventurer, we submit to

the accusation of praising now only when paid, and of speaking, in reference to genius in the present generation, the truths that ought to have been spoken and published by our predecessors in the generation that is gone. However repugnant to our feelings is such a character and such conduct, yet we are consoled with the belief that both are inseparable from the proper discharge of our duty ; and the fault (if it be one) so pathetically deplored, sometimes by anticipation, in the bitter throw of many a flowing number, might, for lack of a more legitimate owner, easily trace its genealogy to the family, and prove its necessary descent from the conduct, of the chiefs of "uneducated genius." "Honour to whom honour is due," is a maxim that we would wish to fulfil in affairs of mind, as well as in affairs of mere outward precedence ; but when we witness a first appearance on the literary stage, under the influence of an importance greatly the most prominent possession of all that the actor has at first the opportunity of displaying, or when we witness a more diffident debüt, when the presence eclipses the person, and enfeebls or appeals that energy that seems to indicate a brighter power, and a gathering consistency, it ought not to be wondered although we pause, in the hope that the estimate of the one will settle down into rationality on the score of his overwrought expectations, and that the other may be recruited by the return of that temporary evaporation, to

* The Northern Cottage, and other Poems ; written partly in the Dialect of the North of Ireland. By George Dugall. Londonderry : William M'Corkell. 1825.

moisten the soil of his imagination, before we pass a verdict on its produce. In one or other of these dispositions do we generally find our uneducated entrants on our first acquaintance, and the present volume will assist us in the solution of the question, "to which of them our author belongs." It is evident that those of the first class have much to learn before they are fit subjects for either censure or praise; indeed, that class was so numerous, without the addition of our present author, that there are many who may safely reckon on a long life, exempted from the disturbance of either censure or praise; but even those few of them, who have produced any thing worthy of notice, would, in the state of ignorance above referred to, lose more in these chances of improvement than they would gain by the gratification of their vanity, were they put in possession of any fragment of that forbidden fruit, "flattery," which, however delicious, is to them the sure forerunner of evil.

If there are in the present performance any of those traces of the poet's pen that might be suspected of laying claims to a share of evidence, that he carries a message from the Muses, we will do it this much justice at least, as to give extracts from various pieces. We are well aware, that although they savour much of imitation of our great national bard, yet some of them indicate a spark of native power, that may be capable of kindling at such a pure flame.

The staple piece of the production, and that which confers on it its title, consists of sixty stanzas, but is too long as a whole, and there is no piece of it taken separately but what is too listless to be transcribed. It is an attempt to describe rural life in the north of Ireland, something in the shape of a mixture of Burns's *Cottager's Saturday Night* and *Hallowe'en*, but destitute of the domestic tenderness of the one, and the vivid and superstitious playfulness of the other. After passing a host of other pieces of various lengths, all partaking, less or more, of the same characteristics, we come to an epistolary effusion, addressed to a friend, from which we extract the following :

Satire, dread Pow'r !—just gi'e thee
leave,
Through life, through death, thou'lt hunt
the knave,
In atoms hauri him frae the grave,
Though flint confines ;
And sift him through thy fiery sieve,
To scowling winds.

'Tis thine, thou wonder-working Dame,
The human monster oft to tame ;
To latest times, in lasting shame,
His crimes to tell :
They quake at thy terrific name,
Who laugh at hell.

The proud oppressive nun'rous host,
On whom the world's best half is lost ;
The fawning tribe who lick the dust,
To please the brood o't ;
And by their cringing earn their crust,
Diel gie them gude o't ;

Fuff many a carl, now-a-days,
An honest bard would blush to praise ;
On such, let museless P'sons dull phrase,
Heap fulsome lies :
Such stupid mercenary lays
The world denies.

The gen'ral voice is never wrang :
Let common fame but judge the sang ;
Rhimester and patron ere its laug,
Maun jouk wi' shame,
And hide their noddles frae the fang
O' public blame.

Nature in thee has made a winner ;
(I'm vex'd she didna mak' a hanner)
A man without her common blunner,
Ae spark o' pride ;
Wi' friendship, feeling, truth, and honor,
And gear beside.

There's Mr Outside, mark him well ;
A booby you could buy an' sell ;
In grins an' stares himself he'll drill,
Like some baboon :
A poor out-pensioner o' h——,
Scarce worth a crown.

He's born to some snug patch o' land ;
So that for sense an' grace maun stand ;
He felt no rod—fear'd no command,
In early days ;
But rowing at baith fit an hand,
Were meat an' claes.

Days, months, and years, thus onward
pass ;
The next still found him what he was ;
Headstrong and stupid, like some ass,
Or tinker's donkey :
A savage of a mongrel class,
Half bear—half monkey.

Thus out o' reach o' what he should
be,
Or what wi' cultur'd mind he could be ;
Although he mimic what he should be,
Wi' labour sair,
He'll never really wise or good be,
'Till time's nae mair.

Wi' talents scarce above his stable,
In decency to judge unable,
He copies pride's dull formal rabble,
With steady ann ;
I'll wager should they f— at table,
He'll do the same.

Aul' Terra's cast an' western wing,
For back an' board their off'rings bring :
Each week a jub'lee for a string,
O' fops an' j—s :
Wha idle, proud, an' giddy, fling
By wheels an' spades.

'Tis not enough to view his country
The victim of misguided gentry :
Stern desolation makes its entry,
By full consent ;
Of his own means the treacherous sentry,
On dog-drive bent.

Your lint is sown afore his corn ;
Your stacks are thutch'd ere his are
shorn ;
Wi' envy peevish and forlorn,
He often hums,
" This will not do—I'll work the morn,"
That morn ne'er comes.

Debt after debt is fast contracted ;
His word's still less and less respected ;
Labour abhorr'd as well's neglected,
And in despair,
Wi' every drunken rake connected,
He flees frae care.

Cants, poundings, follow helter skelter ;
His family's driven frae its shelter ;
Unless his course strong Ruin alter,
Wi' timely rein,
The poke, New Holland, or a halter,
Maun close the scene.

D—d empty pride ! when ance I'm at
thee,
I kenna whar or how to quat thee :
Infernal huxter ! still I'll claut thee,
Through light an' liver,
Then stink, till Satan score and saut thee,
And stink for ever.

A batch o' rhimes enclos'd I sen' :
(I thought it bare to gang alane)
Your critical opinion spen',
An' tell me fair o't ;
Speak out ! Gude faith, I'll never stane
Your dog the mair o't.

God grant a ha'nt to you each season,
Hale four each year, o' a' that's pleasing ;
Had I o' friends but ae bare dizen,
Just such as you,
I wou'd na ca' the king my cousin :—
Dear Sir—Adieu.

The following is a merry " much
ado about nothing," being only an
epistle sent along with the present of
a little dog, and but for a few words
which, in point of delicacy, ought to
have been substituted, may be consi-
dered rather happy in its way.

My fav'rite Crab, to you I send him,
Wi' twa'r three lines to recommend him ;
His hist'ry an' himsel' thegither,
I'm no right certain wha's his father :
*** ****'s dog has got the wyte,
Poor chiel, because he is na white,
For the resemblance is nae fuller,
Than just the temper an' the colour :
We might as fast, or maybe faster,
Father negroes on his master.
But drappin' a' such doubtful matters,
Crab's nae discredit till his betters—
A cleaner whalp, for hide an' hair,
Ne'er grac'd the lap o' lady fair ;
But faith, tak' care ye be na nickit,
For though he's wee, he's very wickit.

His mither's o' the terrier breed,
But higher by the neck and head.
A crafty, kindly, sportive plague,
She'll follow clods, or sit an' beg ;
Yet, nae reflection on her merit,
I hope he'll ha'e a better spirit.
(For meanness still, Gude bless you, bang
him,
An' if you canna cure him—hang him.)
Her owner for me lang did pet him ;
'Twa' nae wee compliment to get him.
The man is o' a different creed,
But frien'ly baith in word an' deed.
Were men by lump like this gude fellow,
A Justice ne'er would been heard tell o'.

I gie Crab up to your ain breeding,
But dinna turn him to the Meeting ;
For he's a mass-man staunch an' steady,
An' has refus'd the church already :
You didna use to be a bigot,
Sae for your credit dinna speak o't.
I'll say't while e'er he keeps his scent,
He'll ne'er be scrupulous o' Lent ;
Nor will he, ever honor'd Madam,
Ere keep a fast when you forbid him.

You've such a trick o' spoiling weans,
I doubt you'll scatter a' my pains ;
For were he biding in my rule,
I'd ha'd him shortly at the school ;
And tak' my word for't, he's a messen
That's nae way backward at his lesson.

He cuts, forbye his quick retention,
 Ten capers o' his ain invention;
 In devilry he's grown sae pat,
 He'll chase the hens, an' ride the cat;
 Wha sometimes tak's a spitting fling,
 An' sen's him yelping frae the ring.
 Wi' tooth an' nail he tears their claes,
 An' scrapes an' worries Peggy's taes;
 An' heedless o' her mither's flogging,
 He'll stap his head in Marg'ret's noggin.
 You ken I wish to sen' him decent;
 An' troth ye ha'e a sturing present:
 Sae, while ye live, in ev'ry weather,
 I wish you happy days thegither.

The next worthy of notice that we come to is another rhyming epistle in which the author is open and diffuse upon many topics, commencing with a detail of his own idea of the deplorable meanness of believing that the interference of the great is essential to the success, or even to the existence of genius, which is certainly independent.

I never wish to cultivate
 A hollow friendship wi' the great,
 Wha look upon their condescension
 As if it were a yearly pension;
 An' view a rustic at their lug
 Like some Newfoundland fav'rite dog;
 Caress'd, 'tis true, he'll sometimes be,
 But boasted when he maks owre free.

Fortune, (unless thou'st ta'en an aith
 To thwart me till my latest breath,)
 Hear ae short prayer—'twill be but aye:—
 Protect me frae a saucy frien',
 Who proffers with one hand assistance,
 An' with the other marks my distance;
 Who holds my reputation dear,
 Yet mocks it in a stiff'd sneer:
 So pridefu' pass will seldom fail,
 To rub her crony wi' her tail.

After discussing several other points, we find him involved in clearing up a theological tenet, about which Charles the X. of France very lately expressed the most clear, decided, and charitable opinion, certainly quite at variance with our author's. But we are afraid that the question of exclusive salvation will not be considerably mended by the lucubrations of either Poets or Potentates; neither of them are, in general, very exemplary moral defenders of the faith; and as for reviewers, it is immeasurably beyond their reach; although, on the present occasion, we would heartily join the poet against the King, for we feel most charitably inclined towards those who are taught

and think they perceive the path to heaven, although it be from a different eminence than the one whereon we stand; and we are inclined to think, that if some of us are a little astray, it is only a temporary consequence of that mixture of light and darkness in which the many dogmatic and persecuting human creeds of former times have involved us, and is just the reverse of what the poet says, in reference to genius, that,

The light that led astray
 Was light from heaven.

The gloom that leads any of us astray is of a more earthly origin, and no wonder, when wandering in regions under the observation of such clouds of stubborn theological mist. But let us follow our author, and presently we will be more at our ease: the next piece we shall notice is the *Humours of Ballyarnet*, or a panoramic view of a race-course, which is lively and graphic, although we cannot afford room for more than a peep at the collection of the company, and the motley assemblage, when collected.

There coaches, gigs, tandems—each mode
 of conveyance;
 Lords, Ladies, and lackies in sportive
 abeyance:
 Equestrians on saddles and *sougar*,
 ascended,
 And gentry and jockies promiscuously
 blended.
 There barons and beggars—all kinds of
 high-fliers;
 Grandees worse than nothing, and shabby
 equities,
 With pick-pockets, sharpers, and rakes
 fond and fan,
 And nymphs of the wood from the
 B———'s demesne.
 There bare-headed boyhood, old age in
 his wig;
 With pipers, and pedlars, and parsons so
 trig,
 Who run the "good race," to the end
 still enduring,
 And herd with the souls who have most
 need of curing.

Here tents are rigg'd out in each colour
 that glows,
 With streamers and sign-boards, all plant-
 ed in rows;
 Where innkeepers watch, like the spider,
 for spoils,
 To catch the poor drinkers like flies in
 their toils:

Where whisky, and cherries, and sweet-
cakes abound ;
And politics, love, and religion resound :
Where fiddlers stone-blind are fast scrap-
ing to dancing ,
And Modesty's self in her cups is now
prancing.
Here show-men exhibit field-m Marshals
and monkies ;
And peat-cadgers range on their hacks
and their donkies :
Here carriages drive, and there horses
are flinging ;
Here race-bills a-selling, and ballads a-
singing ;
There wares of all sorts by their venders
a-calling ;
And nonsense run mad, in all quarters is
bawling :
While vagrants around wheels-of-fortune
are ranting,
And deat'nin' the din of " three in—
one a-wanting "

The trumpet is blown, and the course is
quite clear,
Three racers are started—the crowd gives
a cheer ;
A black, white, and red—call them Rain,
Wind, and Lightning.
The betters now bawl while their aspects
are fright'ning.
The horses, as yet in the closest connec-
tion,
Have sped like a cloud as it were by at-
traction :
Speculation's let loose—it is doubtful
who'll win it ;
And twenty remarks are now heard in a
minute.

The odds are on Rain, on his speed and
his force ;
To the ladies in white he's well known
on the course ;
He pickles them often whenever he
runs ;
On racers against him not one of them
wins.
The favourites of Wind now attention as-
sal :
The race is a long one—his breath can-
not fail ;
At each rise on the road he some distance
will gain :
And then he is ridden much lighter than
Rain.
Another roars out, " Why, you're all fools
together,
They're both heavy ridden, but Light-
ning's a feather "
" Five to four," cries a booby, " the
black will yet win ;
The others are losing."—" Done, d—n
you, Sir, done."

Now half round the course Wind a-head
is fast getting,
His prospects now brighten—he flies—
even betting :
Again it seems dubious ; the black, white,
and red,
At crupper and bit you might tie with a
thread :
On the chance even Fortune herself seems
to ponder,
For some seconds deep silence prevails
for a wonder.
Now again they divide—see the black and
the white
Are anxiously striving to gain on the
right,
Where the distance is shortest, and turf
in their favour,
While spurring and whipping speed ev'ry
endeavour :
But Lightning now sporting with Rain
and with Wind,
Is sometimes before and as often behind.
Now bath'd in a sweat, and sore gall'd by
the switch,
See Rain throws his rider souse into the
ditch ;
His shoulder is bruised, and he's wet to
the skin ;
For Phaeton, poor devil ! now who likes
may win.

Now for't white and red—Fate her scale
is suspending ;
Beyond the gazebeau they both are de-
scending.
Head and girth now they come.—Behold
Wind how he flies ;
Yet what speed can contend with the flash
of the skies ?
He darts o'er the score, to the spectators'
wonder,
'Midst a burst of applause like a loud clap
of thunder.

The race being over, the day wearing
low,
Curiosity's self now half-willing to go,
Oft turns on her heel, while her neck is
quite taper,
No remnant of novelty well can escape
her.
Once more the roads cover—the crowds
slow disperse,
The coaches and horsemen now gallop off
fierce.
If we judge by their faces, few minds are
compos'd,
But joyous, or griev'd, as they gain'd or
they lost ;
Confirming the maxim long taught to be
right,
That pleasures of sense yield no solid de-
light.

We would willingly have been

equally gracious to the Royal Hub-bub, which is much in the style of the above, but at present we cannot, seeing the intolerable length to which we have already run, and must now take the most abrupt leave possible, of both our readers and the author, under a fit of fear and trembling, excited by the fact, that we have

trenched upon the patience of the one, and completely surfeited them with the good things of the other ; partly from our anxiety to display the same willingness that our author applauds in his countrymen, " that where there is even a presumption of talent, it shall (with us also) have a fair trial.

MORÆ BIBLIOGRAPHICÆ.

No. I.

Notice of the best Editions and Editors of the Greek and Latin Classics.

THE bibliomaniacal rage, thanks to Messrs Payne & Foss, Frognal Dibdin, et cæteris, was never more rife and furious than it is now ; as Messrs Evans, Sotheby, and Saunders, will, I doubt not, readily testify. In most instances, the taste of the *patients* has been most vilely misapplied ; but this is no concern of mine, neither does it matter to me whether a person is silly enough to purchase a book which he cannot read, but which has the ineffable charm of being antique and venerable. Truly, I think this is a silly mode of spending one's money, because it is uselessly applied ; and if there be any particular branch of the Bibliomania which is really commendable, it is that which comprises a passion for the best editions of the Classics ; because, like all other valuable and useful books, which are continually in demand, some of them were first produced by interested, careless, and unlearned printers ; or perhaps from incorrect and surreptitious manuscripts, or from the want of some efficient scholar to watch carefully over the work as it proceeded through the press. On the other hand, in opposition to bad editions, there are those which are technically termed *good*, from the former causes being reversed. Thus the printing from the original manuscripts, written either by the authors themselves, or by their disciples under their own inspection, is one great and important recommendation :—others are the printing of the work under the superintendence of some excellent and well-known scholar, who gave it the advantage and decoration of his own notes and comments, or who collated it with

several other authentic copies, and added the various readings in the margin ; its production from the press of some learned and eminent printer ; or its emanation from some celebrated university. These are the principal characteristics of the most admired and the most valuable editions of the Greek and Latin Classics, to which may be added all the odd features of beauty or rarity which Bibliographers ascribe to books in general ; such as their being *editiones principes*,—their being printed upon large paper, or beautifully illustrated by plates,—their being uncut copies, or their being printed upon washed and ruled paper—a quality, by the way, to be found in few but the prime Elzevirian Classics.

But the most predominant feature of the *Bibliomania Classica* is the desire to have a complete and uniform series of the Greek and Latin authors from one press and one place. Of these series there are only five choice ones, namely, the Aldine, the Elzevir, the Maittaire et Barbou, the Delphin, and the Variorum ; and of each of these a short description follows, to which are prefixed a few general Bibliographical explanations, for the benefit and oblectation of the uninitiated.

Editiones principes, or first editions, are those which were first printed from ancient manuscripts, the Latin term being chiefly applied to the classics. First editions are divided into those first published in certain languages, in certain towns and countries, by certain printers, and in certain characters, as the black, the Roman, the Italic, or the Greek letter. Editions on *large paper* are those of which only a limited num-



her of copies have been printed on a material larger and better than the remainder of the impression, and with more attention to typographical beauty. This feature, together with the specious decorations of plates and vignettes, belongs chiefly to modern editions; for the best impressions of former times, when intended for copies to be presented to noble persons, were generally upon vellum. *Uncut copies* are very rare: they signify books which have never been bound, and consequently have the edges of their leaves in their original rough state, untouched by the binder's plough-knife. It is customary, upon having a book bound for the first time, to have a part of the leaf folded in, that it may escape cutting; the rough edge of this leaf is technically termed *proof*. Books that are *washed* and *ruled* are usually Bibles, prayer-books, sometimes old law-books, and the Elzevir Classics. This custom, doubtless, arose from the old custom of imitating manuscripts in the early typographical works, which, being printed in a character resembling the text, were also ruled with red or brown lines, to add to the deception. There was also a later custom of ruling church service-books with lines of vermilion, merely for ornament. Washing was performed when the paper or vellum was badly sized, a wash of alum-water being passed over the leaves, to prevent the lines from sinking or blötting. Having thus mentioned a few of the bibliographical characteristics of books in general, I shall now proceed to give some account of the Aldine and Stephanine editions of the Greek Classics.

The *Aldine Classics* were the productions of those persons who presided over the Aldine presses established at Venice, Rome, and Bologna. Theobaldus, or, by contraction, Aldus, surnamed Pius Manutius, was born in the year 1446-7, at Bassiano, a small town in the Duchy of Sermonetta, in Italy; whence he was sometimes denominated Bassianus and Romanus, because that town was in the Romish jurisdiction: About 1482, while Aldus was residing with the pious and learned John Pius, Count of Mirandola, the original idea of the institution of a

new classical printing-press was first conceived and matured. For the superintendence of this work, Aldus had every requisite; he had diligently studied the Greek and Latin languages under the famous Bartista Querini of Verona, was himself an excellent Grecian critic and grammarian, and had been tutor to Albertus Pius, a prince of the noble family of Carpi, from whom he derived his second name. About 1448-9, Aldus established his printing-office at Venice, where he produced a series of volumes of a size much less than had hitherto been printed, although he considerably reduced the number of typographical abbreviations, which were then almost universal. This he performed by using the Italic letter, as it is now denominated, but which at the time was called, after him, the Aldine character, he being generally considered its inventor. This type, for which Aldus received a grant from the Senate of Venice in 1502, and also briefs from three different Pontiffs, giving him a patent for using it for fifteen years, was cut by Francis of Bologna, though Jeronimo Soncino, a contemporary printer, also claims the merit of its adoption. The labour which Aldus bestowed upon his classics was almost beyond example. Night and day, as he himself relates, did he devote himself to them. In 1500, Aldus married the daughter of Andreas Asulanus; and in 1512 his sons, Paulus Manutius, and Anthony, supposed to have been a printer at Bologna, were born at Venice. The success of the Aldine books of an octavo form produced many spurious imitations of them, which were printed at Lyons in 1502, and these elicited a very sharp remonstrance from Aldus. About 1515 Aldus died, but his father-in-law, who had a share in the printing-office, conducted the Aldine press till 1529, when Paulus Manutius was of age to manage it. He brought to the task a fine classical genius, less skilled in Greek than his father, but possessing an elegant taste in Latin. In his twenty-first year he printed and published the oratorical books of Cicero, with very valuable commentaries. He died in 1574, in the arms of his son Aldus Manutius junior, previously to which his sight

and health had been declining, and domestic afflictions had been gathering round him. His son Aldus was born in February 1517, and evinced an extraordinary talent, at a very early age. About 1576 he was made a Professor of Belles-Lettres, and in 1582 he became acquainted with the celebrated Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, at Rome. He died insolvent in October 1597, and the printing-office was broken up. Such is a brief outline of the family by which the Aldine Classics were produced, containing about 167 Greek and Latin writers, printed in all sizes, but chiefly in octavo. Several of them were on vellum, and on large paper, and occasionally the works of two authors were in one volume. The device of the Aldine press, which was prefixed to these works, was a dolphin twisting round an anchor; but this has been a good deal varied. The curious reader will find a detailed history of the family, with a bibliographical catalogue of their works, in "*Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes, ou Histoire de Trois Manuces, et de leurs Editions.*" By A. A. Renouard; Paris 1812.

The *Stephanine* Classics, or those produced by the learned family of *Stephens*, are probably those next in estimation to the Aldine. *Henricus Stephens*, *Henri Estienne*, or *Henry Stephens*, for in different circumstances his name is written in different languages, was the great founder of this family, and is at the present time called, by way of distinction, the *First Henry*. He was born at Paris in 1470, and commenced printing with an abridgment of the Arithmetic of Boethius, in 1502-3, although an edition of part of Aristotle's *Ethics* was published in 1496, with the names of Wolfgang Hopyl and Henry Stephens attached to it as the printers. He is said by some to have died on the 21th of July 1520, but from the date of his last book it is more probable that he lived till the following year. After his death, Simon de Colineus, or Colines, his partner, married his widow, and continued the business in conjunction with Francis Stephens, the eldest son. The works of Henry Stephens are esteemed chiefly for their correctness, as he not only read

his own proofs, but also placed them before any scholastic visitors who were residing at his house; and he is said to have been the first printer who particularly attended to the insertion of lists of *Errata*. His books—of which his "*Psalterium Quintuplex*," 1509 and 1513, and his "*Itinerarium Antoninus*," 1512, are very much in request—are generally printed in a good Roman letter, although he sometimes used the Gothic. They are also decorated with curious capital initials, and enlivened by the introduction of red ink; but his Greek type is very uncommon. The printing-house of Henry Stephens stood in the Rue Ecole de Droit, in Paris, and he is said to have used two devices. One of these, and probably the earliest, was a rude upright woodcut of a tree, putting out leaves, flowers, and fruit, under the influence of rain, snow, and hail; which are represented as falling from the clouds, and having their names in Latin, in rude Roman letters, placed beside them. His other device was the old arms of the Paris University, with the motto, "*Plus olei quam vini.*"

Henry Stephens left three sons, Francis, Robert, and Charles; of whom Francis, usually called the *First Francis*, was, as I have already intimated, in partnership with his father-in-law, Simon de Colines. He never married, although Mattaire, mistaking his nephew, the *Second Francis*, for his son, asserts that he had a son who was a printer in 1570. His name first appears in the "*Vinetum*" of Charles Stephens, in 1537, and last in the "*Andria*" of Terence in 1547. Francis Stephens sometimes used his father's second device, but he had also an elegant one of his own, representing an altar with a closed book laid upon it, surmounted by a tripod vase, holding a vine-branch with fruit. On the base of the altar is written *ΠΛΕΟΝ ΕΛΑΙΣ Η ΟΙΝΟΣ*, with a Latin translation as above—"*Plus olei quam vini.*" Simon de Colines, although he was not a Stephens, yet, from his double connection with the family, is always considered as a part of it, began to print with the first Henry Stephens in 1519-20, and continued his typographical labours till 1546, when he died, and four years afterwards

his heirs succeeded to the business. After the death of Henry Stephens, while he worked in connection with his sons-in-law, Francis and Robert, Simon de Colines greatly improved the Stephanine press, by adding to it several well-cut founts of letter, as French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldaic; but the Greek books printed by him are only eight in number. His paper was also remarkably strong and fair. He used three devices: First, an upright shield, with a black back-ground, studded with white spots, and a large tree covered with leaves, and surrounded with ornamental foliage, supporting, a little distance above the root, three circles, bearing the letters S. D. C. On each side of the tree are two large rabbits, with two others behind; beneath all is his name, S. de Colines. Of this device there are variations. His second was a figure of Time, formed like a Satyr, moving on the summit of a broad pedestal, above which are shewn flowers, and grass cut down. Behind the figure is the word "Tempus," and upon the pedestal is the motto—"Virtus sola aciem retundit istam." In a variation of the above device, the word "Tempus" is transferred to the base on which the figure stands, with the motto altered to "Hanc aciem sola retundit virtus," written upon a scroll proceeding from the mouth of Time. The third device was the Golden Sun, occurring at the bottom of a very rich border of arabesque and grotesque work, in white, upon a black stellated back-ground, with (above the Sun) the letters S. D. C.

Robert Stephens, the second son of Henry, who is distinguished as the *first Robert*, was born at Paris in the year 1503; and having had a liberal education, made considerable progress in all the learned languages, and especially in the Hebrew. After Henry's death he worked till the age of nineteen as a corrector of the press for his father-in-law, Colines; but in 1525 he dissolved this connection, and opened a printing-office of his own in that part of Paris where his father had resided. About the same time he married Petronilla, the daughter of Jodocus Badius Ascensius, an eminent scholar and printer of Lyons. In the family of Ro-

bert Stephens there was not a person who did not speak Latin; for his wife, who was a woman of extensive erudition, taught both his children and his servants. Cicero "*De Partitionibus Oratoriis*," printed in 1527, was the book which appeared first from his press; and almost every year afterwards, till his death, he produced some new and highly-improved edition of a classic. The books of Robert Stephens are by far more beautiful than those of his father; while, at the same time, he was so careful concerning their accuracy, that he was accustomed to hang up his sheets in some conspicuous place, and offer a reward for the detection of any error. In 1532 he had a new and improved fount of types cast, previously to which he used those of his father and Simon de Colines; and in 1539 he was appointed the Royal printer in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, for which office the French King, Francis I. had a very fine set of types cast by Garamond, which are still preserved in the Royal printing-office at Paris. Robert Stephens resided in Paris until about 1551-2, before which period he was honoured by a visit from the King, and from Margaret, Queen of Navarre: Conrad Gessner, also, the celebrated Naturalist, addressed to him an encomiastic dedication. The publication of two excellent editions of the Bible and Testament had long excited the virulence of the Sorbonne Doctors against our printer; but until the period just mentioned, he had been effectually defended by his Royal partner, Francis. Finding it, however, impossible to contend with them any longer, he removed with his family to Geneva, where he arrived early in 1552, and took with him many of the matrices and punches belonging to the Royal foundry of Greek types, which had been given to him by the King. He had first joined partnership with his brother-in-law, Conrad Badius, with whom he printed the New Testament in French; and he is said (but erroneously) to have been the first printer who divided the chapters into verses. He afterwards opened a printing-house of his own; and in 1556 was elected a burgher of Geneva, in which place he died on Sep-

tember 7th 1559, and was executed in effigy at Paris for his imputed heresies.

Robert Stephens used four devices. First, a fruit-tree, with a branch broken and falling to the ground, with this motto printed beside it, "*Noli altum sapere sed time.*" The second was a similar tree, with three engrafted branches, and an old man in the garb of a philosopher standing on the right of it, and pointing upwards to the motto,—" *Noli altum sapere,*" which is placed between his head and the tree: of this there are variations. The third device, which, like the former, was used by several branches of the Stephens's, was attached to those works which he executed as King's printer; and consisted of a serpent twined round a lance, with an olive branch curled in the same direction, so as to fall betwixt the folds, while beneath them was this verse from Homer, "*Βασιλεῖ τ' ἀργαῖον κράτερος τ' ἀρχαίη.*" The same emblems were afterwards adopted by all the printers who were privileged to use the Royal Greek types. The books which Robert Stephens executed at Geneva were marked with an olive branch only, with the words, "*Oliva Roberti Stephani.*"

This eminent typographer had several sons, of whom Henry, Robert, and Francis, were the most celebrated; and one daughter, Catherine, who was married to a Royal notary at Paris of the name of Jacquelin. Charles, the third son of the first Henry, was a skilful Doctor of the Faculty of Paris, and tutor to the son of Lazarus Baif, with both of whom he travelled into Germany and Italy, where he formed an intimacy with Paulus Manutius, the son of Aldus, who has already been mentioned. In 1551 he commenced printing at Paris, and he first produced an edition of Appian, with the Royal types, from a manuscript in the Royal library, after which he also received the title of King's printer. Charles Stephens has been represented as having been both avaricious and envious; but all his care ended in an imprisonment for debt, in the Chatelet, in 1561, where he died three years afterwards, aged sixty. Of Robert and Petronilla Stephens was born, in 1528, that splendid scholar Henry, com-

monly called the *Second Henry*, and the most distinguished of all the family. He acquired the Greek language at a very early age, even previously to the Latin, and in 1517 he set out to travel in search of learning, through several countries the languages of which he successfully studied during his residence in them. After he had visited the most celebrated libraries in his time, he published his first typographical production, which was an *Editio Princeps* of Anacreon, printed at Paris in 1534; and in 1572 he published his magnificent Greek Thesaurus, in five large folio volumes, a great part of which was compiled by his father, and other learned men. Much of the latter portion of his days was spent at Geneva, as he was particularly zealous for the reformed religion; and he died, in 1598, in a hospital at Lyons, in a state of derangement, at the age of seventy, after an unhappy and unsettled life. His device was the Tree and the Philosopher considerably varied, with the motto placed upon a scroll. The Greek Thesaurus of Henry Stephens, a very fine new edition of which is now printing by Mr Valpy, was in great measure the cause of his ruin; for, having employed John Scapula as a corrector of his press, that dishonourable man abstracted such portions of the larger work as he conceived were of the most importance; and printing them secretly, he published that Greek Lexicon which is known by his name. The consequence was, that the price of the abridgment was such as students in general could afford: the impression sold rapidly, while the labours of Stephens were left in utter neglect, and that eminent printer became a bankrupt. Henry Stephens was twice married; first, to a lady of the family of Schringier, about 1559, by whom he had one son, Paul, a printer at Geneva; and two daughters, one of whom, Florence, was married to Dr Isaac Casaubon.

Another son of Robert and Petronilla Stephens was Robert, called the *Second*, who was born at Paris in 1530. He commenced printing in 1556, with Despauter's "*Rudimenta*;" and in 1563 he was appointed

King's printer, after which his press acquired great fame for the beauty of its typography. He appears to have been so attached to the Roman Catholic religion, that, although his father promised to bequeath to him the whole of his property, upon the condition of his quitting Paris for Geneva, he declined to do so. Charles IX. of France, by his Royal mandate, employed the younger Robert Stephens to visit for him several foreign libraries, and select the rarest manuscripts and books. He died in 1571, and by his wife, Denisa Barbè, he left three sons, Robert, Francis, and Henry. His widow married Mamert Palisson, whose books are often included among the Stephanine series, but concerning whom little or nothing is known. The device of the Second Robert was the Tree and the Philosopher, drawn upon a smaller scale than the original, and considerably varied.

The third son of Robert and Petronilla was the *second Francis*, a religious reformer, who renounced Popery with his father, and retired with him to Geneva, where he became a printer in connection with Francis Perrin. Upon his return to Normandy, he married Margaret Cave, by whom he had Gervais and Adrian, (booksellers at Paris,) and a daughter.

It has been said that the second Henry had one son, Paul Stephens. He was born in 1556, and printed from 1599 till 1627, at Geneva, when he died, leaving two sons, Joseph, the King's printer at Rochelle, and Anthony, who is said to have been the last of the Stephani. He was born at Geneva in 1594, and died, infirm and blind, in the Hotel Dieu, in 1674. Paul Stephens enjoyed a high reputation as a scholar; and when the studies of his youth were concluded, he visited the principal cities of Germany and Holland, to become acquainted with their learned men. Early in the seventeenth century, he

came to England to visit his brother-in-law, Isaac Casaubon; and while he was here, he became intimate with John Norton, bookseller to James I., to whom he gave his device.

The second Robert Stephens had two sons, the eldest of whom, the *third Robert*, was educated by the famous Desportes, and commenced printing in 1572. Two years afterwards he received the title of King's printer, and in 1629 he died, leaving no family. His other son was the *third Henry*, Treasurer of the Royal Palaces, but not known as a printer. From him descended two sons, first, Robert, an Advocate of Parliament, and Bailie of St. Marcel, who completed the translation of Aristotle's Rhetoric, begun by his uncle, the third Robert. The second son was Henry, Sieur de Fosses. The third Robert and Henry are said, each of them, to have used the family device; and there are also supposed to have been a Joachim and a Matthew Stephens, although there is little extant relating to them. An interesting history of this truly classical family, with descriptive catalogues of their books, will be found in the following works: "*Jansonii ab Almeloveen Dissertatio Epistolica de Vitis Stephanorum*," Amsterdam, 1683; "*Stephanorum Historia, Vitas ipsorum at Libros Complectens*," by Michael Maittaire; "*Historia Typographorum aliquot Parisiensium, Vitas et Libros Complectens*," by the same learned man; and Prosper Marchaud's "*Dictionnaire Historique*." The classic authors printed by the Stephani amount to nearly a hundred; two or three of which are sometimes contained in one volume, and they are of the folio, quarto, octavo, and duodecimo sizes. Some of the Stephanine books are impressed on vellum, and the first Robert Stephens, like the magnificent Christopher Plautin, occasionally used silver types.

Sonnet.

Sabbath Noon.

A SOLEMN stillness doth the air pervade,
 Save where the streamlet murmurs through the dell,
 Or from yon spire the sound of Sabbath-bell,
 Or lightsome carols by the small birds made.
 The busy hum of men no more is heard ;
 The toil-worn horse, let loose on the way-side,
 Pluaks at his ease, from off the verdant sward,
 The herbage green, from morn till even tide.
 Hark ! from yon glen, what holy music swells,
 Borne on the gale ? There, on the daisied sod,
 Are met a chosen few to praise their God ;
 For Cameron's holy fire each bosom fills ;
 And, as of yore, their canopy the sky,
 Mid rustling woods and waters gurgling by.

J. M. B.

LETTERS OF A SOUTH-AMERICAN SEAMAN.

(Continued from page 458.)

Letter X.

Bahia, Nov. 1821.

MY DEAR SIR,

IN my last letter I promised to give you an account of the slave-market, as soon as I had an opportunity of visiting it. I went to it yesterday for the first time, and though I was prepared, from what I saw at Pernambuco, to expect much to shock and disgust me, not even in imagination had I pictured any spectacle so truly horrid as what I yesterday beheld. In Pernambuco, I never saw above perhaps twenty human beings together, regularly exposed for sale in the streets ; but here I found a large establishment, sanctioned by the accursed government of Portugal,—a warehouse, where the exiled, the fatherless, the motherless captives from Africa may be disposed of, till an opportunity offer of making high profit by the price of their blood ; or rather it may be compared to a butcher's stall, on a large scale, where human beings are accommodated like cattle,—fed till they appear sleek and fat, and sit for the market, and then led forth to be disposed of to their inhuman purchasers, and unresisting, “like lambs to the slaughter.” Death itself would be nothing in comparison of the miseries some of them are doomed

to endure,—more especially those who are severed from their relations in the market ; the father disposed of to one merchant, the mother to another, the weeping daughters to a third, and the little brothers, torn from the distracted embraces of their sisters, to a fourth, with no prospect of ever meeting again, save to make one another miserable by the sight of their mutual sufferings. I have heard, with indignation, unfeeling masters cursing the ill fortune that threw some chiefs of the African tribes into their hands. They considered they had made a very bad bargain,—their money was thrown away,—these chiefs had been accustomed to *command*, and would not be taught obedience,—not even by flogging could their high spirits be broken ; they stand still beneath their stripes, though repeatedly multiplied ; sulky and dumb, they *dared* their *masters* to do *their worst*. They would not work, nor be made slaves of. They had been rulers at home, and they would rather die than be degraded by white men ; they preached sedition to the other slaves, and one of them in a slave-establishment was enough to make their masters tremble for their lives. They were governed by no moral principles, and the only feelings that actuated their conduct was determined and deadly revenge, when the first opportunity

occurred. These are some of the great grievances I have actually heard slave-masters complain of; and it was shocking to see how they had lost all fellow-feeling, all sort of sympathy, for the proud-hearted African chiefs. They talked of them as one would talk of a refractory horse or mule. Not a word of trying to tame them into submission by kindness; but they were bent on contrivances to get their proud spirits broken and degraded; and if this failed, the next resource was to cheat their neighbours, if possible, by selling these chiefs, and concealing their faults.

In the first slave-market which I entered, I think I counted about four hundred; the house was large enough, however, to have held double that number. It was an immense edifice, built something like a barn, with sufficient doors and windows to admit the air, and an extensive court behind, which, for abominable smells and filth, brought to my remembrance a large swine-park. In this inclosure the slaves were allowed to walk. Filthy as the place was, you might generally see fifty or sixty of them straggling about in it, in preference to sitting in the market, where there was nothing to amuse them, but a long dreary day to pass in sitting and looking on hundreds of their brethren in captivity. I have seen a great deal more care taken in the comfortable accommodation of cattle, in supplying them with fresh food, plenty of water, clean dry litter, and a soft bed. There was no accommodation except the roof to shade them from the sun and the rain,—the bare walls and the dirty floor for their bed. There was nothing like a bench, a stool, or a mattress, that I remember to have seen. The floor was divided into several portions, each of them about the size of an ordinary room-floor, parted from one another by regular foot-paths, crossing each other at right angles. The several floors were made of planks, and raised a little higher than the crossing foot-paths, something like barn-flooring. These floors served to divide the slaves of different nations from one another. I observed, in general, that every different division of slaves had their

skins differently tattooed, according to the custom of their tribes. They were all perfectly naked except a rag, commonly about the size of a handkerchief, tied round the middle, one corner of it passing through between their legs, and fastened up again behind their backs. Their heads were all close shaven, men and women, young and old; and nothing could be more disgusting than to see the males and females belonging to the same tribe, arrived at the age of puberty, huddled together on the same floor in this naked state. On some of the floors there were very few, and others were quite crowded; and when the keeper came round with his whip, the poor terrified creatures crept close together like a flock of sheep. They seemed all eager to get near the middle, that they might be out of his reach, and kept safe from the lash by those who were huddled above them. There were a great many little children, very interesting, innocent-looking boys and girls, who did not seem to feel their miserable situation so keenly as those who were grown up. These amused themselves, occasionally, by strolling about, in childish frolic, among the older ones; and it was pitiable to see how they ran and trembled whenever they saw the keeper coming near them with his whip. His heart was evidently callous to all the kinder feelings, for he bestowed his lashes with as much wanton carelessness as if he had been in a stable, or a horse-market, among unruly animals. He used his whip where there was not the slightest occasion; he scarcely thought it worth his while to give them any warning that they were doing wrong; and when they had committed a fault through mere ignorance, the sharp lash made them writhe with pain. I had no opportunity of seeing how they are fed. Their chief food is farina, a substance extracted from the root of a plant, very common in this country, called the Mandiac, ground and dried till it is something like very coarse oat-meal. This farina and water, and sometimes a small bit of dry salt-beef, is their only subsistence. The farina is brought in a large wooden dish, such as you may have seen horses eating their corn from. It is quite dry, like

raw-meal, without any preparation. Around this wooden dish ten or twelve of the slaves assembled, sitting on their hams. Each puts in the naked hand and takes out a handful and licks it dry; for there is nothing in the shape of a spoon among them. There is also a smaller wooden vessel with water, which they pass round, from one to another, and take a draught now and then, to make the dry morsel easier to swallow. I think I saw some of them pour the water among the farina, and then they took it out in their hands and ate it when it was kneaded into a sort of dough. In this way they eat till the dish be empty. I do not remember to have seen any of the farina left, nor do I think any of them are allowed any more till the regular meal-time come round again. I believe they have in general plenty to eat, such as it is, for it is not for the interest of their owners to keep them lean in the market. They sell best when plump and healthy-looking. A curious little incident occurred while I was looking at nine or ten of them eating out of their wooden dish: A slave of the same nation to which they belonged had been taken several years ago, and was sold to a merchant in Bahia, whom he still serves. As soon as he knew that more slaves from his nation were come to the market, he paid them a visit, recognised some old friends, and treated them with all the kindness he had in his power to shew them. These were his friends whom I saw eating: he came in the mean time, and brought a small piece of very dry beef with him; a very sorry offering, but the best he could afford; it was such as he ate himself, and he could not bear to see his brethren in captivity living on dry farina and cold water, without bringing a bit of his meal, to let them share with him, the best he had to give. He threw the beef into the dish among the dry farina; there was not above a square inch of it all, but one of the oldest took it up in his hand, with many thanks to their benefactor, and divided it into nine or ten small pieces, that each might have a share. He had no knife to cut it with, but he divided it nicely with his fore-finger and thumb: every one appeared very thankful, though there was not half

a mouthful a-piece. I gave some of the little children a few vintins; they had not words to thank me for the mite of charity I bestowed on them, but they clasped my knees, and looked up in my face with an expression of speechless gratitude.

The watermen in the place are mostly slaves, and the masters contrive to make a great deal of money by them. They give them a boat, and task them to bring home so much money at the end of the day or the week, and all they gain extra is their own. It is sad to see the industry with which they labour for the sake of gaining a single penny for themselves. I have gone off to the ship with some of them, who told me, that if they had not earned so much boat-hire money to give their masters at night, they would be *flogged*. I have been told this is a common practice in use among the owners of boats, to excite the industry of their slaves, and when the poor fellows cannot find passengers, they are frequently driven to *steal*, and make up the sum the best way they can, to prevent a flogging. The necessity of the poor slaves is taken advantage of at all hands; I have seen many people, chiefly Portuguese, who would not give them *half* the just fare, because they knew the slaves were unable to lose their custom, bad as it was, for fear of being flogged at night. When an Englishman comes down to the quay where the boats are lying, it is pitiable to see the eagerness of the poor wretches with their boats, two or three dozen of them all who to be first. They will tell you when in the boat, those who can speak a little English,—“*Massa, me like much take gentleman English on board: Englishman pay me well, give me many vintins; me no flog at night; Portuguese man no give me one half; me no money, me flog very sore.*” They never, or at least very seldom, think of standing to make a bargain with an Englishman, or say, “*I will take you to the ship for so much;*” the general cry is, “*Come, come in to my boat,*”—a score of black countenances, all eagerness and expectation; and after, you have chosen a boat, the disappointment visible in the faces of the rejected petitioners is unspeakable. If you give them a

vintin or two extra, or the value of twopence or threepence to themselves, you may attach them to you as long as you are in the place; treat them with kindness, and help them to make up the hard task of the day,—save them once from being flogged, and let them have a *single penny* over, they will watch to serve you at any hour of the night; they will take you in their boats where you will, and when you will, ask no price, but trust wholly to your own benevolence. There are some of them, however, very zealous Roman Catholics, and you must not hurt their feelings by laughing at their ceremonies. I could not help smiling to see one of them kneel down very devoutly, and kiss the *great toe* of a statue of St. Thomas, which stood by a fountain. He looked very displeased, said I was a very bad man, and I believe never forgave me for my ill-timed merriment.

Letter XI.

To * * * * *

At Sea, off Bahia, Dec. 1821.

MY DEAR MADAM,

The white spires, and steeples, and green trees of Bahia are receding in the distance. We have taken a long farewell of those friends who have treated us with kindness, perhaps not to meet them again for long years; and amidst the sadness which overclouds the spirits in bidding a long adieu to them, my heart naturally turns to you, and the remembrances of happy summer days among the green woods of Scotland. Our ship is on her voyage towards the south. The stars of the northern hemisphere are fast fading behind the blue waters. The North Pole sank below the billows when we crossed the burning Equinoctial. I stood upon the quarter-deck, in the middle-watch, to mark its last receding ray, and dropped a tear, as I bade it a long farewell. I knew that long months, long years, must pass over me in another hemisphere, before I again hailed its rising above the waves of the north; and my spirit was sad, as it wandered through the wide range of possibility,—the thousand things that might happen ere that long period elapsed. It is very saddening, when we leave

home for the first time, to look back on the hills we have sported upon in our childhood vanishing in the blue distance. How often have I ascended to the summit of Scotland's bleak mountains, to catch a glimpse—a little glimpse, on a Sunday evening, of Dumfries-shire's dark hills, where dwelt all who were dear to me,—the summit of green Criffel, and the blue waves of Solway, beside whose waters I have fancied thou wert walking in happiness! I have sat till the sun went down, indulging the dream of fancy, that my heart's first favourite might then be wandering by the lone beach, and thinking of me; and I was sad when darkness overshadowed the distant scenery, but happy at the thought that next sunny Sunday evening I would again ascend the mountain, and rivet mine eyes on that dear and distant prospect, whose loveliness brought back the most delicious dreams of my vanished youth, the days when your woodland companionship threw a sunshine over all its sweet recollections. Yes, it is sad to see the hills receding, at a hundred miles distance from the place of our nativity, and nothing but strange landscapes expanding around us; but it is far more saddening to see the stars and constellations of the north recede behind the watery horizon, and behold a strange firmament, with brighter stars, and more brilliant constellations, rising in the south,—when every week's sail places another thousand miles of the watery expanse between us and our home; and the distance is estimated, not by mountains, and miles, and landmarks, but by planets, and stars, and dividing kingdoms, left behind in our far journey; and by looking back on the sun and the moon, when we take farewell of the fading firmament. It is difficult for you at home to form any distinct conception of the impressions produced on the mind by sailing along the coast of those distant countries. While one remains in Britain, there is something in the general character of the scenery that makes one feel at home. Though we wander to a considerable distance from our native mountains, yet there are other mountains rising around us, whose woods and waterfalls, and grey cairns, and brown

heather, still speak to us of Scotland, and awaken all the associations of our youth. The same effect is produced by the language, by the accent,—by the manners and customs of the people,—by the sacred associations of our national religion, and, more than all, by the stillness of a Scottish Sabbath. In England, though the character of the scenery, of the people, of the language, and of the national religion, be different, and we feel, in some measure, in a strange land, yet even there, a hundred occurrences awaken youthful recollections, and impress upon our spirits the character of home. In England, the revolution of the seasons is the same as in Scotland. In April, spring comes with its rain and its dews, its buds, and its flowers, and its freshness; and we sympathise, though far distant, with the gladness of youthful companions on the banks of our childhood. We watch the progress of summer among the green fields of England, and we rejoice to think that in Scotland also the fields are heaving richly with corn, and the meadows are covered with their robes of red flowers and green velvet. In autumn, and winter also, the leaves decay, and the snows fall, and the icicles hang at the windows in the same months of the year; and our familiarity with the various arrangements carrying on in the great family of Nature still make us feel at home. When we embark on the blue deep, these arrangements are all different, and the nearer we approach the Tropics, they become the more strange to us. We have lost our footing on the green earth. We listen not to the melody of wood-birds, but the dashing of waters. The kingdoms of the earth have assumed a different position. France and England lie far north; the stars and the planets seem out of their places, and the poles of Heaven's blue concave are turning up-side-down. The atmosphere is glaring with fire in the month of December,—the sun is setting at home soon after he passes our meridian,—the tropical woods are waving in endless green, when Scotland's dark hills are covered with snow. We cast around our eyes in vain to "the heavens above, or to the earth beneath,"—to the sun set-

ting in glory, or the moon rising in brightness, for any sweet association of home; every object in Nature tells us we are in a strange climate, and sheds a sadness over the spirits, to think that home and all who are dear to us are so far distant. This foreign impression is felt still more deeply when you go on shore in these new countries. They are far behind in the progress of civilization. You feel no sacred associations awakened, as in visiting Greece or Italy, by contemplating the ruins of antiquity. Here is nothing ancient to contemplate; all is new, and the imagination is left to range unconfined over the possibilities of improvement,—the bright prospects, the future grandeur of infant nations, bursting into existence. The hundreds of Roman Catholic priests, walking the streets in their pontifical robes, their three-cornered cowls under their arms,—their beads and their crucifixes,—the ringing of convent bells,—the melody of the vesper and matin hymns,—the churches,—the towers,—the altars and the imagery,—the general impression of their ancient religion, all conspire to place us, as it were, back in a remote period of English history; before Luther awakened the Protestant nations to think for themselves;—and then the dresses and employments of the people,—the appearance of the buildings,—the fruits in a foreign marketplace,—the dusky population passing along the streets,—the general aspect of slavery, with all its accumulation of miseries,—the brightness of the heavens, and the burning atmosphere,—the open casements, and the green verandahs,—the overshadowing fruit-trees,—the humming musquitoes,—the earthen-water coolers, and the waving of fans, all conspire to deepen the impression of distance from home, and make us feel, through the medium of every sense, through the long day's dreary duration, that we are far away in a foreign land. If we leave the sea and city, and take a ride into the country, all is foreign,—not a hedge, not a tree, scarce a leaf, or a flower, or a blade of grass, that speaks of our native country. I met one day very lately with a *small bush of green willows* by a marsh in the deep forest. I sat down beneath its shadow, stript the bark from one of its

branches, chewed the sweet rhind as when I was a boy; and from the recollections of home it awakened, it was to me a far more delicious treat than the richest fruits I have ever tasted in this glowing climate. You perhaps think me childish in talking so much of Scotland and of home, but before you laugh at me, you must come here and live a twelvemonth, without hearing the accent of your native language,—where the earth, the air, and the skies, are all strange,—where the very atmosphere of moral feeling is changed, and then you will sit down beside a green willow, and worship it with as much devotion as I.

A few days more will bring us to Rio de Janeiro, and you cannot fancy with how much pleasure I look forward to visiting an old Scotch gentleman in the country, to whom I have a letter of introduction. We have a number of mutual friends and acquaintances, and many common topics of conversation. Though I have never seen him, I am told that he has a great deal of Scotch humour, and is very fond of speaking in our broad tongue. What a treat I shall have! The language of the North has been laughed out of countenance in the society among which I have mixed since I left Scotland, except when I persisted in speaking it as broad as possible, out of spite and contradiction, and from being unable to speak pure English. But I shall soon hear Scotch tales told in their native Doric accent, and proverbs, and songs, and “auld langsyne.”

I shall also have the means of learning a good deal of the national character from my old friend, for he has seen the greater part of the world in his time, and has been settled long in the country, and has not seen Scotland for more than twenty years. He will teach me how to plant coffee, and pull it, and dry it, and prepare it for the market. I shall also learn the art of manufacturing sugar, and rearing cattle, and managing a plantation. I shall learn, too, the art of managing slaves, for being a settler, he must have slaves of course; though I could wish this custom of the country might be dispensed with; of one thing I am certain, he will be a degenerate branch from the original stock, if he treat them with any thing but humanity. I am all anxiety to see Rio; the idea of meeting a Scotch friend in it, with some of whose relations I have been so happy, makes me feel as if I were going home. I have been informed the scenery is remarkably beautiful and romantic, and the bay one of the finest in the world. I shall pass new-year's-day at my old friend's estate, and drink “absent friends,” and you, my fair one, among the rest. If I see anything about Rio to strike me as worth taking notice of, I shall write you all about it. Wishing you a happy new year, and many returns of it, in dear distant Scotland.

I remain,

My dear Madam,

Your faithful friend.

The Gipsy's Prophecy.

LADY! throw back thy raven hair,
Lay thy white brow in the moonlight
bare;

I will look on the stars, and look on thee,
And read the page of thy destiny.

Little thanks shall I have for my tale,—
Even in youth thy cheek will be pale;
Look! by thy side is a red rose-tree,
One bud droops wither'd, so thou wilt be.

Round thy neck is a ruby chain,
One of the rubies is broken in twain;
Throw on the ground each shatter'd part,
Broken and lost, they will be like thy heart.

Mark yon star—it shone at thy birth;
Look again—it has fall'n to earth!

Its glory has pass'd, like a thought, away,
So soon, or yet sooner, wilt thou decay.

Over yon fountain's silver fall
Is a moonlight rainbow's coronal;
Its hues of light will melt in tears,—
Well will they image thy future years.

I may not read in thy hazel eyes,
For the long dark lash that over them
lies;

So in my art I can but see
One shadow of night on thy destiny.

I can give thee but dark revealings*
Of passionate hopes, and wasted feelings;
Of love that shall pass like the green sea-
wave,
Of a broken heart, and an early grave!

THE STORY OF A DAY.

It was summer, and I dwelt in a southern and a sunny land. I had begun to be happy, and revel in the luxuriance of every thing that can delight the eye and gladden the heart. But a wasting heat came, dispirited me, and I was sick of the ever-broiling, ever-burning sun. I could not stir from my airy habitation; and ennui, hateful ennui, stole by silent steps on me. The vivid page of history, the exciting tale that told of life,—its splendour and its storms, its happiness and its misfortunes—could not drive away the lassitude that had seized upon me. Those images and deep-wrought pictures that once would have rivetted my attention, their beauty could not be perceived by my dull senses. My whole system was unnerved, and I loathed that sultry sun that shone on from day to day, and made life stagnant and wearisome. I had loved my new abode, and had forgotten the blackness of the past; but again memory was darkened, by rioting in the misery of by-gone times and events. As I lay weak and fretful on my couch, my mind was busy, and it was dyed with the dark colouring of gnawing repinings. I sought not to peruse, on memory's tablet, the exhilarating, the happy, and the light, but fondly lingered on the sullen and the melancholy. My heart was saddened by my incessant musings, and I loved, dearly loved my sadness. I would not be disturbed. The current of my fancies ran free, and after many an hour of troublous thought, I would sink into slumbers that afforded me little rest. Wild and unsettled dreams were created by my busy brain, and made my sleep restless. It was the evening of a day of torment. The sun had shone yet more fiercely than before, and I could not cool my blood that was burning in my veins. I crawled to my window, and looked out to find some object to enliven. Not one was there in the wide view, that so oft had made my soul glad. The rays of the sun darted aslant, but they had not lost their power, and they were yet drying up and withering the grass and the tree. No cloud was seen in

the sky, but it had not the deep blue of the chill and starry evening. The air was hot, and the warm earth returned the oppressive heat of heaven, in dimming vapours. Man and beast were without spirit. The team had ceased to break the bosom of the ground. The sea seemed sluggish, its waters heavy, and the wave died away upon the dull shore. I turned away, and my heart sunk within me. Better, I thought, that the fevered pulse should beat its last, than that life should drag on so wearily, so hatefully. My body was languid, and I leaned my head on the cushion. Things gradually melted into air, and I slept, and dreamed. I thought I was sailing upon a shining river, and beheld bright groves, white villas, and fair fields, and heard the trilling song of the merry reaper. The boat was careering gaily through the waters, that dashed in rippling billows past its side. I was startled from that delightful wandering of the fancy, and my ear drank in the sweet sounds that greeted them. The winds were no longer pillowed, but whistled about my dwelling, and through the trees. I raised myself from the couch, and gazed for a while, to know whether I was yet dreaming—but the scene was changed. The moon was beginning to climb its way up into the clear heavens—and the blaze of day had fled—and the night-breeze swept loudly over the face of the earth. The wantonings of the wind were delightful, and it was ravishing to know that they might dissipate the burning heat, and remove my painful enervation of mind and body. I sunk back in rapture. In these few inspiring moments a new life was given to me. I thought that my sickening and monotonous confinement was past away, and there would be nought but cheering days, fanning zephyrs, and gladsome scenes. And fancying all that is bright, I was lulled asleep by the wild and magical melody of the winds.

I awoke, refreshed from a long and sound sleep, and to hear the cheering gales that blew across the heavens. How glad the feelings that filled my

bosom ! Even though the sun should shine, his rays would be tempered, and I could leave my couch, and my soul be capable of enjoyment. The captive that has long looked only upon the dismal walls and grated window of his lonely prison, cannot hail with greater delight his liberty, than I did the presages of a day that would free me from the ills and burdens attendant upon a sun that made me dead to the excitements of life. I have always loved the winds and their sportings, but never before sounded they so pleasantly. My window had not been closed, and the chill of night had come in, and the breeze had played through my chamber, and the lassitude of my frame was away. I rose—how gladly I rose !—dressed myself slightly, and walked out on the balcony. “ Oh ! then and there ” my cup of joy was full. I could look from my habitation, on the mountain side, down on a scene of beauty—and I could raise my eyes, and a scene of grandeur and sublimity made my bosom swell. What rapture, as the gales fanned my face ! I bared my breast to them—a tremor darted through me—but it was one of health. That morning is pictured distinctly before me, and I can almost behold it in its pristine brightness. There was plenty of blue, deep blue, in the sky, and many clouds hurried over its expanse. In the night, freshening showers had fallen, and the earth was robed in the hues of summer’s luxuriance ; and the sea was not calm and dull, but heaving and clear ; and you could see the foam-crested wave breaking in the bay, and vessels spreading their sails to the gale, and hastening away from where they had floated motionless on the ocean.

I thought of descending to the city, the wreck of its former splendour, its massy palaces, and mean hovels, reared near to mighty heaps of crumbling ruins. I was anxious to be with those who had become dear to me since my short sojourn ; and before noon I was treading the rugged road that led down the mountain. Fatigue—for I was faint—forced me frequently to pause ; but Nature was spread out before me, and its treasures are endless. The noble ruins, the city, its walks, and

its harbour—my sight could embrace them all at once, and I judged of them in the exhilarating spirit of the day. The frowning towers, the narrow and huddled streets, the air of gloomy grandeur, were all forgotten, in the clearness, the boldness of the masses of building seen through the pure and buoyant atmosphere. Go ! if you wish to look with pleasure on the abodes of men, and view them at such a time, and with similar feelings as I then looked. Happy in being released from the prisonment of illness, elated with the hopes of meeting those I loved, the breezes awakening a keen spirit within me, and the shadows of the clouds skimming along over the city, plain, and sea, I regarded every thing with feelings of delight, and tarried not in mingling with pleasure in the noise and confusion of the bustling crowd. I hied me to the town, and stood before the fortress-like mansion that contained the beings I panted to see. I approached the heavy gate, knocked, and it swung slowly open on its grating hinges, and an old and grey-haired servant appeared. My heart misgave me. It had never been thus opened before. I feared that she would be the only inhabitant, and, alas ! too justly. I enquired for my friends, and she told me that but a few hours ago they had left the city. Recollecting of having seen me with her loved lady, she begged me to go up to the hall, for she said I looked ill and wearied.

Thoughtfully I passed along the arched and melancholy passages, and ascended the broad marble staircase that led to the hall. I entered it, and sat down despondingly on a couch. A saddening change had come quickly over me, and my spirits were fled. My feelings had bounded, and my affections warmed, as I went gaily on ; but sorrow filled my soul, when there was no one to welcome me, no one whose smile could beam on me. Lightsome I went, and with buoyant hopes, and I came to a place lonely and deserted. Despairingly I gazed upon the same objects, stalked about the same apartment, which but a short while before had been enlivened by the presence of those whose absence I mourned. Were they in-

deed gone, and far from me? My fond heart tried to deceive itself; but the silence and desolateness were melancholy proofs of the reality. I fixed my eyes on the door, as if she, whose look would have dispelled my sorrow, could enter. But no! I heard not her light step—nothing but the moanings of the wind. Hours I indulged in that gloomy musing that is the pastime of the sorrowful bosom, and wrapped every thing in the black mantle of despair: I fancied the future would be dark as my fortune then was,—that all my hopes would be blighted, the wishes of my soul blasted, and my existence but a cause for that moody melancholy that waits upon the withered heart; and I was a very child,—a tear started into my eye. I wiped it angrily away, sallied out to the street, and unconsciously walked rapidly to the beach without the city walls.

When I smiled, Nature had smiled with me. In the morning and noon, when my every feeling was joyous, and delight chased delight within me, all that I saw around but added to my happiness. The air, the earth, the sky, my heart was alive to their beauty, and caught their inspiration; and when I wept, Nature had wept too. I had reached the mansion “where dwelt the lady of my love,” with bright hopes had entered there, and left it pained by the wretchedness of bitter disappointment; and the elements had undergone an awful, yet a sublime change, and my soul mingled with the elements. In the few hours I had been the lonely tenant of the hall, the face of Nature had been altered; and from the sounding shore, the city was no longer seen arrayed in light and loveliness. The tempest brooded over her towers and the dark ruins; and the tops of the stupendous mountains, that rose away behind, were shrouded by the driving clouds. The sky was obscured by the masses that were impelled by the fierce winds. Near me, all along the precipitous and rocky coast, the raging waves spent their vain fury. The spirit of the storm was struggling with every thing; and who is there, when all Nature is convulsed, that is not imbued with that spirit? When the winds are loud,—the billows tossing and dash-

ing, and their roar is ever heard,—when the frightened birds are screaming, and clouds are flying across and blackening the heavens,—when, far as the eye can see, the same wild tempest is raving,—who is not sensible that his mind soars far above the arena of weak and frail man’s actions,—who feels not that his soul is enlarged,—that a nobler life is within him,—that he breathes the breath of heaven, and that all his feelings are grand, overwhelming, and majestic? I gave up my soul to what was around me, and I almost forgot my griefs. Yet now and then were they forced on me, as the surly growl of the storm would abate for a little, and people flit past me, hurrying to where their anxiety carried them. After long wandering about the shore, revelling in the tumultuous scene, I was gazing from a high rock, around whose base the foam was thrown, when I marked a boat afar off combating with the stormy waves. I knew not why so strong a sympathy took hold of me, but I observed it as if my fate depended on its safety. It appeared to be taking a course towards the harbour, and I shuddered on remembering its small and dangerous entrance. I hastened there, and, often as I had looked on its rugged structure, I could not help pausing. A long and narrow ridge of rocks stretched out into the sea, and on it was built a strong wall, with great blocks of granite. A pier, formed of yet greater masses of stone, ran out in a direction so as almost to meet the end of the other wall; and within these ramparts, which broke the fury of the waves, vessels could ride securely in the haven. There were some persons standing at the outermost part of the larger pier, and I joined them. They were old, weather-beaten mariners, who told me of the extreme danger in which the boat was placed, that I had felt so great an interest in: and as I too stood watching its progress, I became painfully sensible of the dangers it would have to overcome. Tremendous waves came rolling in from the ocean with mighty force, and striking aslant the point of the pier, were broken, and dashed across the narrow entrance with terrible velocity, leaving a high and toppling

surge, over which the bark on entering must pass in safety, or be whelmed in the restless waves. For a while I could not refrain from sometimes removing my gaze, to look upon the anxious and lighted-up countenances of the aged mariners. They moved not, but kept their eyes steadily fixed upon the object of their solicitude, and watched it with the eagerness of a parent. I, too, as the boat neared, and I could discern her more clearly, was alive only to her perilous situation. Never can I forget the scene of that day! The fury of the storm continued unabated, and the lashing of the waves was fearful. The heart was struck with terror, as the boat at one time was almost hid from the sight, when descending into the yawning hollow of the wave, and you felt relieved when she appeared again riding on its summit. No angry billow ingulphed her, and she was almost upon the dreaded entrance. It was but for a moment that I saw the sailors standing firm and motionless, each at his station, and the frightened looks of the men and women crouching in the stern. I fancied I could recognise the face of her I loved,—my brain throbbed, but the sail strained the mast, and the boat came with the speed of an arrow,—entered the roaring surge,—her prow sunk,—the women screamed with terror, and the men stared aghast; but it rose again,—another moment, and she sailed in safety into the haven. I looked round to interchange a glance of sympathy; but the old seamen were absorbed in thought and wonder; and they all raised their eyes to Heaven, to speak their thankfulness for the amazing deliverance, and then hurried to welcome those who had escaped the perils of the sea. I followed, and my heart panted, for the resemblance of the face recurred to me. My gaze keenly followed the boat to the spot where she moored, and I observed the forms of those in her, but my hopes and fears were not set at rest. It would indeed have been happiness to see Maria, but I shuddered to think that she should have been tortured by the horrors that are felt when a terrible death is near, and I prayed that my fancy might have deceived me. A female enveloped

in a cloak had just ascended the steps that led up to the quay, and when I came near, it was my own Maria that I saw, yet pale with terror. She had not observed me. A gaping crowd was collected, and I turned aside to hide my emotion, covered my face with my hands, and strove to keep down the passionate fondness of my burning heart. The hot tears that come at such times escaped not. My looks were directed to her again, my nerves were firmly strung, and with beating bosom I approached her.—She saw me, and gazed in doubt,—her eye sparkled,—her pale face crimsoned, and she held out her hand. I seized it, and pressed it to my lips, put her arm hastily within mine, and pushed through the throng. Her parents followed us.

We walked rapidly on for some while, and in silence. Our minds were too busy, and our hearts too full, to give utterance to our feelings. As the gusts of the storm drove through the narrow and deserted streets, she trembled,—and I spoke, and begged her no more to fear, for the tempest might yet roar, but could not do harm. Happily, returning courage animated her eyes. She looked wistfully back. A fond daughter's fears moved her, and she said, "Ah! tell me, for I am too much agitated to see calmly, will my mother be able to support herself till she reach home?" I assured her that her mother's step was firm, and dispelled her anxiety. Our spirits rose as we went on, and at last we stopped before the well-known gate. I knocked long and loudly, until the voice of the old domestic was heard above the noise of the wind; but not a word could be distinguished. I supposed she feared to let any one in, and after roaring myself almost hoarse, I succeeded in making her believe that her master was without. The door was at length opened,—and closed; and it was no little pleasure to know that walls were between us and the tempest, and to hear it rave around the building.

The care of the father and daughter was directed to the mother, and I proceeded, with strong but with different emotions from those I had before, to the hall. It was dark and gloomy, for the small and deep-sunk windows

admitted little light, and the storm had darkened the day. I imagined it would enliven, and though it was summer, I busied myself in collecting billets, and lighting a fire in the spacious chimney. The blazing wood was crackling, and the flames throwing their fitful light around, when Maria entered,—a smile on her lips, and happiness laughing in her eyes. Her first words were, that her mother had taken something to refresh her, felt relieved, and had lain down on her bed, and fallen into a soft slumber. Then

“We talked with open heart and tongue, Affectionate and true;”

and I listened to her sweet voice as she told me of the trials of that day. “You know how fond my mother is of our villa and its delightful walks. We were very anxious that she should get there, thinking it would bring back her health; and we were very sorrowful, when, day after day, she could not go, lest the journey should be too severe for her feeble frame. Every morning for weeks past I have hastened to see if she were better, and always the same tale of weakness saddened me. On rising to-day, I went to her chamber, and was glad when she said that she felt herself stronger, and might perhaps be able to go in a boat to the villa. She had expressed the same hope to my father, and he had gone out to the harbour to enquire for a vessel. He returned, and upon asking her whether she yet thought she could bear the voyage, she looked kindly at us, and told us that she was resolved to go. Before the hottest of the day we had every thing in readiness to depart. And you can conceive how happy we felt, when the boat was sailing out of the harbour, my mother in high spirits, and a favourable breeze filling the sails to waft us speedily across the beautiful bay. Until a good while after noon we sped cheerily on, and I looked with pleasure on the light clouds as they skimmed along the sky; but my heart beat faster when dark ones overspread the face of heaven, and hid the shining sun from us,—and the wind began to blow stronger, and larger waves to roll. Why should I speak of it? I cannot tell

the agony that rent my bosom, when all the violence of a storm was raging around us; fear and anxiety for my mother had almost made me insensible; but a racking horror ran through me, when the sailors told us that they would be forced to sail back again to the city, and I saw that we were not far from the longed-for coast. They said that the boat, from the ruggedness of the shore, must have perished if they had attempted to land, and nothing remained but to return. A thousand dark thoughts seized upon me. I scarcely spoke during that long and terrible time, and I sat in a kind of stupor. My breath was suspended every time that the bark descended the side of the huge wave, and my heart dilated when she rose up again. I feared to look at my mother, lest I should see her expiring under the intensity of her sufferings. My father never moved from her side, and well it was that he had fortitude to watch her. My fears were greater when, at last, we came near the shore. I saw it girded but by the white foam of the lashing waves, and I looked on with sullen despair. The entrance to the harbour came in view. The sailors consulted together, and I observed, from their gestures, that we had perils to encounter. On the boat drove, and bore for the mouth of the haven. My eyes were rivetted on it, and I knew not what could have whispered to my bosom that even there we might perish. But it was so, and I shrank with yet more terror. We were just upon the surge that flew across the entrance. The boat reached it, and appeared to sink, and I recollected nothing from that moment, till I was brought back to feeling by the voice of my mother addressing me in cheerful tones. You know the rest. I have for hours past felt the pangs of misery, but now I am happy. And, Charles, I should have forgotten all but my parents. My young heart will be my pardon,—but I thought of you. Oh! I could not imagine that you were watching the vessel that held me. I had not heard of you for a long time back, but the hope of seeing you again did not forsake me. Yet your silence appeared strange. But we are met; and though there

are some things to grieve us, yet there are many more to make us joyful. You have been kind to us all, and I and my mother will love you for it." She ceased speaking, and her head sunk upon her swelling bosom. I had heard, with varying emotion, the effusion of a heart warmed with the strongest affection and the deepest feeling. My tenderest and most endearing feelings were awakened. I kissed her fair brow. She chid me, and ran gaily out of the hall, bidding me adieu, and saying that she must go and wait upon her dear mother.

Scarce had her fair form disappeared when her father came in. He would have spoken gaily and been happy, had not the remembrance of the past dangers oft recurred to darken his countenance. You saw that there was great joy within him at the amazing preservation from a watery grave, but his solicitude for his wife damped that joy. He could only bring himself to believe, that the manner she had borne the pitiless treatment of the tempest was a delusion that raised up but to cast down. On looking back, I have often wondered that her weak frame could have supported her through the fatigues of that dreadful day, and can ascribe her seeming unnatural strength to no other cause but to the anxiety of a parent, who, forgetting her own misfortunes, acquired life from the yearning of her heart towards her child. The partaking of a slight repast broke the current of his thoughts, and I succeeded in weaning him by degrees from the subject that caused his sorrow. The rich Tuscan wine, and the fire that blazed cheerfully, helped to animate us, and we laughed at the storm, which,

"At doors and windows threatening,
seem'd to call
The demons of the tempest, * * * *
Yet the least entrance found it none at
all,
Whence sweeter grew our mirth, secure in
massy hall."

Time flew away quickly, and I thought of departing to my home, if the night would permit. I looked from the window to judge, and at that moment the moon shone through the

drifting clouds, and brightened the street. Its light would guide me to my lofty dwelling, and I bade adieu to the lord of the mansion.

The elements were no longer furious, but agitated. Scarce a summer passes that one or more of such scourges, as I witnessed that day, does not visit the region around the city. They have never been known to last longer than twelve hours; and for the most part they come suddenly, and change things from gay to grave, and as suddenly go off again. If my feelings had been awakened when I descended from my dwelling, they were no less so as I returned there. It was not the dazzling blaze of day that enchanted, but the fitful darkness of the night. You gaze upon the storm with dread—the heart has no quiet—but you look upon

"The last of danger and distress"

with feelings of strong security. How beautiful was the city at such a time! If in the glare of noon, when you could see into its recesses, the sight was shocked, far different was it then. The moon shone, not full and clear, but through the openings of the driving clouds; and at one moment there was brightness where you walked, and the next it was gone, and flying along the street. In the shade every thing was dark and deeply beautiful, and in the light soft and sweet. All that was seen was hallowed. The tower raised its massy strength above the crowded and ruined buildings at its base, as a guardian, not as a mockery to their littleness, and the irregular streets and houses were rendered venerable. The prospect enlarged, and the sources of raptured admiration increased, as I went on, and the town was left behind me. When I gazed from my habitation, every thing was sublime. The heart may feel the sublimity, but the tongue cannot speak it. How grand the sky, the moon, and the sailing clouds!—how awful the stupendous and frowning heights!—how glorious was the face of the earth! Could that castle and its woods, and the river, be e'er so beautiful, as when its turrets were brightened by the queen of night, and a little way on the forests of oak and pine, and the waters, were

shrouded in darkness? and the light and darkness would run along, and other beauties be created—ever changing, ever lovely. Nature! Nature! thou affordest the purest sources of happiness,—the world's guile cannot affect thy delights. It was long ere I could tear myself away from such scenes, and ere sleep tied me down in its forgetfulness.

Savage hath written,

Memory, thou soul of joy and pain!
Thou actor of our passions o'er again!

And no one can better appreciate the truth of these lines, than he who has roamed the wide world over, to try to dissipate that settled melancholy, which either his faults or his misfortunes have entailed on him. I have been doomed to be one of those rest-

less wanderers, and have spent my strength in vain efforts, to

"Raze out the written troubles of my brain."

Now I have retired to a secluded spot, estranged from a world that is lost to me, and where musing is my occupation, and memory the very spring of my existence. It is not required, perhaps, to have passed a life of misery, such as mine has been, to know that memory is more the soul of pain than joy. I can write down months and years of wretchedness; and can only place, over-against these, days and weeks of happiness. Amongst those days with which remembrance is often busy, is the one of which I have now given some account; and that, indeed,

■ ■ ■ Leaves a glow behind
Which lightens o'er my heart."

ANNALS OF SCOTTISH LITERATURE.

No. II.

AFTER the "Porteous of Nobleness," the next two pieces in the miscellaneous collection of Chepman and Myllar are, "The Knyghtly Tale of Gologros and Gawane," and a metrical romance entitled, "Sir Eglamoir of Artoys."

It would appear, that many of the early romances and tales, which were popular in Scotland, had been introduced from England. "Sir Eglamoir," and "Sir Gawane," which may have been the same with the pieces printed by Chepman and Myllar, are both of them alluded to as being popular among the English, in the Preliminary Dissertation to the Complaint, p. 247.

Sir Gawane, "the gay, gracious, and gude," was, probably from his northern origin, a favourite character with the Welsh and Scottish poets. Dr Percy, in his Essay on the Ancient Metrical Romances, (p. 25.) mentions three different poems of the adventures of Sir Gawane. But from the spelling of the specimens which he exhibits, Lord Hailes was inclined to think that all the three were composed by Englishmen. The Scottish poet of this hero is mentioned by Dunbar in his "Lament for the Deth of the Makkaris,"

"Clerk of Tranent eik he bes tane
Thyt made the aventers of Sir Gawane."

Wyntoun, also, in his Chronicle, (Vol. I. p. 122.) mentions a "Huchowne of the Awle vyall," who was the author of a "Gest Hystoryale," upon this subject,

"That cunnand was in literature,
He made the gret Gest of Arthure,
And the Awyntyre of Gawane,
The pystill als of swete Susane."

Hucheon is the old way of writing Hugh; and Dr Irving conjectures that the person mentioned by Wyntoun may have been the same with "the gude Schir Hew of Eglintoun," who holds a place in the list of poets which is given by Dunbar in his "Lament." But Hucheon is also used in Scotland as a surname; and the poet mentioned by Wyntoun may have been so surnamed. Whether "Clerk of Tranent" means some one who, from his clerical capacity, was styled of Tranent, or a person whose name was Clerk, may also be doubted; and it is quite uncertain whether the tale of "Gologros and Gawane," be the composition of either of the poets who have been mentioned. But, without dwelling upon a point

so obscure, it may be proper to give some account of the tale itself.

Arthur and his knights, on their way to the Holy Land, came upon the Castle of Gologros, situated upon the Rhone. Gologros proudly vaunted that he acknowledged no superior; and Arthur having heard this, vowed that he would subdue him. In the meantime, however, he proceeds to the Holy Land. On his way back, he appears before the Castle of Gologros, and requires him to yield, and do homage. After a long and doubtful struggle, it is agreed that Gologros and Gawane should descend to single combat; and Gawane having proved victorious, Gologros surrenders himself to Arthur.

After the tale there is a "Balade" of eight stanzas, of eight lines each. The object of the piece is to bring together things which are in their nature discordant and incompatible. Thus,

To have a gall, clepit a gentill dow;
To be my frende, and give me false
 counsail;
To break my head and syne put on a how;
To be a preste, and foremost in bataill;
To lye in bed, and strong castell assail;
To be a marchand quhave na gude
 may be bought;
To have a treu wyf with a wanton tail,
It may well ryne, byt it accordis nought.

This tale and ballad, although they stand second in the collection, were published before the Porteous of Noblenes. The imprint is as follows:

"Heir endis the knightly tale of Gologros and Gawane, in the south gait of Edinburgh, be Walter Chepman and Androw Myllar, the VIII day of Aprile the yhere of God MCCCC and VIII yheris."

On the verso of the last leaf is the same device as in the preceding piece.

Sir Eglamoir is mentioned in the poem of Cokelby's Sow, which is preserved in the Hyndford MS. Of this animal it is said, that,

— it gaif a battel curius
To Eglamoir of Artherus."

As a proof that Sir Eglamoir was popular in England, as well as in Scotland, it may be mentioned, that there is a kind of parody upon it, in that collection of loyal ribaldry which is called *The Rump*. It occurs at page 371, and is entitled "Sir Eglamoir and the Dragon: or a Relation how Generall George Monk slew a most cruell Dragon. February 11. 1659. To the tune of Sir Eglamoir."

In the *Miscellany of Chepman and Myllar*, Sir Eglamoir occupies about forty pages. It begins, thus,

"Jesu Chryste, hevynnis kyng,
Grant us all his blissyng,
And bryng us till his bowir,
And gyf tham lystyng that will heir
Of eldaris that befor us weir," &c. &c.

Many of the old romances open with a like pious invocation; and in some of them the language, as well as the sentiment, closely resembles the opening of Sir Eglamoir. Thus "Syr Tryamour" begins,

"Now Jesu Chryste, our heuen kyng,
Graunte you all his dere blessinge,
And hys heuen for to wyne,
If ye wyll a stounde laye to your cerc,
Of adventres ye shall here,
That wyll be to your lykyng."

In like manner, the opening stanza of *Syr Iscubras*, is,

"Lordynges listen, and you shal here,
Of eldyrs that before us were,
That lyued in laude and dede:
Jesu Christ, heauen kyng
Graunt them all his dere blessinge,
And heauen to their mede.

After the poem of Sir Eglamoir follows a "Balade." It seems to be the lamentation of some disappointed lover on the uncertainty of all earthly things. But the piece is imperfect, and the colophon is wanting. The two stanzas which remain, and the other "Balades" which occur in this *Miscellany*, are reprinted in *Pinckerton's "Scottish Poems,"* volume third, page 127, &c.

WORKS OF SIR JAMES BALFOUR *

SIR JAMES BALFOUR, who seems to have been born about the year 1600, ranks among the latest of those enthusiasts who, without the hope of either fame or wealth, when there were neither Reviews to praise, nor publishers to pay them, wrote endless and elaborate treatises, which they consigned, in hopeless manuscript, without a sigh, to the oblivion afforded by the lower shelves of public libraries. The industry with which the popular authors of our day contrive to bring out their dozen volumes annually, appears as mere drivelling, compared with the application of these disinterested labourers, who spent the years which their companions devoted to pleasure and ambition, in the ill-starred task of investigating what no other body cared for, and writing what nobody would ever read. The person before us, after resting nearly two centuries in the "twilight of unpublished fame," has at length had the good fortune to find a modern enthusiast willing to publish him in his own words, and give him the personal credit of an author.

Sir James Balfour was the eldest son of Sir Michael Balfour of Denmylne, in the county of Fife, "a man," says Sir Robert Sibbald, "equally distinguished for military bravery and civil prudence, and who, having five sons and nine daughters, lived to see no fewer than three hundred of his own issue, which number his youngest son afterwards saw doubled." The eldest son, the author of the "*Annales*," supported the character of the family for fertility, for his four wives brought him in all sixteen children.

At an early age, Sir James seems to have addicted himself chiefly to poetry, and afterwards to the study of heraldry. In order to accomplish himself in the latter *science*, (for so it was then called,) he travelled to London, where he made himself acquainted with its most distinguished

professors, and likewise established a friendship with the learned and amiable Drysdale. In 1630, having settled himself in his own country, he was created Lyon King at Arms, which office he discharged with great credit, till dispossessed of it by Cromwell. He collected an immense quantity of manuscripts connected with heraldic subjects, and wrote no fewer than between fifty and sixty various original treatises upon that favourite topic. Yet this does not appear to have been his only or exclusive pursuit; for, says his biographer and panegyrist, Sir Robert Sibbald, "he principally applied himself to the illustration of our Scottish history; and as he well knew that history could only be improved by resorting immediately to its sources, he was satisfied that here a genuine knowledge of preceding ages was only to be acquired by the consultation and comparison of ancient authors, and the accurate investigation of the charters and public registers of the kingdom, in conjunction with the archives of the monasteries and cathedral churches. He accordingly devoted himself, with all diligence, to the discovery of the monastic chartularies and chronicles; and through the liberality of those in whose custody they were preserved, he was able to form a very large collection of these documents: and while it is much to be lamented that the greater number of these originals, having fallen into ignorant and sacrilegious hands, have unfortunately perished, we ought to rejoice that even a small portion should have been preserved by the tardy interposition of those who entertained a proper sense of their importance. Like the genius of their age, indeed, the style of the monks was rude and semi-barbarous; but they were neither destitute of industry, of sagacity, nor of the love of truth. From the epoch of the erection of monasteries in this kingdom, they constitute the

* The Historical Works of Sir James Balfour of Denmylne and Kinnaird, Knight and Baronet. From the Original Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. 4 vols. Edinburgh, 1825. Constable & Co. Edinburgh; and Hurst, Robinson, & Co., London.

the surest guides in matters of literature, and almost the only attentive and well-informed witnesses of contemporary occurrences; as, in the different cloisters, one or other of the body was always appointed to the special office of recording the memory of passing events. Posterity ought, therefore, to be deeply grateful to Sir James Balfour for the labour and expense which he lavished in the collection and preservation of these Manuscripts, which, during his whole life, he continued to accumulate; not so much for his individual utility, as for the common benefit of literary men. Many of these originals are, indeed, no longer to be found, having been either lost in the sack of Perth by the English, or dispersed among his friends, to whom they had been lent or given. Sir James also collected a voluminous library, not only stored with miscellaneous books, but more especially rich in works illustrative of the history, the antiquities, and the heraldry of Scotland.

With such an enormous compilation of materials, it might have been supposed that Sir James Balfour would have found no difficulty in producing a condensed and popular history, as well as, perhaps, a distinct view of the antiquities of his country. Yet he has by no means done so, the "*Annales*" before us, (his best historical work,) being the crudest catalogue of facts imaginable. The truth is, however, and this must amply excuse him, he seems to have been distracted from the proper ultimate use of his collections, by the civil discords and national distresses which afflicted him in his latter years as a state-officer, and which, perhaps, even tended to cut him off at a premature age, before he got time to perfect the works he had designed. This is greatly to be lamented; for the opportunities and advantages of an historian, previous to the third disaster of our national records in Cromwell's time, were such as never again can fall to the lot of an antiquary, and such as neither zeal, leisure, nor genius, shall ever effectually repair. The entire collections of Sir James Balfour, if now in existence, would be of incalculable value; and, even though divided

amongst the heirs of a family, as we have known such things to be, and dispersed throughout a multitude of libraries, might actually set up half-a-dozen different archæological theorists.

It fortunately happens that a considerable portion of Balfour's Manuscripts are preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. They were purchased by that learned body in 1698, under the following circumstances, which we derive from the Minute-Book of the Faculty:

The heirs of James Balfour having resolved upon selling all his Manuscripts, sent a catalogue of the same to the Faculty of Advocates, who immediately held a meeting, (Nov. 1698,) in order to consider the propriety of becoming the purchasers. A committee was appointed to examine into the nature and value of the Manuscripts; and the report being favourable, it was resolved to take the advice of Sir James Dalrymple, and the Principal Clerks of Session. The result of this step was, that the Faculty resolved upon making the purchase. The committee, therefore, met with Lord Rankeillour, who had the power of selling the Manuscripts; but it was some time before the price could be agreed upon. This was at length managed by the interposition of the Lord President (Sir Hew Dalrymple); and, after considerable altercation, the writings and collections, which had perhaps cost poor Sir James half a life-time of weary days and sleepless nights, were sold for the humble consideration of £.150.

The Faculty of Advocates at present possess nearly seventy volumes, written or collected by the Lord Lyon. There is a most valuable collection of State-papers in twenty-seven volumes folio, consisting chiefly of papers and letters connected with the public affairs of the reign of James VI. and the eternal negotiations of that Monarch with the continental states. Amongst these are also some curious and highly-amusing letters by "the wisest fool in Christendom" himself, his queen, and their children, Henry, Charles, and Elizabeth, as well as the husband and children of the last. As we are

persuaded that Mr Ellis has published worse than many of these, in his late valuable collections, we would recommend to some antiquarian enthusiast, as a good speculation, to make a small selection of the most curious; and shall, in the meantime, copy, for the amusement of our readers, two little infantine epistles; the first by the unfortunate Charles, and the second by his cousin, the grand-uncle of the first George.

To my Father the King.

SWEETE,

Sweete Fether, I learn to decline substantives and adjectives. Give me your blessing. I thank you for my best man. [?]

Your loving sone,

YORK.

To the King.

SIR,

I kisse your hand. I would faine see your Ma^{tie}. I can say nominative, sic haec hoc, and all five declensions, and a part of pronomen, and a part of verbum. I have two horses alive, that can goe up my staires, a black and a chesnut horse. I pray God to blesse your Ma^{tie}.

Your obedient grandchild,

FREDERICK HENRY.

Besides the letters of these Royal personages, this collection comprises the correspondence of a great number of learned men with King James, and among the rest a **great** many originals by the Duke of Buckingham. There are also a considerable variety of papers illustrative of Scottish history, which have been at various times resorted to by the writers of modern times, as Laing, Lingard, &c.; and Lord Hailes published a volume of excerpts, without, however, by any means exhausting the store. In Rudiman's preface to Anderson's *Diplomata*, frequent allusion is made to the valuable collections of Sir James Balfour; and Bishop Nicholson, in the "Historical Library," has testified to the vastness and the value of his labours. The collection in the Advocates' Library also contains several volumes of Genealogical and Heraldic Treatises.

The portion of the Lyon's writings now brought under the press consists of his "Annales of Scotland" from the reign of Malcolm III. in 1057, to the sixteenth year of the

reign of Charles I. in 1640, and a continuation of the same in the loose shape of "Memorials of Church and State," down to the year 1652, to all which the Editor has added, at the end of the fourth volume, a very curious paper, also by Sir James, containing a distinct account of all the pageants which took place during the visit of King Charles to Edinburgh in 1633. In the latter, the reader will be astonished to find how differently things were conducted at the Royal visit of 1633 from that of 1822. The King entered at the West Port! rode pompously through the Grassmarket! ascended, with all due dignity, the West Bow! and attended parliaments in the old Heart of Midlothian! He cured one hundred people of what Sir James Balfour calls "the cruellies," in one day, at the Chapel of Holyroodhouse, and dubbed almost as many knights, in almost as few minutes, during the evening at the Palace. But in no respect did the visit of 1633 differ from the visit of 1822, so much as in one apparently-trifling particular. On the former occasion, King Charles found all his people clad in *velvet* and *cloth of gold*, whereas, in 1822, George the Fourth found the national dress degenerated into a more antique but somewhat coarser stuff, called *tartan*. How this should have come about, we cannot tell; but we are led by it to suspect, that the Scottish people must have become either poorer or more foolish in the interval between the visits.

We proceed to extract a few passages from the early and more amusing parts of the "Annales," premising, that Sir James Balfour, in spite of his learning and acquaintance with the liberal arts, believed, with all the firmness of a good Presbyterian, in supernatural appearances, and other old-wifical absurdities. We take the liberty of modernizing the greater part of the original orthography.

1165.—In June this year, there appeared two fearful comets, before the sun-rising a quarter of an hour, with a radiant crown over them. In July and August this year, that wicked spirit and enemy of mankind, *Sathan*, so acted his part with thunder and fire, exhibiting himself in divers horrid postures, was

visibly seen by many thousands of people of all kinds. This same year also died that holy and noble King Malcolm, &c.

In the month of August, the same year, before the King's death, appeared two blazing comets an hour before the sun-rising, one in the south, and another in the north.

1166.—In the month of May, this year, K. William went beyond seas, and shortly thereafter returned without so much as *smelling* the Holy Land.

1130.—This year, K. James caused cast in Flanders a great cannon, weighing 3000 weight, which he brought home to Scotland, of brass, with this inscription moulded on her :

Illustri Jacobo Scottorum principi digno, Regi magnifico, dum fulmine castra reduco,

Factus sum sub eo, nuncupor ergo Leo.

This was the first cannon, or bombard, of any strength or bigness, that ever was in Scotland.

In August 1432, from Bohemia, sent by John Huss, came Paul Crau, who first displayed the bright beams of the Gospel in St. Andrew's, and detected the fopperies and idolatries of the *Romish* *houre*.

The year 1433, the King, at the earnest solicitation of the Clergy, but especially of Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrew's, bestowed the Abbey of Melross upon a lubbardly monk of the Cistercian Order, who had written a blasphemous pamphlet against Paul Crau's heresy, named John Fogo.

1509.—This year, there raged one epidemick sickness, that killed only brave and able men ; thus the commons (being untouched themselves) called *stoop-gallant*.

1519.—The 23d of July, this year, a man possessed with the devil, being stark mad, in Dundee, kills a religious noblewoman, of the order of St. Francis, and two others, whereof one big with child, and three men.

1510.—Certain Germans, this year, dig gold in Crawford Moor, and in Clydesdale ; the King employ them, and many are put to work in the mines.

1511.—For grief of this loss, (the defeat of Solway Moss,) and disgrace put on him by his proud and factious nobility, the King sickens of a Lent fever, at Falkland ; the Queen, in the mean time, is brought to bed of a daughter, christened Mary. News whereof being brought to the King, he turns himself to the wall,

and, with a grievous groan, says, " Scotland did come with a lass, and it will go with one—devil go with it !" and so, without any more words to a purpose, departs this life.

1518. — the Lord Clinton, riding at anchor with his ships, lands some 5000 men on the coast of Fife, to spoil the country ; but, before they did much harm, they were rencountered by the Laird of Wemyss, and the Barons of Fife, all well horsed, who rode them flat down with their horses ; and having killed above 700 of them, forced the remnant to save themselves by wading in sea to the necks, before they could gain their flat-bottomed boats. Having purchased no better booty than their *back full of strokes and walt skins*, the good entertainment the English did receive in Fife at this time saved it in all the progress of this war from any further trouble.

1554.—In the beginning of the year, Norman Leslie, that had killed David Beaton, the Cardinal, returns to Scotland ; but, for fear of the Regent (Arran) departs to France, and by the French King is made colonel of the Scots Lancers. He behaved himself nobly and bravely, and was killed in Picardy, warring against the enemy.

1555.—This year, Henry St. Clair, Dean of Glasgow, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, a learned lawyer, returns from France, and, in a brief and methodical way, orders the form of process before the Lords of Session.

This year, also, John, Earl of Athole, is sent by the Queen-Regent against the rebel John Mudyard, who takes him, and brings him bound to the Queen. She pardons him his life, conditionally he should for ever dwell confined in the town of Perth ; but he was no sooner dismissed, but, incontinent thereafter, he betakes himself to the mountains, and learns the Queen-Regent to *hold the fore better by the care, ghuill shoe had him in her hands*.

1558.—A fearful comet appeared this year, which not only (as the sequel proved), portended change in Government, but in religion likewise. Many were the monsters and prodigies that Scotland produced this year ; but these I leave to be looked on by the writers of the time.

1567.—In the month of December, Robert Jack, a merchant in Dundee, was *hangit* and quartered, for false *coyne*, called *Hard Heades*, which he had caused coin in Flanders, and brought home.

1570.—In August, this year, Matthew,

Earl of Lennox, held a Parliament at Stirling, which is not recorded amongst the printed statutes of this King's reign, wherein the young King, (four years old,) being present, the said Regent made a speech to the estates of the realm, during which the King looked up, and espied a hole in the roof of the house, by the lack of some *sklaits*, and, after the Regent had ended his harangue, he said, "*I think there is ane hole in this Parliament.*" In effect, ere long his Majesty's words were found true.

1581.—As also the Parliament granted a privilege of silk-making to Robert Dickson.

1613.—On the 15th of September, James Stewart, called of Jerusalem, and Mr Robert Philpe, a priest, the one for saying messe, and the other for hearing it, are both of them sentenced (according to the laws of the land), by the Justice-General, to lose their heads.

1614.—There was a proclamation published, that none of the name of Macgregor use, or carry any other weapon, except a pointless knife, under pain of death.

Sir James gives a very minute description of the appearance of Montrose, on receiving his sentence from the Parliament. We extract the most striking passages—observing that the annalist, in relating circumstances, seems not in the least moved, either about the romantic character, or the unhappy fate, of this illustrious cavalier.

1650.—Monday, May 20.—The Parliament met about 10 a clocke, and immediately after the doune sitting, James Grhame was brought befor them, by the magistratts of Edr., and ascendit the place of delinquents. He made no replay, but was commandit to sitt doune on his knees, and receive his sentence, wich he did. Archd. Johnston, the Clerke Register, read it, and the Dempster gave the doume; and immediately rising from off his knees, without speaking one word, he was remoued thence to the prisson. He behaued himself all this tyme in the house with a grate deall of courage and modestie, vnroued and vndanted, as appeired; only he sighed too seuerall tymes, and rowled his eyes alonges all the corners of the hovse; and at the reading of the sentence he lift vpe his face, without any word speaking.

He presentit himselfe in a svtte of blacke clothe, and a skarlet coate to his knes, trimmed with silver galouns, lined with crinsone tafta; one his head a be-

uer hate and siluer band; he lookit somewhat pale, lanke-faced, and harrey.

Tuesday, May 21.—This afternoone James Grhame was execvitt, conforme to the sentence of Parliament, at 3 a clocke.

On the day after the execution of Montrose, the house appointed a committee to try fifty-four witches!

1651.—January 12.—This day, Lieutenant-General Middleton was released from his excommunication, and did his penance in sackloth in Dundee Church; and Colonel Archibald Strachan was excommunicated, and delivered to the devil, in the church of Perth, the same day.

Many such curious and amusing passages as the above are to be found throughout these "*Annales*," which, though forming upon the whole a somewhat heavy book, are well worthy of a perusal by all who take any interest in the history of past events. It is true, we do not here find the graces of the modern historian, nor are we carried on as through the pages of Robertson and Laing, in rapturous admiration of the composition, or involuntary acquiescence in the philosophy, of what we are reading; yet if we entertain the least curiosity respecting the more familiar and domestic history of our ancestors, it is only in the simple and unvarnished writings of such annalists as Sir James Balfour, who alone may be called *original* historians, that we are to look for its gratification.

The person to whom the public has been indebted for this valuable publication is, we perceive from the dedication, Mr James Haig, one of the Assistants in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. It has often been observed, that such publications are ever more fortunate for the public than for the Editor, that individual seldom deriving any benefit from his work, except the gratification of his own enthusiasm, while he scarcely ever fails to promote the convenience and pleasure of the world at large. We hope, however, from the extension and respectable list of subscribers prefixed to the first volume, that the Editor of Sir James Balfour will find no occasion to regret his engagement in the task which he has so meritoriously and satisfactorily executed.

LINES TO THE MEMORY OF LORD BYRON.

[That the spirit of Burns still hovers among the peasantry of his native county of Ayr, we think will be manifest from the following letter and verses, which have lately been sent to us from an Ayrshire village, by one of the same class to which Burns belonged. Most willingly have we acceded to the request of the author in giving a place to these stanzas, which, though liable to various objections when judged of by fastidious rules of modern taste, yet, we cannot help thinking, display a very considerable extent of intellectual capacity, vigorous imagination, and correctness, if not delicacy, of feeling. In short, had the lines of Hugh Brown's destiny been cast in more pleasant places, we doubt not that he would have made no contemptible figure in the eyes of his fellow-men.]

MR EDITOR,

THE inclosed lines were composed when the mania was raging for composition about the noble poet to whose memory they are dedicated. They were thrown into a corner (perhaps it would have been better they had never been drawn from it), and casting my eyes to other day upon them, the very noble thought struck me of sending them to the Editor of the *Edinburgh Magazine*, that he might judge whether they are worthy of a place in that Miscellany, or only fit to

"Rouse a dead man into rage,
And warin with red resentment the wan
check."

If, Sir, it be any apology for these verses to say that I am illiterate, I acknowledge that I am so, though the piece itself would tell you this, as I have heard or seen somewhere, "in language more expressive than words." If you think it worthy of a place, I shall be very happy should you insert it; if not, there is, Mr Editor, a receptacle near you, through which it can be conveyed to the dead stream of Lethæ. Throw it there in silence, for I think it is at least worthy to be forgotten.

Yours, &c.

HUGH BROWN.

Newmilns, Nov. 1825.

THE harp of the minstrel is hung in the
hall,

And his fleeting existence is o'er;
And still are its strings, as it sleeps on
the wall,

Like the fingers that swept it before.
His eye, once so bright, has been robb'd
of its fire;

His bosom, once wild as the wave, *
Which the shrill note of Liberty's trump
could inspire,

Or the heart-thrilling tones of the well-
swept lyre,

Is silent and still as the grave.

"He had evil within him"—we see the
dark shade

When his bosom's deep secrets we
scan;

Yet his arm was still lifted the freeman
to aid,

And his deeds shed a lustre on man.

If the dark cloud of hate o'er his bosom
did low'r,

If he wish'd to the desert to flee,

He was only the foe of the minion of
pow'r,

Who, fiend-like, stalks over the earth for
an hour,

But was ever the friend of the free.

The soft scenes of Nature for him had no
charms,

The riv'let and fast-fading flow'r

Awak'd not his soul like the horrid alarms

When a nation is wreck'd in an hour.

In the dark sweeping storm by Omnipotence
driv'n,

In the flash and the long pealing roll,

In the rocking of earth, in the frowning
of heav'n,

When the pillars of Nature seem trem-
bling and riv'n,

'Twas a beam of delight to his soul.

As he wander'd (oh, Greece!) o'er thy
once-hallow'd ground,

And stood on the warrior's grave,

He heard but the voice of oppression
around,

And saw but the home of the slave,—

As he gaz'd through the vista of ages gone
by,

In the glory and pride of the world,—

As he gaz'd on the ruins that round him
did lie,

It drew from his bosom a sorrowful sigh,
Where Tyranny's flag was unfurl'd.

He tun'd his wild harp o'er the ruins of
Greece,

His strains were unpassion'd and strong,
They solaced his heart like a scrap of
Peace,

While her freedom arose with his song.

And when the bright sun of their free-
dom arose,

His heart full of rapture ador'd,

The morning had dawn'd on their fatal
repose,
Their slumbers were broken, they rush'd
on their foes,
To shiver the chains they abhorr'd.
Did he fall in the struggle when Greece
would be free?
'Twas a star blotted out on their shore,
But his hovering spirit yet triumphs with
thee,
Though his brave arm can aid thee no
more.
He expired as the torch of thy glory grew
bright,
In the glorious noon of his day;
His triumph was short, like the meteor of
night,

As it flashes o'er heav'n with its long train
of light—
For, like it, he vanish'd away.
You have seen the bright summer's sun
sink in the west,
And the glories that shrouded him
there,
Like the splendours that dwell on the
heav'n of the blest,
Immortal, unclouded, and fair.
So the halo of glory shall circle his name,
His wreath shall eternally bloom,
And Britain, triumphant, her Byron shall
claim,
As he shines with the great in the temple
of Fame,
The triumph of man o'er the tomb!

NOTICE OF THE SCOTTISH LITURGY, OR "SERVICE-BOOK," OF
CHARLES I.

AMONG the violent revolutions which have altered the condition of mankind, some have been more remarkable in themselves than the Reformation, but none have been followed by results so interesting to Britons. Upon the Continent, the struggle between the old and the new faith was conducted with great asperity; but a triumph being gained by the one, the other was reduced to suffer in silence and obscurity, or a compromise was ultimately made, which, leaving both parties to profess their peculiar creeds, nicely adjusted their respective political interests. Each faith, it is true, has at different times distinguished itself by different conduct towards the other, but still their relative conditions have in the main been sufficiently definite. In Britain, the case has been very different. One part of the island receded from Rome with slow and unwilling steps, retaining anxiously as much of her dogmas, her government, and ritual, as it could reconcile to that standard of faith which it had chosen. The tyranny of a self-willed monarch drove the Clergy into measures which they did not generally approve; and his confiscations and profusion gained over the aristocracy to a change which they were seldom able and seldom anxious to appreciate. When the death of his amiable successor raised to the throne a bigotted Queen, the people returned without great reluctance to

the creed of their forefathers; and had not Elizabeth's personal status and political rights been closely interwoven with the success of Protestantism, there is good reason to conclude, that neither she nor her clergy would have made any great change on the Church which Mary had restored. But the intercourse between the foreign Reformers and the English had been very close during the Marian persecution; and the divines who had found a hospitable refuge abroad, returned fraught with the opinions which had been there espoused by the most conspicuous Protestants, and defended by theologians of admirable talent. The surplice, the cross, the ritual, and the hierarchy, were held by these refugees as superstitious in themselves, and deserving of abhorrence, as having been consecrated to *papistical idolatry*. The injudicious blending of neglect and severity which characterized the conduct of the Church towards the Puritans, widened a breach which mutual kind feeling might at one time have entirely closed. Each party regarded the other with equal harshness, but they conducted themselves with unequal policy. The Church, depending on its civil establishment, was ready to punish and exasperate rather than win over the disaffected, while the Puritans esteemed the Church of England as scarcely preferable to the Church of Rome, and held it a reli-

gious duty to use the most strenuous exertions for its second reformation. These exertions were not the less unremitting—perhaps not the less successful—that they were necessarily clandestine. Satire, argument, and accusation, severally prevailed over those whose dispositions laid them more open to their influence. They who have studied the minute, or rather the neglected history of the reign of Elizabeth, know that a period in which our popular historians have been so much dazzled with the splendour of victory, and the success of general politics, is justly interesting for matters of less notoriety, but possessing greater influence on the destinies of the empire.

When Elizabeth was succeeded by James, a monarch was placed at the head of the English nation, than whom a person less qualified for that splendid eminence could scarcely have been found. Christened a Catholic, and educated a Presbyterian, connected by private politics with the first, and by polemical agreement with the second, he had excited in both expectations which his ardent espousal of the Episcopal faith showed, that, even had he been able, he would not have been willing to gratify. Ever obtruding on his subjects his notions of the regal prerogative, he irritated them more than the harshest exercise of his most dubious powers would have done, had he combined with it the English *straight-forwardness*, and the abilities of his predecessors of the House of Tudor. He seems to have thought of the Puritans with such an involuntary shudder as a man must feel who remembers a wild beast, from whose claws he has been unexpectedly extricated. Had his pacific predilections been directed rather to some feasible plan for uniting the divisions of his people, than to unmanly disregard of the insults of foreign powers, his efforts would probably have been successful; he might have been remembered as one of the most fortunate of monarchs, and have been assigned a niche in the temple of Fame, beside the Alfreds, the Bruces, and the Antonines. In England, he exposed himself, by assisting in the deliberations of religious assemblies, to the criticism of all his sub-

jects, and the sneers and cavils of a numerous party. In Scotland, his views were more extensive than in England, the changes which he effected were much more important, and yet, though they called forth more open reprehension than his English politics, they seem not to have excited more real dislike. It may, indeed, be doubted whether a careful continuance in his policy would not, in one or two generations, have assimilated the ritual, as it had already assimilated the ecclesiastical government of his kingdoms.

But Charles ascended the throne without that experimental acquaintance which his father had got of the character of his countrymen,—the *perfidum Scotorum ingenium*,—and without that caution or timidity which marked his father's policy. He was attached by interest and conviction to the Established Episcopal Church, and formed an early determination to consider its enemies as the foes both of God and of the King. He cooled the affection of his nobles by the injudicious preferring of Churchmen to high offices of State, and he alarmed the landed proprietors by measures which seemed to prepare the way for a restoration to the Church of the demesnes and revenues which the Reformation had scattered among the laity. His lofty addresses to his Parliaments, and his long disuse of them, disgusted the Aristocracy, without whose acquiescence no European monarchy can long endure; and his aggrandisement of the Church, though it endeared him to many of the priesthood, associated in the minds of the laity the ideas of arbitrary power and ecclesiastical favouritism. But even the Churchmen were not universally attached to his measures. Some of the most strenuous and able adherents of the government and Liturgy of the Church were attached to certain of the doctrinal tenets of Calvin. They would have recoiled from any ecclesiastical intercourse with Calvin's successors, but they venerated the memory of St. Augustine, with that fervour which has always distinguished the Western Church, and embraced the opinions which the Bishop of Hippo and the Reformer of Geneva espoused in common. The

King and his favourite ecclesiastics embraced other tenets; and though we now hope that a question, which an infallible church has not been able to decide—which has distracted the most pious, and divided the most learned, is not a subject on which diversity of opinions is heresy, yet the seventeenth century was not the age of forbearance. They who could not understand were able to rail, and the epithets of *fanatic* and *self-righteous* were bandied about till the disputants were heated to that degree in which, with equal pleasure, they lead or are led to the stake of martyrdom.

In the summer of 1633, while the people were thus distracted with controversy, and many of them alienated from the throne and the mitre, Charles visited his ancient kingdom of Scotland. It was here determined that a book of Canons and a Liturgy should be forthwith prepared for the Church of Scotland, and that in the meantime the English Prayer-book and ceremonies should be used in the Chapel-Royal. This code of Canon Law was promulgated upon the 23d of May 1635, and was of a texture but ill calculated to soothe the minds of a nation, whose recent history had been so adverse to religious restraint. At Christmas 1636, the famous "Service-book" of Charles I. was published. This is a book which, in its momentous consequences, has no equal. It discomfited in one day the cautious policy of many years: it almost annihilated the Church for which it was composed: it added the last drop to that cup of misgovernment, whose overflow brought to untimely deaths a minister, a primate, and a monarch,—deluged three kingdoms with the best blood of their people, and kindled a civil war, over whose woeful embers our forefathers were long doomed to tread, and which their posterity cannot congratulate themselves on seeing totally extinguished.

—Arma,
Nondum expiatis uncta cruribus,
Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ
Tractas et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cinere doloso.

Horr. Car. Lib. II. O. i.

The practice of the various churches in Scotland, relative to Liturgies, has

not been uniform. That some prescribed form of public devotions was used during the heat of the Reformation is admitted, but different opinions seem to be entertained as to what this form was. The more able among the Clergy claimed a right of occasional deviation, and even of conceiving extemporary prayers; and as it is not to be thought that many of them would willingly lie under an imputation of the want of talent, the use of a Liturgy must gradually have become somewhat unfrequent. Yet it was never extinct; and indeed, from the extracts about to be made from the writings of a Prelate who flourished in the time of King James VI., it seems highly probable that, at least in the considerable churches, some form of prayer was held to be the regular service. Bishop Cowper of Galloway has small collects interspersed throughout his works, which show a familiarity with that species of prayer; and besides other instances of adherence to set forms, he seems to have always used, at entering the desk or pulpit, the exclamation, "My help is in the name of the Lord,"—a practice not only of the Church of Rome, but also, as appears from her ritual, of the Church of Geneva. In his "seven days conference," dedicated to the King, he makes a *Catholic Christian* carry a *Catholic Roman* to the Protestant Church, and it is the aim of the former to convince the latter, that the service of the Reformed is better than that of the Church of Rome. This conviction, it seems, was not difficult to effect; for, though the Protestant interlocutor was no Barrow, his friend was no Bellarmine. But the arguments, which make no great figure in a book of controversies, may be very useful in elucidating antiquities. We extract only what relates to the matter in hand, and may observe in passing, that in at least part of their service, the Church of Scotland, in the reign of King James VI., closely resembles that of the present Established Church of Holland. The *Roman* asks his friend,

What is this the people are going to do?

C.—They bow themselves before the Lord, to make an humble confession of their sins, and supplication for mercy, which you will hear openly read out by the public reader.

R.—But what go they now to do?

C.—Every one is preparing, as you see, then Psalm-book, that all of them, with one heart and mouth, may sing unto the Lord. There is the psalm which the reader hath proclaimed; if you please you may sing with them, or if you cannot, follow them in your heart.

R.—So I will. What doth the reader now?—is he making another prayer?

C.—No: yonder book which now he opens is the Bible; you will hear him read some portion of Holy Scripture.
* * * These are the three exercises which are used in all our congregations every Sabbath, one hour before the preacher come in; first prayer, then psalms, then reading of Holy Scripture.

R.—But what are they doing now?

C.—You hear the third bell ringing, and in this space the reading ceaseth, and at the end of the bell-ringing the preacher will come.

After some conversation about Latin prayers, the stranger observes the clergyman enter the pulpit, and asks how to conduct himself.

C.—Trouble you not—do as you see others beside you; for, first, he will conceive a prayer, at the which the people humble themselves; thereafter he reads his text of Holy Scripture; this the people hear with reverence; then he falls to the preaching, which some hear with their heads covered, some otherwise, (in that you may do as your health requires): the preaching being ended, he concludes all with a thanksgiving; after which there is a psalm sung by the whole congregation; and then the minister blesseth the people in the name of the Lord, and so dismiss them. You will see no other thing here.

The conference ends immediately after this, by the *Roman* becoming a Protestant.

The compilers of the Liturgy of 1637 had three objects chiefly in view,—such a similarity to the English Book as might evince the respect which the Scottish Church bore to her through whom she derived the succession,—at the same time, such a difference from it as might assert her own independence, and such alterations as might exclude from the priesthood those who were inclined to interpret any part of the English Liturgy in the sense of the Puritans. It remains to show how well they accomplished these objects.

The Liturgy was compiled mostly

by the Bishops of Ross and Dunblane, and was revised in England by Archbishop Laud and Bishop Wren. The older Scottish Prelates were unfavourable to the experiment, but their wishes were overruled.

The Title runs thus: "The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other parts of divine service, for the use of the Church of Scotland, with a Paraphrase of the Psalms in metre, by King James the VI." It is somewhat oddly introduced, by a proclamation in the Scottish form,—a letter addressed by his Majesty to the Officers of the Courts, charging them "to give notice to his subjects to conform themselves exclusively to this ritual, and to command all churchmen to take especial care that it be duly observed, and its opponents condignly censured and punished, and that two copies of it be provided for every parish church before the next festival of the Passover." It was intended to be first used on that day, but as the decisive time approached, the hearts of those in power seem to have failed them, for they postponed its introduction till the 23d of July. Easter-day fell that year on the 9th of April, so that an additional period of between three and four months was thus afforded for the intrigues of the opposers and the favourers of the measure. Still more time might have been given, but the Council was desirous to have the experiment tried at Edinburgh during the term of the Court of Session, while the most active and influential among the nobility and gentry were at hand.

The proclamation is followed by a mild preface, setting forth the advantages of public Liturgies, and the propriety of the Scottish Church following the Service-book of England, and concluding with an allusion to the practice of the early Reformers. After this, come two rubrics, similar to the two last in the discourse concerning the service of the Church prefixed to the English Liturgy, and then the Discourse "Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained." Then follow certain rubrics and tables, which differ from those in the English model in no point worthy of notice, except in the Calendar and Table of Lessons. Here the

Roman Computation, by Calends, Nones, and Ides, is introduced in a column between the Sunday letters and the Saints' names; the lessons are so distributed as to include very little of the Apocrypha; and several national Saints, who are omitted in the English Book, have anniversaries assigned them. Among these are St. Mungo, Colman, St. Columba, Palladius, St. Ninian, and Queen Margaret. This respect was shown to these Saints in consequence of special instructions from England.

The daily service is introduced by a rubric of directions to the Presbyter or Minister, and it is remarkable that the word *Priest* occurs very rarely throughout the book. It begins with the reading of sentences, but a selection of them has been made different from that in the English Liturgy. The Exhortation and Confession are unaltered, except by the addition to the end of the latter of the words, "and the salvation of our own souls." The Absolution is somewhat different in form, but not in meaning. The service proceeds without great alteration to the rubric concerning the lessons, which, as well as the Epistle and Gospel, are allowed to be sung in a plain tune. The Psalm *Dominus regit me* is appointed instead of the *Benedicite*. After this there are only a few verbal alterations to the end of the third collect for grace, the state-prayers, and those which follow them, being put after the Litany.

The order for evening prayer presents, at first sight, a considerable difference from the English form, but this vanishes upon an attention to the rubrics. It is succeeded by the creed of St. Athanasius, which, however, is called only by its true name, *Quicunque vult*.

In the Litany, till the end of the prayer, *we humbly beseech thee*, the alterations are slight. After this there is either a great confusion in the arrangement, or the prayers for the King, the Royal Family, and the Clergy, are appointed to be read even when the Litany is used—an unnecessary elongation of the service. After these come a collect for the ember weeks, the prayer of St. Chrysostom, and the blessing. These are succeeded by the occasional prayers and thanksgivings, differing little

from the present collection, except in the want of the prayers for the High Court of Parliament, and for all conditions of men, and the general thanksgiving. These, indeed, were not inserted in the English Liturgy till after the Restoration, and, along with the preface, were drawn up by that most accomplished casuist, Bishop Sanderson.

It would be tedious to collate the collects for the Sundays and holidays through the year. Several changes occur in the form of these, but few in the sense. The Epistles and Gospels, and indeed all parts of Scripture quoted in the Liturgy, are according to the new translation, while in the English Prayer-book of that time they were according to the former version. In the communion office the alterations are great; but as they involve doctrines which characterise the successors of those for whom this Liturgy was compiled, a connected account of them will be given in the sequel.

In the order for the public ministration of Baptism, this petition is inserted in the first collect: "Sanctify this fountain of Baptism, thou that art the sanctifier of all things." Opposite to it is a direction to have the water changed at least twice in the month, and for the minister to use these words of blessing over the water so changed before it be used. The sign of the cross is retained, as also is the choice of immersion or sprinkling. The alterations on the order for private baptism are unimportant, and the order for the baptism of those of upper years was not drawn up till after the Restoration.

The Catechism is much the same with our present one. The order for Confirmation is defective in the want of the preface, of that most solemn adjuration, from the mouth of the Bishop, which follows it, and of the Lord's Prayer.

Several alterations have been made on the office for matrimony, but they are not such as to remove the objections which, from various quarters, have been made to the expressions used in that ceremony. The recommendation to the new-married persons, to receive the holy sacrament on their marriage-day, is changed into a positive command.

The offices for the visitation and the communion of the sick follow with little alteration. The burial-service will be afterwards taken notice of. The churching of women, and the service for the first day of Lent, differ very slightly from the English book.

The Psalter is appointed to be used according to the new translation, from the Hebrew, and not, as still in the English Liturgy, according to the old version, which generally follows the Septuagint. The prayers to be used at sea were not added to the English Liturgy till the Restoration, and of course they are not in the Scotch.

We have at present four attached services commemorative of national events. Two of these events, the *Martyrdom* and the *Restoration*, had not taken place when the Scotch Prayer-book was published, and the Gunpowder Plot was perhaps conceived to have no great relation to Scotland. Why Bishops, so strongly devoted to monarchy as the compilers of this book were, should have omitted a service for the Accession, it would perhaps be vain to enquire.

After the Chanting Psalms follow "the Psalms of King David, translated by King James." It is generally believed, that however distinctly this version is ascribed to the "*Royal prentise*," he had actually a very small part in the versification. It is ascribing to it no high poetical merit to say, that it will suffer little from a comparison with our other English versions. The difficulty of turning the poetical parts of Holy Scripture into harmonious metre, and of preserving their native spirit, has not yet been overcome. Sternhold and Hopkins are often flat, but it may be questioned whether more elegant versifiers have yet attained their touching simplicity. Hopkins's Hundred Psalm, which the compilers of the selection now used by the Presbyterians have shown good taste in adopting, is, when accompanied by its proper tune, one of the most pleasing devotional hymns which can possibly be heard. Watts's translation is rapid; so is often Brady and Tate's. When the wishes of so many Episcopalians shall be gratified by an authorized selection from the va-

rious versions, King James' ought not to be entirely forgotten.

In the reign of Edward VI., two Liturgies were published, differing in many respects from each other. The communion office, or, as it is called, the *mass*, in the first of these, though afterwards rejected, for reasons not sufficiently known, has been always highly esteemed by that class of Episcopalians who are called High Churchmen. It is, therefore, not strange that, when the compilation of a new Liturgy was entrusted to men of these principles, much use would be made of this Protestant Mass. It would lead to a long detail of circumstances, not generally interesting, were we to remark all the points on which the two differ, or coincide. Those who are curious in such matters may consult the collation of the Protestant communion offices, drawn up by the late learned Bishop Horsely, or to Bishop Hickey's book on the priesthood, where they are inserted at length. There are, however, two peculiarities, so interesting (as involving doctrines on which the Protestants differ as much among themselves as they do from the Church of Rome,) that it would be unpardonable to omit an account of them. Upon none of the points in question have so various doctrines been promulgated, as on the nature and efficacy of the Holy Sacrament. The Lutherans, in rejecting transubstantiation, have adopted a faith infinitely more incomprehensible; and some of our recent sectaries leave it doubtful whether they have ever deemed it necessary to adopt any opinions or notions on the subject. The English reformers rejected no more of their previous belief than the *corporal* presence. They still held that after consecration, the body and blood of Christ are *really* present on the altar, and that they are offered to God as a material sacrifice for the quick and the dead. Although the doctrine of the *real presence* be still explicitly retained in the English Prayer-book, those parts of the service which pointedly infer the sacrifice were omitted, even in the time of King Edward. They were not restored in the same words in the Scotch Liturgy, but that they were implied, the following extracts will sufficiently evince.

In the prayer of consecration, the priest beseeches God to bless, with his word and Holy Spirit, the gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may become the body and blood of his most dearly-beloved Son. He then recites the words of institution as in the English service, after which comes this rubric: "Immediately after shall be said this memorial, or prayer of oblation, as followeth:" The memorial begins thus: "Wherefore, O Lord, and Heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly-beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we, thy humble servants, do celebrate and make herebefore thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make, having in remembrance, &c.; and we entirely desire thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," &c.

The words in which the faithful departed are alluded to are, considered in themselves, quite clear and explicit, but the invitation at the beginning of the prayer seems inconsistent with them. As in the English Liturgy, this invitation runs, "Let us pray for the whole estate of Christ's Church, *militant here on earth*," while the prayer itself contains these words:

"And we also bless thy holy name for all those thy servants who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we yield unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all thy saints who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations; most humbly beseeching thee, that we may have grace to follow the example of their steadfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments, that, at the day of the general resurrection, we, *and all they which are of the mystical body of thy Son*, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of my Father," &c. &c.

The second last collect in the Scotch Burial office presents no such inconsistency. Lest the words, as they are in the English Book, should

not be sufficiently explicit, they are altered thus:

"Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity, we give thee hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this (*name*) our brother, out of the miseries of this sinful world, beseeching thee, that it may please thee, of thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom; that we, with this our brother, *and all other departed in the true faith of thy holy name*, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, *both in body and soul*, in thy eternal and everlasting glory. Amen."

It remains to give the words which the same Church now uses in relation to these two very interesting topics.

The remembrance of the commotions which ensued on the publication of the Scotch Liturgy prevented its re-introduction upon the Restoration of Charles the Second. During his reign, and that of his self-willed brother, the established Clergy were left much to their own discretion, in conducting the service of the Church. Some of them practised extemporary prayer, while others assimilated their service as far as possible to the Liturgy. The Revolution, which deprived the Episcopal Church of political power, freed it also from its degraded political bondage. This freedom it gradually improved, and, during the reign of Queen Anne, when the Nonjuring Clergy were very high in the favour of the court, the *English Prayer-book* was formally introduced into all their congregations. The reason which is assigned for their adoption of the English Liturgy, instead of using their own, is, that almost all the copies of the latter had been destroyed during the civil wars; and that as the reprinting of it was illegal, they had no alternative but to compose a new one, or adopt that which had been the model of their own. What weight ought to be given to this reason we do not know; but there is now lying before us a copy of a reprint of the Scotch

Book, dated in 1712, from the press of the well-known Charles Watson. The facility, however, was of course much greater of procuring the English than the Scottish Liturgy. A great many copies of the former were sent down from London, at the expense of several pious persons, with the Queen at their head, along with a *persuasive* to its use by Mr Barclay.

The current, however, of the affections of the Scotch ran strong in favour of the Communion office in their old book, and this office was reprinted by itself at the press of the celebrated Ruddiman, himself a devoted son of the Nonjuring Church. Such a license seems to have become not perfectly safe; and, to obviate all danger, the Bishops drew up a new eucharistical office, still more like that in the first Liturgy of King Edward than their old one had been. This is the present authorised Communion-service of the Scotch Episcopalians. Although the Sacrament is, in several of their congregations, permitted to be dispensed according to the English rites, yet this indulgence arises from circumstances temporary in their nature, and which, as they gradually disappear, must leave the authorised service to be generally used. We have been more minute in stating these facts, because the very existence of the new office has been accidentally overlooked in a book, which, when the ends of public justice shall permit its temporary interdict to be taken off, must lie on the table of every Scotchman who cares for the literary history of his country. We allude to the "*Memorial for the Bible Societies of Scotland*,"—a book which may teach certain reverend English bibliographers how to reconcile a deep research into the history of printing with good taste and professional character.

The title of this order is in these words: "*The Communion-office, for the use of the Church of Scotland, as far as concerneth the ministration of that Holy Sacrament.*" It is a small duodecimo pamphlet, of about twenty pages, containing no more of the Liturgy than is read after the dismissal of the non-communicants.

Here the words of institution are the same as in the English Prayer-book. They are immediately suc-

ceeded by the following petitions, which, in the margin opposite to them, are called the *oblation* and the *invocation*. We print as in the original:

"Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly-beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we, thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here, before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion and precious death, his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension, rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same. And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly-beloved Son. And we earnestly desire thy fatherly goodness to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee," &c.

The intercessory prayer follows. It is introduced by these words, "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church," where it will be observed, that the restriction to persons in this world is omitted. The petitions themselves run in almost the same words as those which have been already quoted.

It is unnecessary to notice the other parts of this service. In England, it has been highly spoken of by many eminent divines. The late Bishop Horsely declared, that, were a choice granted him, he would prefer the Scotch to the English forms.

Such, then, are some of the peculiarities of this book. He is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of the British Constitution to whom the smallest link in that chain of events which procured them is uninteresting. But we shall look in vain, in the history of England and of Scotland, for an occurrence which, in its immediate effects, and in its remote consequences, was more momentous than the publication of the Service-book of King Charles I.

SKETCHES IN BIOGRAPHY *.

THESE "Biographical Sketches" seem intended to serve as an answer to Mr D'Israeli's book, "On the Calamities of Authors;" a production which it is impossible to read without a mixture of humiliation and sorrow. How far Mr Clayton has succeeded in his benevolent purpose will probably appear in the sequel of this article; meanwhile we must remark, that Mr D'Israeli and Mr Clayton have contemplated the subject of the influence of literature on character and happiness from different points, and have consequently arrived at opposite conclusions; whereas, had they taken their stations on precisely the same ground, and viewed the subject in the same attitude and bearing, the results would have very closely approximated. Mr D'Israeli considers the influence of literature on the character and fortunes of *professional* authors; Mr Clayton views it as it affects the habits, feelings, and comforts, of those who cultivate it merely as an amusement. It is one thing to be dependent on literature for a subsistence; it is another, and a very different thing, to look to it only as a relaxation from business or care, and as the probable source of reversionary fame. The first consideration with a professional author is, what his writings will produce, and how he may most profitably transmute the productions of his genius or talents into the current coin of the realm. At this confession, the pampered sons of luxury and wealth, no less than that drivelling class of effeminate sentimentalists who view the affairs of the world through the haze of their own hallucinations, may turn up their eyes in astonishment; but it is not the less true for their wonderment. Johnson, who was tolerably disciplined to the trade of author, persisted to the last in maintaining that no man would write but for money, and that the pecuniary recompence of his literary labours was more acceptable to him than the

collateral fame he had derived from them. He spoke with the feelings of a professional author. The "fine frenzies" of dilettanti litterateurs were utterly incomprehensible to that great man's mind. Nor was he singular in that respect. Stern reality paralyses the wings of imagination, and disenchantments that dreamy, soporiferous delusion, in which literary voluptuaries are prone to indulge. When a man has to provide for those of his own house, and to gain his bread by the sweat of his brain, he is not particularly obnoxious to sentimental enthusiasm. Literature is to him what law, physic, and divinity, are to the lawyer, the physician, and the parson,—a profession by which he must live, in the first place, and earn fame in the next, if he can.

But the trade of author is necessarily the most precarious of all professions. It is dependent on a thousand contingencies, from which almost every other is exempt. While men are litigious, the lawyers will prosper; while they contrive to contract disease, there is no fear of the doctors; while they retain a remnant of religion, the parson will fatten on his tithes; while they put clothes on their backs, the spinner, weaver, dyer, merchant, and, last not least, poor snip, will each and all have their pence; and as these wants are indestructible, so are the employments to which they give rise. But how stands the case with literature? It is a pure luxury, which the great herd of mankind can do very well without; and, like all luxuries, exposed to the ever-varying caprices of taste and fashion. What is the rage to-day, may be condemned to-morrow. Now all mankind read poetry; now it is a very drug in the market. At one time, the public taste demands to be fed with solids; at another, with flummery and syllabub. At present, the whole mass of the "reading public" have taken to Magazines and Re-

* Sketches in Biography, designed to show the Influence of Literature on Character and Happiness. By John Clayton, Esq. Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes. 1825. pp. 402.

views; nothing will go down but high-wrought descriptions, piquant essays, and laboured buffoonery: solid literature is consigned to a few miserable pedants, who have been gradually elbowed out of the way by the spruce bucks of the new school; the age of thinking and reasoning is "numbered with the years beyond the flood." Hence the whole *posse comitatus* of authors have become Magaziners and Reviewers; even Campbell has deserted the Muse of Liberty, and become the *Serf* of Colburn.

Now, it is easy to see what must be the effects of such revolutions in public taste upon the fate and fortunes of many poor fellows, who cannot, Proteus-like, metamorphose their faculties into that particular form best adapted to the existing mode. Their productions, if not altogether unsaleable, must be disposed of at a prodigious discount. The booksellers, "the real patrons of literature," turn a deaf ear to their supplications; and the damnatory laconism, "It won't sell," freezes the life-blood of the poor author, and "makes him curse the hour in which he dared to interfere with" literature. To embitter his misery, and envenom the wound that rankles in his soul, while he finds the offspring of his own toil contemned and despised, he sees the arrantest trumpery sailing down triumphantly on the tide of public favour, with the mob patrons of literature shouting in its wake; and while he asks for bread, and receives, perhaps, a stone, the clink of the golden shower that descends on the cunning artificer of nonsense affects him as the rushing sound of water does the traveller perishing of thirst in the Sahara. Let Mr D'Iraeli now prepare his tablets, and open his "Book of Calamities." He cannot fail to find matter in abundance for a new chapter in his melancholy register.

If our feeble admonition would be listened to, we would say, Let no man pursue literature as a profession. It is the worst species of gambling. It is a lottery in which the blanks are countless as the sand; the prizes "few, and far between." It is a trade which promises little to ambition, and more frequently purveys for mi-

sery. It sears and scathes the mind by care and disappointment, and unfits it for the full display of its native powers. It is the forlorn hope of life, where the reckless and the desperate will adventure, while the truly brave will reserve their exertions for the regular struggle. If, as the preface to his Dictionary testifies, Johnson narrowly escaped shipwreck in this dangerous region, how can inferior men hope to navigate it in safety? If the Royal bounty alone enabled him to spend the evening of his life in comfort, who, for all his fame, would encounter the hazard of poverty, dependence, and sorrow, from which kingly generosity so opportunely relieved him?

The cultivation of literature by those who, instead of depending on it for bread, look to it merely as a relaxation from severer employments, or a means of guarding against that *tædium vitæ* which but too frequently usurps the place of care, in the minds of those who, saturated with wealth, have nothing left but to enjoy life, is altogether different from the compulsory application to which we have already alluded, and can never exert any but a benignant influence. It expands, liberalizes, and polishes the mind; it gives a tone of elegance and refinement to manners — *emollit mores*; it supplies inexhaustible matter for improving and agreeable conversation; it sweetens the good, and soothes the evil of life; it banishes bad thoughts from the mind, and supplies their place with better; and altogether it elevates, adorns, and sublines the frame of the general mind. This propitious influence it undoubtedly exerts; and we have real pleasure in adding, that it is very happily and beautifully displayed in these Biographical Sketches. The author claims "no merit beyond that of having collected from a multitude of sources, and placed before the reader, in a concise and clear form, a series of authentic facts, tending to throw light on the interesting question of the influence of literary pursuits on human happiness;" but to this merit he is fully entitled, added to that of having performed his task with much ability and taste, and inculcated the purest principles of religion and virtue, in a chaste

style, and without a particle of that austerity and intolerance, by which the soundest doctrines, and the most useful maxims of life, are often rendered disgusting.

The book contains Biographical Sketches, drawn up, with the view already indicated, of twenty celebrated persons, viz.—Ariosto, Metastasio, Fenelon, Massillon, Marmontel, Buffon, Linnæus, Malesherbes, Gellert, Zimmermann, Evelyn, Jeremy Taylor, Locke, Newton, Beattie, Cowper, Elizabeth Carter, Sir William Jones, Horne, and Eustace. The two first "Sketches," though well executed, are not particularly interesting: that of Fenelon, whose character is so admirably adapted to the author's purpose, we consider extremely happy, and warmly recommend it to the reader's attentive perusal. In the notice of Massillon, which, upon the whole, is also good, we have only to remark the spiritless manner in which the extracts from his sermons are translated; the *mens divinator* of that great pulpit orator has totally vanished in the process; and Massillon may, to use a Gallicism, be truly said to be *traduced*. Nor does the author seem to be familiar with some of the noble specimens of pulpit eloquence, of which the French are so justly proud; we allude particularly to the majestic ratiocinations of Bourdaloue; the clear, persuasive, evangelical discourses of Claude; or the tender, affectionate, and winning expostulations of Jurieu. To Marmontel, Buffon, and Malesherbes, the author has had the manliness to do justice. "A friend," says he in his preface, "whose opinion is entitled to respectful consideration (*contempt*, we would say), has blamed my want of severity in the Sketches of some French literary men, of the class called *The Philosophers*. I value the comfort, the light, and the hope of Christianity, as treasures above all earthly blessings: for those who are unfortunate enough to want them, I feel no sentiment but profound pity. I have, therefore, done justice, without scruple, to the filial and paternal affection of Marmontel, the wonderful industry and eloquence of Buffon, and the dignified consistency, the benevolence and devoted loyalty, of

Malesherbes. I wish that the owners of these high qualities had united with them such principles as might have entitled men so celebrated to unqualified praise." We need scarcely say, that these sentiments meet our "unqualified" approbation. Is it conceivable, that Christianity can be benefited by falsehood, concealment, or detraction? or that because I am a firm believer in the truth of our holy religion, I must therefore deny the eloquence of Matabeau, the wit of Voltaire, the fine genius of Rousseau, the encyclopædic acquirements of Diderot, the profound geometry of D'Alembert, the great talents of Buffon, the filial affection and inimitable pathos of Marmontel, or the virtuous loyalty of Malesherbes? If this be religion, we trust we have none of it.

Linnaeus might easily have been spared in a work of this kind; Gellert is very properly introduced to the acquaintance of the English reader; but we absolutely lost all patience when we stumbled upon a sketch of that dawdling, hysterical creature, Doctor Zimmermann. Of Evelyn we have also too much; of Jeremy Taylor too little; and of Locke a notice absolutely below contempt. The great English philosopher is dismissed in a few meagre pages, which do not manifest even a moderate acquaintance with his works, or a vestige of the talent requisite to appreciate their character and influence. The same remark applies to the sketch of Newton. Mr Clayton is clearly no mathematician, and has obviously not learned even as much of the Newtonian Philosophy as Pemberton communicates. Beattie is a great favourite with our author. He diluted metaphysics for the benefit of our Southern neighbours,—behaved like a brute to Hume, whom he combated with weapons forged in the armoury of Campbell and Reid,—and would long since have been deservedly forgotten, but for the few real poetical gems that sparkle with unabated lustre in the pages of his "Minstrel." The character of Cowper is a bundle of moral paradoxes; but considering the difficulty of the subject, the sketch of him is well executed, though not a little in the Hayley style. The sketch of Sir

William Jones follows that of Elizabeth Carter, the wonderful woman who read Greek,—translated, with the assistance of men, the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, and wrote one paper for the Rambler! Notices of Horne and Eustace conclude the volume. The account of the latter is excellent throughout. Mr Clayton appears to have enjoyed the advantage of Mr Eustace's acquaintance; and as he writes from personal observation and knowledge, his sketch of the "Classical Tourist" possesses an interest which does not belong to those other parts of his work, compiled with painful elaboration, from materials gleaned from a multitude of sources, and unavoidably tinged with the hues of the different media through which they have passed.

Having thus given a rapid outline of the contents of the book, we shall now offer a few criticisms on some points where we think Mr Clayton has erred, and then conclude this paper with some extracts from the work.

At page 215, Archbishop Laud is described first as "a munificent patron of *worth and learning*," and then as a man who, falling on evil times, "found *genius*, piety, and the favour of his King, insufficient to save his grey head from the scaffold."

Now, in the first place, we should be glad to know what sort of "worth" and "learning" Laud patronized. That he was a cruel and ferocious bigot, no one can deny; that he fell by the hands of fanatics as cruel and ferocious as himself, is equally indisputable; but that Laud, who was destitute of real learning himself, was ever "a munificent patron of learning," is not the fact. His mind was barely equal to the superintending the cut of a surplice, the placing of a crucifix, or the introduction of some unmeaning ceremony into the church service; and his chief employment consisted in persecuting to the death those who foolishly resisted his foolish innovations. It is clear that, from the first hour of his promotion, he coquetted with Rome, and that, had he not "fallen upon evil times," he would have had no objections to a Cardinal's hat. It is not difficult to conceive the kind of learning and worth of which a bigotted and am-

bitious priest would be the munificent patron. But the charge of "genius and piety," now for the first time brought against him, we can view in no other light than as a gross libel on the poor Archbishop's memory. Laud a man of genius! We should as lief have thought of accusing Ireton or Bradshaw of that infirmity.

"Newton," says Mr Clayton, page 268, "was a firm believer in Christianity." So he was; but he "believed firmly" in a particular mode of it only. He was a confirmed Arian; and so, as every body knows, was his intimate friend Dr Clarke. There is no use in mincing the matter.

Speaking of the time Cowper spent as a Student, or rather resident of the Inner Temple, Mr Clayton says, with that habitual benevolence of feeling which does him so much honour, "Over the twelve years which he passed there, the friendly biographer would wish to draw a veil, if a statement of the truth were not a paramount and imperious duty. *They were years of dissipation, during which his life was useless to others, and a burden to himself.*" p. 291.

Mr Clayton, however, does not seem to be aware that this furnishes a key to the whole of Cowper's subsequent conduct and character. Endowed with the morbid sensibility of genius, he plunged into every form of excess and dissipation, lulling the remonstrances of conscience by the intoxication of venal beauty, or "the delicious poison of misused wine." But as this could not last always, the hour of solitude and reflection, was sure to come, and bring with it a fearful reckoning. It did come, and the re-action of a mind like Cowper's, at that hour which his own imagination would clothe in tenfold horrors, may be conceived, and will, as we think, account satisfactorily for that intermittent tendency to despair, with which he was visited during the remainder of his life, and which was aggravated and envenomed by the peculiar society into which it was his misfortune to fall. That morose and surly Puritan, the Rev. Mr Newton, was not the physician qualified to "minister to

a mind diseased" like Cowper's, in which feelings of remorse for the criminal course he had run, stimulating into action his constitutional morbidity of feeling, had so often nearly made shipwreck of one of the finest intellects in England, produced, and at last succeeded in fairly overwhelming him with "flat despair." We merely throw out these hints, and leave it to others to pursue them.

• We have reserved for the last of our criticisms one on which we mean to read Mr Clayton a short lecture. In the *Life of Evelyn* there is the following passage: "He (Evelyn) saw the unfortunate Charles I. at Hampton Court. The King was then, in fact, a prisoner, *having been delivered up by the Scotch army, to which he had fled for refuge: THE PAGE OF HISTORY IN WHICH THIS EVENT IS RECORDED WILL NEVER BE READ, IN SCOTLAND, BY LOYAL AND HONOURABLE MEN, WITHOUT FEELINGS OF REGRET AND PAIN.*" p. 197-98.

This is the old and groundless accusation of the Cavaliers, (repeated by Hume,) that the Scots sold the King at Newark. But a fouler falsehood never floated uncontradicted down the stream of history, as we have demonstrated at length in a former article of this Magazine, to which we now beg leave to refer. Mr Clayton is clearly ignorant of the whole transaction, and of the relative state of parties. The Scots were not principals, but accessories in the war; they had taken up arms in behalf of their dearest rights, civil and religious, which the King had invaded; they were upon the territory, and within the jurisdiction of England; they could not have refused to surrender the King, without stultifying themselves, violating the faith of treaties, instantly declaring war on their allies, and basely sacrificing the cause for which they had taken up arms. We lay out of view all the rhodomontade and stuff that has been talked upon the subject; and ask those who repeat this silly accusation, to show what right the Scots had, or what pretence they could have set forth, for detaining the King's person. But they gave him up for the payment of their arrears. True, they

gave him up, and their arrears were paid, but the payment was not the cause or the price of the surrender. Will it be maintained that the English Parliament would not have paid the Scottish Army but for this fortunate, or rather unfortunate occurrence? We answer, the Parliament paid them even more liberally in 1611; and as it has never been pretended that they received more than was really and fairly due to them, the presumption surely is, that they would have been paid, had the King never left Oxford. Moreover, 20,000 men with arms in their hands, under an able and experienced General, had an argument to enforce payment more cogent than the custody of many Kings.

But to whom did the Scots surrender the King? To the English. And what became of him? He afterwards escaped to the Isle of Wight—once more raised his standard—and being again beaten, fell into the hands of his enemies. The Scots then did not deliver up the King to destruction, as has been falsely pretended. On the contrary, when they learned that the English rebels meant to bring him to trial, they raised, and sent into England, an army as large as that which fought at Bannockburn; and had it not been for the incapacity of Hamilton, the King would have been saved. Nay more, part of the very money received from England was actually employed in recruiting this army in the King's defence; and although it was beaten, and Charles beheaded, the Scots immediately proclaimed his son, and fought the battles of Dunbar and Worcester in his cause; nor did they ever thoroughly submit to the Usurper, but, on the contrary, kept the Royal standard constantly afloat in some part or other of the country. Finally, after the Restoration, a declaratory act was, at the suggestion of Charles II., brought in and passed by the Parliament of Scotland, in which, while the decapitation of his Royal father is branded by the epithets it deserved, and the atrocious conduct of the regicides denounced in the most energetic terms, it is at the same time expressly set forth, that the stigma attempted to be fixed on the Scottish nation, on

account of the transactions at Newark, is wholly unjust and unmerited, and that his Majesty had the greatest reason to be satisfied with their loyalty and attachment. So little cause then have "the loyal and honourable men" of Scotland to blush when they read this transaction, or to dread an investigation of all the circumstances connected with it. We attach no great blame to Mr Clayton for repeating the story as he found it in Hume; but we could not possibly allow it to remain uncontradicted, the more especially as it carries absurdity and falsehood on its face,—or allow it to pass afresh into circulation through the medium of a work calculated to amuse and instruct a wide circle of readers.

Having disposed of these matters, it now only remains to give a few extracts from the work; and as the *Life of the Rev. John Chetwode Eustace* is by far the most original, as well as interesting portion, we shall confine ourselves entirely to that sketch.

John Chetwode Eustace was a native of Ireland; his mother was a Chetwode of a good family in Cheshire: being a Roman Catholic, he was sent at an early period of his life to the Benedictine College at Douay in French Flanders, where great numbers of his countrymen were educated with a view to the priesthood, there being then no adequate public seminary for such a purpose in Ireland. A foreign education is in many respects a great misfortune, both to the pastors themselves and to the flocks whom they are afterwards called upon to direct and enlighten. The priests taught abroad become strangers to the land which gave them birth, and to the ideas, habits, and character of its inhabitants: they return from Douay, Lisbon, or Salamanca, instructed in the history and doctrines of their religion, uncontaminated with the vices of society, (for, in general, the morals of the young are very strictly guarded in such institutions) and imbued with a competent share of classical learning; but of common life, and its important duties, they must be profoundly ignorant; confinement within the wall of a convent must cramp the intellect and confine the ideas; and they too frequently undertake to teach, when they have themselves to learn nearly all that is important and essential in human duties. In these places of education a salutary system of equality of treatment

has always prevailed; the son of a peasant, and the young nobleman, would partake of the same fare, pursue the same studies, and be seated, without the least distinction, at the same bench, and this had the effect of exalting the poor friendless boy in his own estimation, and encouraging him to exertion.

Eustace became a Roman Catholic priest, and received in England that second education which a man of talents always gives to himself, and which, as Milton has justly remarked, forms and decides the character. It was to this second education that Eustace alluded in his remarkable conversation with the eloquent and celebrated Burke, whom he had offended for a moment by speaking of Ireland in disparaging terms: "Have I been mistaken in you?" said Burke; "I thought you had been an Irishman and a brother." "Hear me," replied Eustace, "and judge. It is true that I was born in Ireland, but I left it early in life: my family and my connexions are English; to England I owe the best part of my education, and from Ireland I have derived no advantages except such as that education has procured for me." "You are right," answered Burke, energetically and nobly, "for mere existence is a doubtful benefit; it may be a great blessing, or it may prove a curse; but that land which gave you mental being, that land which, by expanding and improving your faculties, raised you in the scale of intellectual existence, that should be, in your affections and feelings, your home and your country." The intimate friendship of a man of Burke's superior intellect and attainments was in itself a great distinction: he bestowed it upon Eustace, and selected him to be his confidential adviser and companion in his illness; in those trying moments, when the busy scenes of life are gradually fading into distance—when wealth, and talents, and worldly distinction, and literary fame, are felt to be worthless and vain. The qualities which insure a preference over others at such a time must be solid and amiable; the dying man does not choose a companion on account of the possession of rank, wit, fascinating manners, or brilliant talents; but he naturally wishes to have at his bed-side a friend distinguished for good judgment, right feeling, self-denial, and piety. Eustace closed the eyes of his highly-gifted and eminent friend; and, in 1798, published an elegy to his memory, dedicated to Earl Fitzwilliam.

Mr Eustace was, it seems, a writer of poetry; but as it is of a very mediocre kind, we shall not impose any

of it upon the reader, and shall proceed with the narrative of his life.

In the year 1801 Eustace set out on a tour through Germany and Italy, as the tutor of Mr Roche, a young Irishman of fortune. The education of the Roman Catholic gentry was formerly very much neglected, both in England and Ireland : if I succeed in conveying to the reader my own impressions of the character of Eustace, I shall have shown, when my short sketch is finished, how peculiarly and eminently he was qualified to form the habits of young men into all that is requisite to complete the accomplished gentleman and scholar, and to repair the defects of early tuition. Mr Roche unfortunately died young, before the benefits of his tutor's system could be fully exhibited in society.

The state of Flanders and the Peninsula having rendered it impossible for the Roman Catholics to educate young men for the priesthood in their ancient foreign seminaries, a college, for the purpose of supplying the loss, was formed, upon an extended scale, at Maynooth, in Ireland, and the post of one of the Professors was offered to Eustace : a difference of opinion on the mode of tuition caused him to decline this offer, and he was resident at different periods in both the English Universities, as tutor to two young relatives of the late Lord Petre, the generous and hospitable patron of Geddes, and of all Roman Catholics of talents and worth who wanted his assistance. The earnest recommendation of the great Protestant Universities, as the only places in which young Roman Catholics of rank and fortune could acquire the learning, manners, and accomplishments suited to their station, was a proof of the judgment and liberality of Eustace, whose mind rose infinitely superior to the narrow prejudices usually imputed to his religious profession. In 1805 he was resident in Jesus College, Cambridge, with Mr George Petre, and there he associated on friendly and familiar terms with the most eminent literary men in the University. Dr Edward Daniel Clarke, the publication of whose extensive travels afterwards rendered him celebrated, resided in Jesus College at the same time. It has been fashionable for men, inferior in every way to Dr Clarke, to impeach his veracity, and to ridicule his prejudices as a traveller ; but the world has done ample justice to his works, and none of those who ever associated with him could differ in their opinion of his extraordinary qualities and attractions as a companion ; he was lively, social, good-humoured, equally ready

to listen and to speak, full of information on every topic, and willing to communicate the results of his extensive observations in a pleasant, unaffected manner. To him the public are indebted for the appearance in print of *The Classical Tour in Italy* : he had seen the manuscript journal of Eustace, and earnestly recommended its publication, of which the modest author had previously entertained no intention. Dr Clarke, with characteristic zeal and kindness, entered into a negotiation with Mawman the bookseller, who paid a very liberal price for the copy-right, and was amply remunerated by an extensive demand for the work. The *Classical Tour* of Eustace was expected long before it appeared in print : the notes actually made on his journey formed but a small portion of the work, as it was finally published ; many quotations, allusions, and comments, were added by degrees, as subsequent studies threw new light on his extensive subject ; and he was too anxious for his own literary reputation to print so large a work without the most mature consideration. He added and corrected scrupulously, laboriously, and slowly : the effect of this process has been to take off from his descriptions part of that freshness and air of similitude, which are diminished by every change of the original language ; but the intrinsic and permanent value of the work was probably increased nearly in a ratio with the labour bestowed upon it. He was in Italy in 1802, and his book was not published till he had kept and considered it for the long period of eleven years. In the mean time, he had taken a journey with Mr George Petre through part of Dalmatia, the western coast of Greece, the Ionian Islands, Sicily, and Malta. It is much to be lamented that he did not carry into effect his intention of publishing an account of this second tour : the objects and the countries which he then saw have been frequently visited and described, but new and interesting light would have been thrown upon them by the remarks of his original, inquiring, and enthusiastic mind.

Before the publication of the *Classical Tour in Italy*, the merit of Eustace was known, and duly appreciated, by many of the first Roman Catholic families in England, and by some eminent men in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, whom he had met occasionally in society during his residence with his pupils at those places ; but his character was modest and retiring, and his path in life was comparatively obscure, till his work made him generally and advantageously known to the reading world ; his talents, infor-

mation, and principles, were exhibited in his book in so favourable a light, that his society was immediately sought by eminent men of all classes and persuasions; and intimate personal acquaintance always confirmed the first favourable impression. The reader of his book soon perceived that the ruling passions of Eustace were literature and religion, and that he was an enthusiast in both.

The title of Eustace's book is now pretty generally allowed to be a misnomer; it is, in fact, any thing rather than a *Tour*; and if all that he has borrowed from Maffei, Piranesi, Nardini, Lanzi, Fréret, Montfaucon, and others, were subtracted, little would be left to which the author could justly lay claim. He appears, moreover, to have been a very careless observer, as the error he has committed, in regard to the covering of the cupola of St. Peter's, rather awkwardly demonstrates (see *Hobhouse's Notes to the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold*); for if any thing in the world may be supposed more pre-eminently interesting than another to a traveller,—and that traveller a Catholic Priest,—it is the glorious Temple, which he so elaborately, and, in some respects, so incorrectly described. But though he might have given us all the information contained in the "*Classical Tour*," even if he had never set foot in Italy, still it must be admitted to be a very skilful and useful compilation, in which a great deal of learning is digested in a very agreeable form, and which the classical scholar may often consult with advantage.

In June 1814, during the short peace, Eustace was invited by the Lords Carrington and Essex to accompany them on an excursion to France, and he published, on his return, a letter, addressed from Paris to his friend and former pupil, George Peetre, in which he gave a rapid, but clear and excellent sketch, of the changes made by war and revolution in that unhappy country. This little work was so popular, that eight editions of it were sold. A beautiful short passage may be quoted, as exhibiting to advantage the feelings, the talents, and style of the author; it is a description of the noble Abbey of St. Denis, near Paris, the ancient burying-place of the Kings of France:—

"I beheld St. Denis in 1790,—it was

served by a numerous fraternity of learned and holy monks: fumes of incense ascended daily from the altars, and morning, noon, and night, the tones of the organ and the notes of the choir echoed from its vaults. In 1802 I revisited it. The ruins of the Abbey strewn the ground; the church stood stripped and profaned; the wind roared through the unglazed windows, and murmured round the vaults; the rain dropped from the roof and deluged the pavement; the royal dead had been torn from the repositories of departed greatness; the bones of heroes had been made the play-things of children, and the dust of monarchs had been scattered to the wind. The clock alone remained in the tower, tolling every quarter, as if to measure the time permitted to the abomination of desolation, and to record each repeated act of sacrilege and impiety."

After his return from France, Eustace lived for some time at the village of Great Chesterford, in Essex, the principal recommendation of which was its proximity to the residence of some enlightened and hospitable friends, at whose table he was always a welcome guest: he had become more dependent on society, in consequence of the gradual decay of his sight. He went to Italy in 1815, and was collecting materials for a new volume of his tour, when the pestilential exhalations of summer, against which he had cautioned others in his travels, became fatal to himself. He died at Naples, universally, deeply, and most justly lamented.

Eustace was rather above the middle size, and stooped habitually, as is common with short-sighted and studious men; his pale cheek and thin form indicated, that with him bodily wants and personal luxuries were secondary considerations. His manners had that quiet self-possession which is suited to all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, and leaves a man at full liberty for enjoyment and observation in society. Of his powers in conversation I am warranted in speaking strongly, for, in my journey through life, I have never met with or known so delightful and inexhaustible a companion. I have sat with him after breakfast, that most pleasant and cheerful of meals, and listened to him for hours over empty teacups, till noon has surprised me, and time has passed uncounted and unnoticed. The only man whom I ever thought nearly equal to him in colloquial talent was the late Dr Edward Daniel Clarke, of Cambridge, of whom I speak diffidently, having only passed with him a single afternoon, which I shall never forget.

The expression of Eustace's countenance was intellectual and benevolent; there was none of that restless mobility of eye and feature which usually indicates genius: his was a face in which a stranger would remark only the complacency and repose of a mind at ease; but it was lighted up with peculiar animation when subjects were discussed which interested him nearly. To his whole character the term *attractive* may be justly applied; for his pupils, and all who knew him intimately, became warmly and unalterably attached to him.

"The creed of Eustace," says our author, "was liberal and tolerant; the sentiments on the subject of religion which regulated his whole life being expressed in the following eloquent passage in the Preface to his *Classical Tour in Italy*:"

The author must acknowledge, that the affecting lessons, the holy examples, and the majestic rites of the Catholic Church, made an early impression on his mind; and neither time nor experience, neither reading, nor conversation, nor much travelling, have weakened that impression, or diminished his veneration. Yet, with this affectionate attachment to the ancient faith, he presumes not to arraign those who support other systems. Persuaded that their claims to mercy, as well as his own, depend upon sincerity and charity, he leaves them and himself to the disposal of the common Father of all, who, we may humbly hope, will treat our errors and our defects with more indulgence than mortals usually shew to each other. In truth, reconciliation and union are the objects of his warmest wishes, of his most fervent prayers: they occupy his thoughts, they employ his pen; and if a stone shall happen to mark the spot where his remains are to repose, that stone shall speak of peace and reconciliation.

The following observations, which conclude the Life of Eustace, will sufficiently exemplify the characteristics of Mr Clayton's book, as well as the chastened and pure spirit that pervades it; and will fully justify us in recommending it to parents of every persuasion, as not only fit to be put into the hands of youth, but as eminently calculated to stir up in their minds a love of learning, and to familiarize them with the great precepts of virtue and religion.

The example of Eustace is calculated

to teach students the very useful lessons of humility, patience, and industry. He thought so humbly of the journal which formed the basis of his *Classical Tour*, that Dr Clarke had great difficulty in prevailing upon him to publish it; and this feeling, whilst it doubled the value of public applause, guarded him effectually from the chance of disappointment; his perseverance in correcting his work, and his ardent zeal in collecting from every quarter materials for illustration, were admirable. There is no general rule more usefully applicable to all the pursuits of life than that which points out labour as the only sure road to excellence. A few names of eminent men may be quoted, who appear to acquire knowledge by a process something like intuition, who become wise and learned without sacrificing any of the pleasures or enjoyments of social life; but these instances are too rare to be safely relied upon as examples; and, besides, it will frequently be found, on strict investigation, that the talent of learning without apparent labour is merely the power of concentrating the energy of the mind, and thus, what was wanting in time for study is made up by intensity of application. The habit of constraining the attention, and fixing it with accumulated force, upon any required point, has been recommended with triumphant force of argument by every eminent writer and teacher on the subject of mind and its powers, from Locke to the venerable Professor of Logic, Jardine of Glasgow: but fame cannot be the portion of all who study; and, therefore, it is satisfactory to those who have leisure and inclination to cultivate their intellect, to know, that they will not lose their reward, even though the fruits of their study should be wholly confined to themselves, or a very narrow social circle. If any temporal employment can be truly said to bring with it its own sure recompence, that employment is diligent study, with a view to improve the intellectual powers. It is an occupation suited to all stations, circumstances, and ages; it tends to refine and embellish social conversation; and when good society cannot be procured, it saves a man from the dreadful misery of seeking an external stimulus in debauchery, gambling, frivolous company, or from the fearful alternative of counting the weary moments in the listlessness of stagnant thought. These advantages will be duly estimated by every observer of life and manners; but though the power of self-amusement and self-occupation which they confer, must be admitted to recommend the pursuits of literature very strongly, giving to the mind a de-

lightful feeling of complacency and independence, and thus contributing greatly to happiness; yet there is a still higher ground which the advocate for literature may securely take when he recommends it as a regular pursuit: *the improvement of the faculties is a moral duty.* Our obligations, as responsible beings, may be divided into three classes, the first relating to ourselves, the second to society, and the third to our Creator. The restraint of appetites and passions within due bounds forms but one branch of our duty to ourselves. We are placed on earth as candidates for immortality, with a very limited time allowed for preparation; our faculties are imperfect, but they are capable of cultivation, and it still remains to be proved how far that cultivation can be carried. It is by reason that we are distinguished from the brute creation; and it seems evident, that the farther and higher we carry this distinction by our own efforts, the more exactly we are fulfilling the designs of our Creator. It is to be presumed that there are not many rational beings who, viewing time and eternity in their due relation to each other, can pass a whole day of life without reflecting, in some part of it, on the nature of a future existence. Much of what we shall be hereafter is veiled in mystery; but we have authority for believing, that an increase of knowledge must form part of the happiness of a future state, and we are using some of the means of preparation for it, which are within our reach, when we avail ourselves, to the utmost possible extent, of those inlets of wisdom, the senses; of the collected knowledge of past ages, and of our reasoning powers.

With regard to society, the homage which it pays to genius and information may be called universal, for the savage of the forest looks up to the civilized and cultivated European as a superior being.

To acquire knowledge, and afterwards to apply it in furnishing advice and instruction to the ignorant, may thus be considered a social duty. There are few human beings who possess an influence of more fearful responsibility than that of a popular author, who, having passed the early part of his life in acquiring useful knowledge, has also gained the talent of arresting attention, when he invites his readers to be as wise as himself; pouring forth light on his subject, from the stores of his mind, as from an inexhaustible fountain. The matured fruits of his wisdom become fixed upon the printed page, are gradually made known in foreign countries by translation, and are carried by the rapid intercourse of commerce and civilization, to the utmost parts of the habitable world. Thus it is plain, that a ready pen, a logical understanding, a clear, unaffected, and expressive style, a store of wisdom collected from antiquity, nature, and art, and so arranged as to be easily accessible, are most powerful instruments of good, and that the diligent acquisition of such powers by study, by training the mind, and concentrating the attention, is an important social duty.

And when a man fulfils, to the best of his knowledge and belief, one of the great designs of creation, by exalting his mind and cultivating its power; when under the influence of charity, in the most extensive meaning of the term, he applies the wisdom which he has gained to the purpose of enlightening the ignorance and promoting the happiness of his fellow-creatures; when, by instruction, arguments, and examples, he teaches the rich how to use prosperity, the poor how to support want, and the afflicted how to procure consolation; it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that he is not neglecting the third and highest branch of his obligations—his duty to his Creator.

To Mirzala.

A Fragment.

HAVE I not lov'd thee with a love that few,
 E'en in their most romantic hours, have felt ?
 Have not my vows, to cherish thoughts which grew
 Within my bosom of thy form and mind,
 Till they became of me a part—nay, whole—
 Filling with joy ineffable the soul,
 And with unheard-of gentleness, been true ?
 Yea, whilst before thy image I have knelt,
 In silence, and in twilight, while my heart
 Seem'd bursting with its fondness—while my thought

Center'd in thee—till, like the ruby wine
 Which mingling with the wave, its roseate hue
 Transfuses,—thy dear spirit seem'd combin'd
 With mine, and into my existence wrought,
 With power to change, and equal it with thine.
 Well have I lov'd,—and love, which unto some
 Has more of earth than heaven, was both to me :
 For, as the visions of hereafter came
 Unto the hermit in his secret cell,

So have the dreams of angel extacy
 Been portion'd to my slumbers ; whilst the pain—

The more than mortal anguish—I have known
 Of earth, and its enthrallments, plainly tell,
 Love ! that thou art a despot in thy reign.

Bearing Death's dart—as sceptre—on thy throne,
 And binding e'en thine own with Slavery's firmest chain.

* * * * *

Few, few have felt as I have ! Call to mind
 That first enchanting hour I gaz'd on thee :
 Calm was the sky—unruffled by the wind ;

Calm too the surface of the distant sea :
 The leaves in thy sweet bower were motionless,
 And overhead the linnet's rustic song

Pour'd forth a vesper hymn to the high sun
 Then in his glory, shedding his last smile
 O'er the eternal hills. Thou wert alone,

Gazing on him, and drinking in the while
 Thoughts of celestial joy in realms above,
 Such as the spirits of the just may bless.

I found thee so intent, thou didst not know
 Who stole upon thy meditation, till I spoke ;—

Yet, why was it, that o'er thy cheek a glow,
 E'en more ethereal than the western sky
 Put on, came—went—then came and went again,
 Like noontide shadows on an emerald mead
 Chasing each other ? Was it not the time—
 The old luxurious time that told of love,
 And in thy heart woke up ambitiously
 A longing for experience of the bliss

Which sister spirits hold in worlds, where, freed
 From mortal suffering, they may think of this
 With mingled feelings of delight and pain—
 Pain for their friends below—delight for those above ?

NOTICE OF SCOTTISH PRISONS, WITH A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THOSE
OF EDINBURGH AND GLASGOW.

IN our Number for August last, we laid before our readers a great deal of important information on the subject of Prison Discipline, and the improvements which are effecting in that most important branch of police, both at home and abroad. Our limits prevented us at that time from entering upon a part of the subject most interesting to our feelings, viz. the state of prisons in Scotland; but we now resume the subject, with the view of entering as fully into it as the nature of this work, and the information with which we have been favoured, enable us to do.

It is not unusual to hear it objected against the labours of the reformers of Prison Discipline, that they are doing more harm than good,—that they will, by-and-by, make prisons so comfortable and inviting, that it will rather be an object with poor and wretched people to get into, than to break out of them. This objection is stated by various sorts of people. It is not to be wondered at, that it is frequently to be heard from the sturdy opposers of all improvement, who have a horror at innovation of every kind, whether it be proposed to alter the veteran usage of the State, of a rotten burgh, or of a prison. The opposition of these short-sighted politicians was to be looked for, and therefore it is not wonderful. But the opposition of another class of people, of better understandings, was scarcely to be apprehended. These are men who are, however, deficient in zeal, except, perhaps, in the hot strife of political party; and who, displeased at being outdone by the benevolent and pious zeal of the advocates for Prison Discipline, are glad to state cavils and objections against their deeds. We despair of convincing the bigots of either of these classes that their objections are ill-founded; but we do think that it will be no difficult matter to convince an impartial public that the objections alluded to proceed entirely from misrepresentation and misconception.

For what is the end and object of the modern improved system of Pri-

son Discipline? It is simply this, to make prisons what they ought to be,—but what they never yet have been;—places in which *punishment is combined with reformation*,—places in which the criminal shall suffer the punishment awarded by law to his offence, but in which, likewise, such means shall be used, as both to heighten the punishment, and, if possible, to secure society against the criminal's future aggressions, by amending and reforming him. It is indisputable, that these are the rational and legitimate ends of confinement in gaol, with the view of punishing. When a criminal transgresses the laws of society, he becomes amenable to the penalty affixed to his crime; and we say, let it visit him in its full severity. Yet let us not forget, that even a criminal has certain rights which society ought not to infringe, and which, in truth, never are infringed, without recoiling tenfold upon ourselves. For instance, we have no right to use him so as to injure his health, or make him unfit, when he is discharged, from earning his livelihood by his labour as formerly,—this dictates a regard to clean, and airy, and wholesome accommodation; nor have we a right to put any little stock of morality that may remain to him in jeopardy, by compelling him to associate with people more worthless than himself,—this dictates a regard to classification and separation; and besides these considerations, which might be much enlarged, it is obviously the interest of society to make criminals be as little chargeable as possible,—which prompts us to employ them, in order to defray the cost of their subsistence, and, still more, in order to create and foster industrious habits in themselves. Now these are the great objects which the advocates for Prison Discipline have in view; and it is evident that one and all of them are no less supported by the clearest principles of justice, than by the most obvious dictates of prudence and expediency.

In point of fact, a prison on the new system will not be so eligible a

place for a criminal, or an indolent, worthless character, as an old, unreformed one, with all its miseries. Such a person is unwilling to maintain himself by honest labour, because his habits are irregular and dissolute. Now it is very clear, that no punishment can be more severe to him than to be subjected to the rigid discipline, incessant labour, and complete separation from corrupt and dissolute habits, which he must experience in a well-governed prison. Whereas we may suppose it quite a recreation and pleasure to a depraved criminal, to enjoy the close and undisturbed society of kindred spirits, for a week or two, under the old system of our prisons, where their congenial discourse might proceed uninterrupted from

"Morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve."

What could be expected from this latter state of things, but that which has been but too largely experienced,—a fearful and alarming increase of crime?—while, from the former system, we are entitled, as far as human institutions are likely to fulfil their ends, to expect a result totally the reverse; and such really has been the case, although the experiment has only been partially tried.

It may seem almost superfluous now to offer any argument to enforce the expediency and necessity of the several branches of Prison Discipline, seeing the Legislature has approved of them all by its authoritative sanction*. The Gaol Act bears in its preamble, "*Whereas due classification, inspection, regular labour, and employment, and religious and moral instruction, are essential to the discipline of a prison, and to the reformation of offenders.*" This wise and admirable Statute entirely supercedes all discussion on the expediency of the several points thus recognised, and yet we hope it will not be considered unsuitable, if we shall now offer a few remarks on one or two of these points, as introductory to what we shall feel it necessary to say upon the actual state of the Prisons which we shall review.

1st, As to *classification*. This is a principle which cannot be carried too

far. Imprisonment, considered either as intended to punish or to reform, is most perfect and efficient when it is quite solitary. The more, therefore, that this is resorted to the better,—the greater is the chance of correcting the criminal. But as solitary imprisonment cannot be enforced in many gaols, owing partly to the fault of their construction, partly to the number of criminals, and partly to other causes—such as the difficulty of finding employment for them excepting when collected in bodies, we are compelled to put up with something short of solitary confinement. But there are certain great lines of separation that never ought to be lost sight of. Thus, women and men ought to be kept separated so completely as to prevent all communication of any sort; and this can only be done perfectly when they are confined in separate buildings, or in different wings of the same building. Juvenile offenders should be kept quite distinct from more advanced criminals,—indeed, in every gaol, boys should be kept by themselves. Offenders committed for trifling matters should never be mixed with those charged or confined for offences of a deeper dye; nor should the untried ever be mixed with the tried. These are a few of the great leading distinctions that should everywhere be enforced.

But we lament to say, that in Scottish prisons very little attention is paid to any one of these rules, excepting to the first; and even that, in many prisons, is not and cannot be properly enforced, from their defective construction.

2d, *Employment*. It is impossible that any prison can be well governed where no employment is provided for and exacted from its inmates. The Gaol Act declares in one of its provisions, "that every prison shall contain rooms and places fitted up for the exercise of labour and industry." And the wisdom and expediency of such a requisition is quite apparent. If criminals are desperate and hardened, there is no method so likely to subdue and reclaim them as hard and incessant labour; and if they are of a different class, penitent and

compunctious, or even if still wavering and undecided between good and bad, what other plan can be devised so likely to wean them from evil habits and associations, and to confirm them in those of industry and virtue? We consider employment as perfectly indispensable in every prison, both with reference to the criminals and to the public; for when judiciously conducted, not only may a large saving in expense be effected to the public, but a part of the earnings may also be given to the criminals themselves, in order to stimulate their exertions.

Every prisoner, therefore, *if practicable*, ought to be employed at something. As to those who are sentenced to imprisonment, there can be no scruple about setting them to work; they can be compelled to work for their own support, and also, if it be necessary, to repair the injury they have done to society, or any of its members. But there is more difficulty about employing debtors and untried criminals. Few *needy debtors*, however, would fail to avail themselves of any facilities that might be afforded to work, in order to support themselves and their families; and *untried criminals* would certainly work if they were to gain additional comfort by it, as is found to be the case in the working gaols in England. Besides, where the system is established, it would become a reproach to be idle, and all kinds of prisoners would stimulate each other.

Necessary and desirable as employment in gaols is, we are sorry to say, that it is yet quite unknown in almost any Scottish prison; it forms no part of their discipline, to which cause many of their evils are most clearly and undeniably owing.

3d, In the third place, we shall merely notice, as an indispensable part of a proper system of Prison Discipline—*Religious and Moral Instructions*. In the present state of society in our large towns, there are many of the children of the poor who, though they and their parents live in the midst of schools and churches, and of all the means of education at the cheapest rates, yet grow up from youth to manhood neglected, and in ignorance of all moral and religious duties. A large portion of prisoners

consists of this class of persons. Instruction is therefore most necessary to them; by withholding it from them when they are in our power, we may be said to assist in their farther degradation. Every gaol should have attached to it a schoolmaster and a chaplain,—men who should be selected with great care, and who should be liberally paid, that they may be induced to bestow their labour not by halves, but heartily and wholly. And it is proper to encourage benevolent and pious individuals to visit the prisoners, to converse with and instruct them; but always with the sanction and approbation of the Magistrates, who ought to regard such persons as the most efficient auxiliaries in their system of Prison Discipline.

We have thus touched upon these three great leading branches of Prison Discipline. They mutually assist and enforce each other. Criminals will work best when separated from those associates who might corrupt them, and tempt them to idleness; and they will also be farther induced to apply to industry, if they are instructed as to the necessity and pleasure of it, and made to taste of its advantages. Unless the prison, however, be constructed in such a manner as to afford room for *classification and employment*, we cannot expect to put these rules in force in a beneficial manner. Great attention is therefore to be given to the proper construction of the building; and in order to give due efficiency to every other engine brought into operation within a prison, there is one which is always found most efficient, both for governing and reforming the prisoners, and that is, *proper inspection*. The eye of the keeper witnessing all the actions of his inmates in their yards, and wards, and cells, has a wonderful efficacy in promoting order, and keeping alive industry. It is always found, that those prisons which are deficient in this respect are the most disorderly. We need not add, that prisons ought likewise to be airy, clean, and due attention should be paid to the health of the prisoners. Happily the labours of Howard, and other philanthropists, have tended

in a great measure to secure these requisites, and the chief thing that is now a-wanting is to secure a good system of internal regulation.

We have been favoured with the perusal of an excellent memoir presented by Mr Brebner, keeper of Glasgow Bridewell, to the Magistrates, preparatory to the enlarging that establishment, in which that intelligent and experienced person delivers his sentiments on the subject of Prison Discipline at large, though chiefly with reference to Houses of Correction. These sentiments are entitled to much weight, from the experience which Mr Brebner has had upon the subject of them, and therefore we quote them with much pleasure, as confirming the views which we have now stated.

Male and female prisoners should invariably be confined either in separate houses or distinct wings.

They should be kept in solitary confinement, each in a cell of proportioned dimensions, for working and sleeping, perfectly dry, well lighted, furnished with suitable bedding, and planned so far as practicable to prevent communication, and at same time to preserve ventilation. Their condition should be rendered as tolerable as their cases will admit, great regard being continually paid to cleanliness, which is the parent of health,—and to wholesome air, which is life itself. Their victuals should be coarse, but sufficient for the due support of health; and as the influence of diet upon the human temperament is infinitely powerful, no unnecessary indulgence, either in quantity or quality, should be allowed. In all cases of correctional improvement, seclusion forms part of the punishment; and, except in cases of urgent emergency, the visiting of friends should be altogether prohibited; and it is indispensably requisite that no diet should be permitted to come within the walls, or any thing allowed but the fare of the house, unless it arise from their own industry. They must be made to feel that they are cut off for the time from all intercourse with that society, the peace and security of which they have disturbed. Such restricted treatment is, in my opinion, the tenderest mercy, compared with that indulgence which fosters and tends to ruin, instead of saving its unfortunate victim. The prisoners should be constantly kept at work in their solitary cells during the day, allowing, however, a reasonable time for meals and exercise in the open air, to

those persons only, and one at a time, whose length of confinement require it for health.

Separation, both by day and night, is the principle of all improvement, and there is no degree of separation that will not bring with it additional perfection. It favours every species of reform. It prevents the contamination which the old in vice and profligacy might otherwise spread among the young and inexperienced. It is the most powerful corrector of the hardened heart, and it is the legitimate and only method of compelling them to bend under lawful authority. I do not mean by this mode of confinement that they should be shut up from the light of human countenance; on the contrary, no gloom of solitude could oppress them; they would be seen by the superintendent daily, and occasionally by the chaplain and teacher; besides, the servants would necessarily require to visit them not less than eight times a-day, with victuals, work, &c. This would completely prevent the delinquent from sinking into that sullen, insensible condition of incorrigible obstinacy, which, in some rare instances, is said to be the effect of long and close solitude.

The method of treatment which is now partly detailed, if it only get a fair trial, and if the sentence be of any tolerable duration, must in time become so painfully irksome, and so weary and distress the offender, that he will inevitably in the end be subdued; at same time if it should be considered insufficient, or inapplicable to the chastisement of disorderly wanderers, sturdy beggars, and other offenders whose period of confinement does not, on an average, exceed ten days, under such circumstances, and on purpose to get those pests to society put to hard labour, and, if possible, frightened off, recourse might be had to the treadmill, which, to vagrants or vagabonds, with short sentences, might be an excellent instrument of punishment.

Having ventured to offer these preliminary observations, we now proceed to review the state of Prison Discipline in Scotland: and we shall first lay before our readers the statement relating to it, given by the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, in the Sixth Report.

It is now (they say) half a century since Howard described all the prisons in Scotland as old buildings, dirty and offensive, without courts, and also generally without water. Since that period but little alteration has taken place in the

condition of these gaols; and it ought not to be concealed, *that there is no part of the United Kingdom in which Prison Discipline is so neglected as in Scotland.* In the interesting "Notes" of Mr. Gurney, made on a visit thither in the year 1818, he states, that these places, with few exceptions, have "no airing grounds, no change of rooms, and no religious service;" and that the filth was in many of them beyond description. The prisons belonging to the Royal Burghs, of which there are upwards of fifty, are nearly all old buildings. Many of them form a part of the ancient town-hall, or court-house; they have no yards, and are alike insecure, incommodious, and unfit for any long period of confinement. It is somewhat surprising, at the present time, when the magistracy in other parts of the kingdom are actively engaged in the amendment of their gaols, *that the discharge of these important duties should generally have escaped the attention of the authorities in Scotland.* It cannot be said that the defective condition of the gaols in that country is unknown; the work of Mr. Gurney renders ignorance on such a subject impossible.

It must not, however, be forgotten, that there are honourable exceptions to these remarks. Among others, the Bridewell at Edinburgh has undergone considerable improvement; and the enlightened spirit with which the Magistrates of Glasgow have undertaken the extensive enlargement of the County and City Bridewell, reflects upon them the highest credit, and cannot fail to be of essential service, in awakening the attention and stimulating the activity of their brother Magistrates*.

Although the description here given be extremely humiliating, we must confess that it states no more than what is literally true. Excepting in some of our large cities, the rapid extension of which absolutely demanded new gaols, our Scottish prisons are now little different from what they were when the benevolent footsteps of Howard entered them, fifty years ago. It must be evident, therefore, that Prison Discipline has been sadly neglected among us. Why it is so we cannot tell. It is surely quite as necessary in this part of the kingdom as farther south. Our Magistrates and Criminal Judges, startled at the increase of crime which we have witnessed of late

years, have often adverted with reprobatation to the state of our prisons. Yet whether it is that their zeal evaporated in the expression of a little lofty abhorrence of crime, and eloquent indignation at the badness of gaols, or that it was choked by the multitude of other cares and avocations, so it is, that in this most important business nothing, or next to nothing whatever, has been done, an honourable exception will be made of the Bridewell of Glasgow immediately; and although the subject has been so often and so ably discussed already, we feel it to be our duty again strongly to urge it upon the serious attention of our countrymen.

It must be observed, however, that we can scarcely marvel, if in many considerable districts of Scotland, Prison Discipline has been little attended to; for whether it be owing to the independent character of the people—their being thinly spread over extensive districts—or to the virtuous and laborious nature of their occupations, or to all these causes combined, it is a curious fact, that many of these prisons never, or very rarely, contain a prisoner. Thus Mr. Gurney, in his journey along the east coast, found many prisons, even those of county towns and large districts, void of inhabitants. He found none in the gaol of Dunbar,—in Cupar only one prisoner,—in Dundee none,—at Montrose only one deserter,—and no prisoner at all in the gaols of Arbroath, Brechin, Forfar, or Kinross. The places, indeed, fitted for their reception, he found bad enough; but, as he remarked, it was a happy circumstance they were so seldom occupied.

Where crime abounds so little, and the prisons are so seldom occupied, all that seems requisite in the way of Prison Discipline is, that the gaol should be kept clean and wholesome. Every facility should be afforded to any unfortunate being, whose crimes or misfortunes may introduce him to these abodes, to follow useful and profitable employment; and the Clergy ought to consider the gaols as parts of their parishes, (which they generally overlook,) and the prisoners

* Sixth Report of Society for Improvement of Prison Discipline, page 67.

as not the least necessitous of their flocks.

And as the buildings generally are exactly as described in the Report, "parts of the ancient town-hall or court-house," and therefore necessarily most incommodious, insecure, and unwholesome, being in the midst of the noise and bustle of the town, and without any airing yard,—care should be taken, whenever a new gaol becomes necessary, to remove it to a fitter and more convenient situation, where some ground may be had, and a free circulation of wholesome air can be obtained. Yet we are sorry to observe, that in a great variety of instances occurring within the last few years, this obvious rule has been overlooked—nay, we believe that in some instances where the old gaol might have been removed, the site has been pertinaciously retained. This was particularly the case in a Royal Burgh not twenty miles from the cross of Edinburgh, in which, so perverse were the Magistrates, so determined to refuse every thing like comfort or recreation to their unhappy prisoners, that when the county gentlemen agreed to come forward with a proportion of the expence, that the gaol might be placed without the borough, for the accommodation of the prisoners both of the county and city, the Magistrates declined this offer, and enlarged their gaol by adding another story to it—which, however, still left all its old and incurable imperfections upon it. And at Leith, how comes it that our own more enlightened Magistrates have been scarcely more wise than the rustic rulers we have alluded to? why have they erected a new gaol, a large and handsome fabric, in the very heart of all the abominations of Leith, and hanging over the most crowded street of that now thriving sea-port? Similar doings have, we are concerned to say, also occurred in other places, which are quite inexcusable on any ground whatever. Whenever it is resolved to erect a new gaol, it is the duty of Magistrates to use the greatest deliberation, and to avail themselves of all the light and improvement of the age, before they fix on the site, or the plan of the building. The Magistrates of Glasgow very lately did so

before they enlarged their Bridewell, and to their care and praiseworthy exertions the inhabitants of that great city are indebted for the best Bridewell in the kingdom.

Happy would it be for Scotland if prisons were so thinly inhabited throughout its whole extent, as in the situations to which we have now adverted. Then indeed she might claim for herself that eminence in morality and virtue which is sometimes ascribed to her. But, unfortunately, crime seems to keep pace with the progress of population and wealth; and in those districts where manufactures are much established, and in large towns, prisons are as much required, and as well filled, in proportion, as in the south. In Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Perth, Inverness, Dumfries, and in other towns, it is of the utmost importance that the discipline of the gaols be well attended to, and that the provisions of the Gaol Act be either extended to them by the Legislature, or enforced by the Magistrates.

It was our intention to have minutely examined the state of the gaols in these several places, but we fear to exhaust the patience of our readers, by a monotonous detail of circumstances which nearly resemble one another. We have therefore thought it better to limit our attention, at least for the present, to those gaols which are most deserving of it, and these are, the gaols of Edinburgh and Glasgow. They may be taken as rather a favourable specimen of the large gaols in Scotland; the defects which exist in them will be found to exist generally, in the other gaols of Scotland. We have been at much pains in procuring our information, and have satisfied ourselves of its accuracy, by examining the gaols described.

1. There are several gaols in Edinburgh for the confinement of criminals, for it is chiefly to criminal prisons that our observations relate, viz. the gaol on the Calton-Hill—Bridewell—the cells in the Police-Office, and the Lock-up-House. We shall offer a few remarks on each of them.

Bridewell and the Calton-Hill Gaol adjoin each other, on that romantic and beautiful road which enters Edinburgh from the east, ac-

cross the Calton-Hill. A few years ago Bridewell was situated on an unfrequented path over the hill, but by the opening of the new road, it may be said now to be only a few steps from the centre of the city. Externally, these two places of confinement have something picturesque in their appearance—Bridewell has the look of a foreign monastery, and the handsome and modern appearance of the gaol, and of the Governor's house situated on an eminence, towering over the rest, produce a fine effect, when viewed either at hand or at a distance, as they tend much to heighten the peculiarity of the surrounding scenery. But it is with the interior of these celebrated prisons that we have to do, and in comparison with their internal management, their outward appearance is really of little consequence.

As to the gaol, it is large and commodious. There are in it *seven* divisions, or wards, which have day-rooms and yards attached to them sufficiently large. These seven divisions would afford considerable scope for classification; but unfortunately, from the want of a debtor's prison, one of the wards is appropriated to debtors,—that is the eastern tower, the largest division in the prison. The western division, or tower, is employed as an Infirmary, when necessary, and when not so used, it also is employed for the debtors. The women occupy a *third* ward; so that there remain only *four* to accommodate the men prisoners, by which the classification is limited in a very undue degree.

It must be admitted that this gaol is airy, clean, and wholesome. The diet is good, sufficient, and comfortable. The bedding, perhaps, is not so well arranged as it should be. In each cell a wooden board, scooped out in the middle like a trough, is provided to sleep on; but as these boards are too narrow, the prisoners prefer spreading their bed-clothes on the cold stone-floors. It is clear that hammocks would be much better, both from being more comfortable, and likewise as affording more room in the cell, so that they might be employed to work in, as they do in Glasgow Bridewell.

But passing over these particulars, we shall notice what we consider to be radical and inexcusable defects in the internal management of this gaol. While we advert to these circumstances, we are far from wishing to lay the blame of them on the Governor—we believe him to be a person really desirous of promoting the improvement and reformation of his prisoners; but though, perhaps, he might somewhat, and in a slight degree, remedy the defects, they must be chargeable in a very great degree upon the public.

In the *first* place, classification is by no means practised to the extent that it should be. Old and young offenders are mixed together; so are the tried and the untried, and criminals of all descriptions, without any separation. They are assorted after a kind of way, into classes, but on no fixed principles. Bands of idle criminals used to spend the day together, strolling about the day-rooms and yards; and it was impossible that they could thus pass their time, in close and corrupting association, without making one another worse. Hence it happened, that outrages were continually occurring among them. Very lately, a daring outrage was attempted by a body of these criminals; they broke down one of the gates, and attempted to overpower the turnkeys, but they were reduced to submission, and now, for some time, they have been locked up in their cells. The gaol being crowded, they are locked up two in each cell, without having any thing to do. Can there be any thing more ruinous and destructive?

2d, The second great defect is the want of *employment*. In this gaol the men do nothing at all. It was not constructed at first with proper capabilities for working; but there is abundance of room within the bounds for erecting working-sheds, and for a tread-mill or two; if they should be thought advisable. It used to be a most distressing sight to see as many as a dozen or twenty idle fellows lounging about the yards from morning to night, pursuing their mischievous talk, without an attempt being made to divert their thoughts, and improve their habits, by any kind of useful employment. Now

that they are locked up for the present, their situation is quite as miserable and injurious. There are many employments which might easily be carried on, and from which the public might derive advantage. The day-rooms are sufficiently large to admit of looms; and in the cells, picking oakum or cotton, and many other employments, might be pursued.

The only employment that is carried on within the gaol is among the women. They used formerly to be the worst to manage of any of the prisoners; indeed the female prisoners are generally of the most abandoned and desperate class of offenders. A few ladies, of great worth and active benevolence, not deterred by the character of the objects of their zeal, have lately been in the habit of visiting the gaol, and of supplying the women with work; and the good results that have followed have been in the highest degree satisfactory. The women have readily engaged in needlework,—they receive their earnings themselves,—they have become much quieter, and are more easily governed. From this single instance of the good effects of employment, is it not clear, that if the men were likewise employed, the gaol would soon present a different appearance, and the criminals would then have a chance of being reformed instead of being corrupted?

But the great cause of the defective classification, and perhaps partly of no attempts having been made to introduce employment, is the *want of a debtors' prison*, in consequence of which, debtors occupy a large part of this gaol, which should be exclusively devoted to criminals. The debtors' prison was founded long ago, and the outer walls and gates of it built, but why it has advanced no farther who can tell? The want of it is most severely and ruinously felt. Debtors and criminals should be completely separated, either by being confined in separate prisons, or in portions of the same building so detached as to have no communication. It is a

cruel hardship on a debtor to put him in immediate contact with criminals: and as it happens here, it helps to injure the criminals themselves, by opposing proper classification. At present, female debtors are sometimes confined along with the female criminals, which is surely a most improper and dangerous practice. It must be admitted, that few female debtors are committed to prison, and when they are of respectable character, they are lodged in the Governor's house; but surely there is a great want of proper accommodation, seeing that is necessary. We remember, some years ago, to have visited a debtor in the gaol, and we were astonished to find that his companion, day and night, was a man sentenced to imprisonment for blasphemy. This debtor, and many others, were thus exposed to a fearful peril of having their morals and opinions corrupted.

We now pass on to Bridewell. The form and appearance of this House of Correction are too well known to require any description. There is here employment for the prisoners; they work in one cell, and sleep in another. The working-cells are 52 in number, and the sleeping-cells 144; but as the number of prisoners generally exceeds 200, they are crowded together in the working-cells to the amount of 3, 4, 5, and 6; and in the sleeping-cells they are compelled to put two together. The house is kept clean, and well ventilated; the food, bedding, &c. are very good. Yet it is a well-known fact, that so extremely defective is the state of discipline, that Bridewell is a perfect nursery of crime; criminals go there to learn the trade of thieving; and it is known among themselves by the slang term of "*Murray's Academy* *."

Visitors, when introduced to the inspection-tower, from which they view the criminals, arranged in different cells, one above another, with gratings in front, like wild beasts in a menagerie, are generally gratified with the picturesque and curious appearance presented to them; and if

* From the name of Mr Murray, the Governor.—We by no means design to throw the blame of the faulty state of Bridewell on its experienced Governor. He appears to be influenced by a lively desire of correcting criminals, and suppressing crime, yet the state of Bridewell is very pernicious.

they are conducted through the clean and white-washed passages, they are apt to leave the house prepossessed in favour of it. But if they will take the trouble to examine into the real state of discipline, and the effects produced by it, they will find that there is scarcely a worse place for a criminal to be confined in than this *apparently* well-managed House of Correction.

The great and radical fault of it is, that it is too small. When it was erected, it must have been quite ample; but now it is by no means suitable to the growing population and increase of crime in Edinburgh. Nothing can be more corrupting and injurious to the criminals, than to be locked up during the day five or six together. They have work given them, it is true; but they can maintain, and do maintain, the most corrupting intercourse and conversation all day long, not only with their associates in the same cell, but likewise with those in other cells. A very ingenious contrivance has lately been fallen upon, by erecting screens, to prevent the prisoners from seeing out of one working-cell into another; but it is totally impossible to prevent communication by speaking. In this way, even the men and women can maintain a communication. And after they are locked up for the night, they can communicate from one cell to another by means of a hole cut above the doors, for the purposes of ventilation. The business of mutual corruption proceeds in this sad place in a manner almost unchecked, and there is nothing in the system pursued of working, or otherwise, to counteract it. In short, Bridewell is a complete nuisance in its present state, and some reformation of it is most loudly called for.

Nothing effectual can be done without a large addition being built to the house on an entirely different plan, in which case the present house could be used as a place of confinement for women alone. No system of discipline can cure the defects of Bridewell: unless there be space to separate and classify the offenders, all other means are vain. We are not prepared to point out where the addition should be made, whether it can be made within the boundaries

of the present premises, or whether it should be quite detached, as we rather incline to think it ought to be; but that something should be done is but too apparent; and we must add, that unless the public authorities bestir themselves in the matter, they do not perform their duties to the public in a most important particular.

One thing, however, is clear, that the discipline in Bridewell, even as it is, might be altered so as to make it assume a much more formidable aspect to those hoards of young thieves, who mostly live and grow up to man's estate within its walls. We see no very great objection to flogging those boys occasionally. They are to be found in it of the age of eight, and upwards. Now, though flogging a man be objectionable, and is seldom or never productive of good effects, we do think that it might produce a very salutary effect on young boys, and tend to lessen the number of commitments. Of course, to reform them, we must use other means, addressed to their minds and feelings; but a little castigation would inspire that horror of imprisonment in Bridewell which is at present a-wanting, and owing to which a residence within it seems almost a recreation to many houseless children of vice and wretchedness; and as to another class of offenders, viz., vagrants and disorderly persons, we do think that the Tread-Mill would be a most desirable engine of punishment. There was one set a-going in Bridewell: it was placed, however, in a low part of the house, where there was no circulation of air. The power was first applied to a machine for cutting corks, and afterwards it was allowed to be spent in the air. The Tread-Mill has now been discontinued, but it can scarcely be said to have had a fair trial; it ought to have been placed in a shed in the garden. The power of it might be easily contrived to be applied to some useful purpose, (or, indeed, it matters not,) if the prisoners are only kept well to it. If this were done, we make no doubt that excellent effects would follow, and the number of commitments would be lessened. It has been found to be so in every House of Correction where Tread-Mills have been erected in England,

and we cannot conceive why the same results should not be felt here, if the same means were as judiciously and firmly put in practice.

The earnings from Bridewell are trifling. The work carried on is spinning, knitting stockings, and picking oakum. The annual expence is very considerable, and the gains £.350, so that it annually costs the public a great deal of money.

As to the other two places of confinement in Edinburgh, viz., the cells in the Police-Office and the Lock-up-House, we have little to say. The former are employed for police cases, and do admit of separation, by the criminals being locked up in separate cells. They are found very useful in carrying on the police department; though more attention should be paid to keep the cells perfectly clean than is done.

In the Lock-up-House, there is the same want of proper classification, and the same total want of employment, which we have already censured in the gaol; and there is scarcely any inspection at all: the place is clean, and well kept.

The number of prisoners confined here has been diminished since the cells at the Police-office have been employed; but there is still a sufficient number of unhappy criminals to make it very desirable that they should be made to work at something or other, while their imprisonments, which are generally short, last.

II. Having thus adverted to the prisons of the metropolis, we shall now examine the state of those in Glasgow: they are two in number, viz. the Gaol and Bridewell.

The Gaol of Glasgow is a modern building, yet extremely defective, having no proper capabilities for classification, employment, or inspection. The prison is built round a court, which is divided into two yards, by the keepers' house situated in the middle, and which looks into both courts. There are four stories in each court, so that there are eight wards for the confinement of the prisoners. In each story, or ward, there is a pretty large day-room, a range of seven sleeping-cells, with a gallery into which they open. The cells are very insufficiently ventilated, having no more light and air than is

admitted by a hole cut over the door, which is always a bad contrivance, because, besides admitting a very inadequate supply of air, it gives a facility to the prisoners to converse, after being locked up for the night. Hammocks have lately been introduced into the cells for the prisoners to sleep in; and as the doors are kept open during the day, the lodging does not appear to be bad,—particularly when the prisoners are so few in number, that they can each be accommodated with separate cells. In other respects, the health and comfort of the prisoners is much consulted in the arrangements of the gaol, so far as regards diet, cleanliness, &c., by the Governor, Mr Watson, a very intelligent, humane, and experienced man.

A kind of classification is attempted, according to character, age, &c., not according to their crimes; but we are inclined to think this is not carried so far as it ought to be. We observed boys locked up with men, which is at all times a most undesirable arrangement.

But here, as in Edinburgh, the great defect of the discipline of the prison is the want of employment. In going through the prison, as a visitor passes from one ward to another, it is extremely distressing to witness groupes of unhappy criminals locked up together in perfect idleness. They are not permitted to walk in the courts, because they are overlooked on all sides by the windows of the prison, so they pass their time in the galleries in front of their cells. They prefer passing their time in these galleries, to the day-rooms, which, though clean and commodious, were quite empty. We saw one or two of the prisoners, here and there, reading, and one or two more either writing, or teaching one another to write; but the great majority of them seemed to be engaged about nothing whatever, except walking about those galleries in idle conversation. There are several excellent individuals who visit the gaol, and converse with the prisoners, and give them books, yet we think it is much to be regretted that no attempt is made to get them employed. In Glasgow, it cannot be difficult to find employment; and the day-rooms and court-yards afford

sufficient space for all the necessary accommodation.

The state of this prison must be considerably improved from what it was when Mr Gurney visited it. He observes, "I never witnessed a more melancholy spectacle. Idleness, clamour, and dissipation, prevailed on every side of us; and when we first entered the prison, the mixed din of fiddling, laughing, and riotous vociferation, was truly appalling." The gaol was at that time very crowded, there being 200 prisoners in it, which would, no doubt, partly occasion the riot and disorder noticed by Mr Gurney. We were led to expect, from his description, something of the same kind, but were agreeably disappointed. The prisoners seemed quiet, orderly, and well-behaved, which made us the more bitterly regret that their minds were not engaged and improved by useful labour.

It is a gratifying circumstance that, in Glasgow, crime appears to be on the decrease. We mean, of course, that species of crime which can be measured by the records of Criminal Courts; for we fear we should be complimenting our countrymen at the expence of truth, were we to say that the morality of the people at large has improved within these few years; but positive crime seems certainly to have decreased. The number of prisoners in Glasgow Gaol, when we visited it, was only fifty, and the keeper was enabled to accommodate each with a separate cell:—whereas, a few years ago, the average number of prisoners was 200. The number of committals in 1822 was 1260; in 1823 it fell down to 972; and in 1824, up to June, it was only 413; shewing a progressive decrease. The circuit of the Justiciary Court had just terminated, and the Governor remarked it as a circumstance to which they had not been used for some years, that not one prisoner had been sentenced to death.

Hitherto, our notices have been chiefly in an accusing tone, we now perform a much more agreeable part of our task, by bringing under the notice of the public, the excellent and admirably-conducted Bridewell of Glasgow, which has been lately enlarged, at the expence of the city and county.

The Bridewell of Glasgow was formerly even worse than the Bridewell of Edinburgh. It was more crowded, and afforded even less scope for separation and classification. The rapid increase of crime, however, imperiously demanded an enlarged and improved House of Correction; and the Commissioners appointed for the purpose have, under the suggestions of the intelligent Governor, Mr Brebner, erected a very large and excellently-contrived addition. The old building has been retained, and converted into a place of confinement for women exclusively, who are there kept entirely separated from all communication, either by seeing or hearing, with the men, and under turnkeys of their own sex. Since this entire separation between the male and female prisoners has taken place, the latter are much more easily governed; and they are found to have a much greater aversion to do any thing wrong before officers of their own sex, than before male turnkeys.

The new buildings are erected in front of the old, from which they are separated by a yard; and they consist of three divisions, built on the radiating plan. There is a rotunda in the centre, and the east and west wings situated on each side of it, which are so constructed that there is a complete inspection into every passage from the windows of the rotunda. It is occupied by the office of the Governor, his house, store-rooms, &c. The wings are each four stories in height. The under story is fitted up for work-rooms, with looms; and in the three upper stories are the sleeping-cells. Inspection is obtained even into the working and sleeping cells by means of slits in the wall, which afford the keepers, at all times, an opportunity of seeing what is passing within, unperceived by the prisoners.

The great principles kept in view, both in the construction and management of this house, are as complete separation of the prisoners from one another as possible, and constant employment. The cells are so contrived that there can be no communication from one to another. The ventilation is provided for by means of a vent in the wall, opposite the window; and there is only a single row of cells in each passage. The pri-

soners are, if their numbers admit of it, *all kept in separate cells*. The weavers work in the under flat, and the others in their own cells, which, from being provided with hammocks, afford ample accommodation for it. The work done in the house consists of weaving, winding, twisting, twining, and warping yarns; making shoes and stockings, tambouring, sewing, veining, spinning, picking cotton, &c. &c. A separate account is kept for each prisoner: from the amount of earnings, the expenses of food, clothes, washing, &c. are deducted; small sums are sometimes advanced to the prisoners, while in confinement, to encourage industry; and the surplus is paid to them when they leave the house, at the expiry of their imprisonment.

There is a teacher attached to the Bridewell, who devotes his whole time to it. He is a serious and zealous man; he instructs the young and ignorant in reading; he communicates religious instruction to all from cell to cell; and on the Sundays he collects the females into different classes, for public worship; but it is not thought expedient to collect the males together, that they may have no opportunity of communication; they are therefore instructed and exhorted separately in their own cells.

We have before us the statement of the accounts of this House of Correction for the last year, ending 1st October 1825. It presents a highly satisfactory view of the results of the system of employment which we have endeavoured to describe. During the period embraced by the account, there had been 1540 persons committed to Bridewell; and the average number daily in the house was 200 and a fraction. The total expence of the establishment was £2704: 19: 10d. The receipts for work done by the prisoners amounted to the large sum of £3111: 19: 10d. There was paid to the prisoners for surplus earnings £334: 5: 11d., a sum as large as the whole produce of the Edinburgh Bridewell. And the cost to the public of this extensive establishment was only £593; so that the cost of each prisoner to the public, under this admirable system of management, was no more than £2: 8: 9d. These facts are

worth a volume of arguments in favour of the system here pursued.

But if any were needed to convince the most sceptical person, we would ask him to visit this well-conducted establishment. Instead of witnessing distressing idleness, and having his feelings shocked by the dissoluteness and disorder observable in crowded and idle prisons, he will see the most perfect order, and be regaled by the agreeable sounds of the shuttle, and other instruments of industry. He will see men and boys who entered the prison ignorant of any trade, there instructed in weaving, or other trades, and able, when they leave it, to practise them for their support. Some of the men, if their period of confinement be long, receive as much as £8 or £10, when they are discharged.

We witnessed a circumstance which proves in a striking manner the beneficial effects of solitary confinement. Three boys had been sent in for a petty theft. It was their first offence, and they were all locked up in separate cells. The solitude, and the silence, and solemnity, of the dark hours of night, had wrought upon their feelings to a great degree, so that when they were visited next day, they loudly, and with tears, petitioned for deliverance. When we entered with the Governor, one after the other, they made the same request, and, with much sincerity, seemed to repent of their trespass, and promised never to steal any more. Now, while these feelings were in lively exercise, how desirable was it that they should be kept quite apart from hardened offenders?—when thus alone, it is probable that they might be led to conceive such a horror at crime, and its punishment, as to leave permanent effects upon their conduct; while, had they been mixed with bad society, their young and tender feelings might have been drowned and laughed away, till they became as hardened as their associates.

The erection of this much-improved Bridewell does the Magistrates of the city and county much credit. We regard it as of the utmost consequence, and likely to produce the best effects upon the state of Prison Discipline generally, in Scotland. It

will serve both as a point of comparison to shew the defects of similar institutions, and also as a model and pattern for amending them. And we cannot close our observations upon it without bearing testimony to the great zeal, and judgment, and humanity, displayed by Mr Brebner, the Governor.

We have already alluded to the decrease of crime in this district. It is a well-established fact, that in the city of Glasgow there has been a considerable decrease of crime, and juvenile delinquency, within the last two years. The system of discipline pursued in the establishment which we have now described must be stated as one of the chief causes of it. There are also other causes. The police has been improved, and rendered much more efficient. Many old and daring offenders have been either executed or transported; severe punishments have been awarded against reseters and juvenile delinquents; greater attention has been paid to Prison Discipline; parents have become more alive to the danger of leaving their children to themselves; and, lastly, the improvement in trade has created more constant, and better-remunerated labour, for all classes.

Though it thus appears that crime has decreased in the West, we are afraid the same cannot be asserted of this quarter of the country. On the contrary, we believe all the prisons of Edinburgh are, if not more crowded, at least as much so as ever; and until something be done to improve both the gaol and Bridewell, nothing else can be expected.

When Howard first visited Edinburgh, he was so struck with the defective state of the old "Heart of Mid-Lothian," that he strongly urged the Lord Provost (then Mr Stuart), to exert himself in getting a new one erected. Mr Stuart did so, but his designs were frustrated. When Mr Howard returned, and learned this, he remonstrated freely with Mr Stuart's successor, on the condition of the prisons under his jurisdiction. He complained, amongst other things, "that in the House of Correction there were forty-seven women in three close rooms, some of

them lying sick; that no Magistrate ever looked in upon them, and that no clergyman ever visited them, or used any endeavours to reclaim them." The Lord Provost replied, as many other cavillers would do in the present day, "that they were so hardened, it would have no effect." But the more enlightened philanthropist thought very differently, and told his Lordship, that on conversing seriously and kindly with them, they evinced much contrition; and he added, with that faithful devotion to the unpatronised cause to which he sacrificed his life, "that the splendid improvements carrying on in their places of entertainment, streets, squares, bridges, and the like, seemed to engross all the attention of gentlemen in office, to the total neglect of this essential branch of police*." This reproof, so remarkable for its severity and its truth, was, however, thrown away upon the functionary to whom it was addressed, and upon all that generation, for nearly thirty years were suffered to elapse before the old gaol was removed.

Though much has been done in Edinburgh to improve the condition of prisoners since the time of Howard, yet a great deal still remains to do; and we cannot help thinking, that at the present time his reproof would not be inapplicable. For, who can observe the zeal and keenness manifested by the Magistracy in accomplishing certain objects of city policy, such as the building of a new High-School, though there is an excellent one already in use, with which, for aught we can hear to the contrary, the citizens at large are perfectly satisfied—or the sweeping alterations, and operations in the old town, concerning the advantage and utility of which, to say the least, there is great difference of opinion,—we say, who can observe the strenuous exertions made to accomplish these objects; while the state of our prisons is almost totally neglected, without thinking that the attention of public men is attracted and engrossed by more showy matters, to the neglect of this essential branch of police? But we hope the subject will not continue to be overlooked. The Criminal Judges and Magistrates profess to feel much

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 75, 6.

interest in the matter, and to desire earnestly that some improvements might take place; and we believe that they are sincere in their professions. We are aware of the numerous demands which are made upon the attention of men in office; but no subject can possibly have a stronger claim than this, backed as it is by every consideration of justice, expedience, and humanity. Perhaps it is not to be expected that improvements should originate with the Magistrates. We believe, however, they will readily lend their co-operation and patronage; and in order that something may be done, we would strongly recommend the formation of a Society for the Reformation of Prison Discipline in Scotland. It can be formed either as a branch of the London Society, or as an independent one. Let the members be composed of those who feel an interest in this subject, and who have devoted their attention to it. Let them be associated with the approbation, and act under the sanction of the Magistrates, and we feel little doubt that the exertions of several benevolent and intelligent individuals thus directed would produce excellent effects. It should be their business to see that the classification of prisoners was duly attended to, and also to provide for their employment; while, at the same time, they would carefully superintend their religious and moral instruction, and, if possible, continue their attentions to discharged prisoners, by providing situations for them, and seeing them restored to usefulness. All these objects could be attained by means of a little exertion, and we feel satisfied that many of our townsmen would be ready to make it.

We should here close these imperfect observations; but there is a topic yet untouched, on which we feel much disposed to offer a few remarks; we mean the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents.

If a complete separation was made between young and old offenders,—as there always ought to be,—and if prisons were conducted on a proper system of discipline, many criminals would be stopped and turned back at the commencement of their

career. The incredible extent of juvenile delinquency, both here and in Glasgow, renders it highly necessary that more attention should be given to this subject than has been done.

It is stated, in the Report of the Prison Discipline Society*,

The Committee have long been of opinion, that one of the most effectual steps that could be taken for the reformation of criminal youth would be the establishment of a large penitentiary, to which, upon conviction for repeated offences, boys might be sentenced for long periods, and in which punishment could be inflicted upon the refractory, and habits of restraint imposed. Lads of this description are not the most suitable inmates of a charitable institution, in which neither detention nor coercion can be legally enforced. They are precisely the objects of a prison, conducted upon a plan adapted to their age, character, and habits. Such a gaol is eminently called for, as well by the public interest, as by the welfare of many objects of compassion; and the Committee trust, that, ere long, it will obtain the favourable consideration of His Majesty's Government.

While some such penitentiary as is here suggested would meet and remedy much evil that is produced, at present, from the want of it, there would still remain many cases which it could not meet. Such are those who have been repeatedly committed to prison for trifling offences, and for short periods: when discharged, these offenders are turned loose upon society. Many of them have either no parents, or are deserted by them—they are without homes—without character, or the means of earning their subsistence. In such circumstances, what can they do? They are almost compelled to continue their vicious courses, because there is no door open to receive them, nor any hand stretched out to save them. Houses of Refuge would, therefore, be of incalculable benefit. And so they are found to be wherever they exist. In London, many young criminals of both sexes have been received into the temporary Refuge which has been established for several years, and after passing some time subject to the rules and instructions of that excellent charity, they have left it and settled in life to virtuous and indus-

trious habits. In several counties of England, they have either commenced, or are just about commencing similar institutions.

The following are the very judicious rules by which the committee are guided in the selection of proper objects to be received into the temporary Refuge, which we quote, because they ought to be kept in view in all similar institutions :

1st, The object must be criminal. He who is simply destitute, is a proper object of parochial relief.

2d, He must be friendless ; and, owing to want of character, not possess the means of procuring a situation, or of acquiring an honest livelihood.

3dly, He must be desirous of reforming ; and, therefore, willing to conform to discipline, and endure restraint.

We had hoped that long ere this time a House of Refuge on a large scale would have been established in Edinburgh. The Commissioners of Police, a class of gentlemen to whose exertions the public have been often and much indebted, took the matter in hand, and made some preparatory enquiries, which certainly excited a hope that some efficient step would have followed. But the public have as yet been disappointed, and on these gentlemen lies the heavy responsibility of stopping short in a business of great moment to society. We believe the matter was entrusted to a committee : it has been often remarked in public matters, that to refer a subject to a committee is sometimes found to prove just a method of consigning it to oblivion. But we hope better things of the Commissioners of Police ; some of them may be lukewarm, but there are others whose zeal is unquestionable.

Though a House of Refuge, on a scale commensurate to the need of it, has not yet been established, there has existed one on a small scale in Edinburgh for upwards of two years. It owed its origin to the benevolence of a few individuals, who were much affected by the destitute condition of many of the boys discharged from Bridewell and the gaol. They were fortunate in meeting with a person remarkably well qualified to take charge of a House of Refuge, which they proposed to establish. He was a shoemaker,—a steady, in-

dustrious, pious, and intelligent man, and it was resolved that the boys should be taught the trade of shoe-making. A small committee was formed, and they began their operations in May 1823, with six or eight boys, several of whom had been frequently in Bridewell. Many obstacles opposed their progress at first. Their accommodations were not found to be suitable, the house being established in a neighbourhood where the boys were exposed to the temptations of bad associates. Having, however, obtained more eligible premises at Dalry, where the boys could be kept more secluded, the establishment has been continued, and the most gratifying success has attended it.

We have procured a copy of the Report for last year, and from it we shall endeavour to give our readers an idea both of the plan of this establishment, and of the success attending it. It is stated,

The plan upon which the Edinburgh Institution has been conducted is extremely simple, being calculated merely to introduce the young delinquent to the healthful influence of a well-ordered family, where the comfortless and demoralizing scenes to which he has previously been accustomed are exchanged for a decent home, and where kind and conciliating measures to promote his welfare, address themselves to any remains of right feeling that may have survived the deadening influence of his former abandonment to a course of crime. The establishment is intended for the reception of eight boys ; it consists of a house, together with (what has been found a very material part of the plan) a large garden, in which the boys find employment in their leisure hours, and which, under their culture, supplies the family with vegetables. The trade to which the boys are trained is shoe-making. The superintendent is their master in this art ; and his wife, with one female servant, takes the whole domestic management of the house. A respectable teacher attends for two hours every evening, to instruct the boys in reading and writing. Religious instruction, of which an equal deficiency is discovered, forms a prominent feature in their daily intercourse with their worthy superintendent and teacher.

At present there are eight boys in the Institution, giving every promise, by their contented and orderly conduct, of a reformation of character. Since

May 1823, *twenty-nine boys* in all have been admitted into the Institution. Of these, nine were only a short time in it, having either absconded, or having been dismissed as incorrigible—but *twenty* have done as well as it was possible to hope for. They either remain in the house at present, or have gone to apprenticeships or situations—one has gone into the navy, and two into the army—and all of them evince, by their steadiness and good conduct, that the discipline and instructions of the House of Refuge have not been thrown away. To have been the means of reclaiming twenty young offenders, and of converting those who must otherwise have been pests of society into honest, industrious tradesmen, is no inconsiderable amount of good which the benevolent conductors of this Institution have accomplished within the short period to which their labours have yet extended.

It must not be forgotten, in alluding to this interesting charity, that it owes its existence, and much of its success, to the indefatigable exertions of a lady of high rank, residing in the neighbourhood. This excellent person visits it almost daily, and takes the most lively interest in the condition of every inmate. No coercion is, or can be used, in order to detain the boys, and it is not required: for so sensibly do they feel the great privileges of their situation,—so satisfied do they appear to be with the habits of a life of industry and virtue,—and so little inclination do they evince to return to the miserable courses which, it is to be hoped, they have forsaken for ever, that there has been no instance since January 1824, nearly two years, of any one deserting the house. This charity is supported by voluntary subscription, and by the sale of shoes. Their exertions are necessarily confined to a very small number, both by their funds and the nature of their plan.

It is a good beginning, however; and we hope it will lead to the formation of similar institutions. It is obvious that much good may be done in this way. If two other similar establishments were set a-going in this city, two dozen or thirty boys might be accommodated, and reclaim-

ed; and the experience gained in these small establishments would pave the way, gradually, for the formation of a house on a larger scale, if such a measure should be thought advisable; but there can be no doubt, that, where the numbers are small, the means employed for reforming and instructing are far more likely to be effectual than when they are more numerous.

We observe, from a Report issued by the Committee appointed to disburse the contributions made by the public, to relieve the sufferers from the great fires in Edinburgh, in Nov. 1824, that, after discharging every claim which seemed to fall within the intention of that charity, there remains over no less than £5000. Here then is a fund to be appropriated by the public; and the question is, in what way can it be most beneficially applied? Differences of opinion may be expected to occur, but we do think there can scarcely be any object pointed out for the application of this money—at least for a great part of it—either more truly charitable to the objects themselves, or more advantageous to the community, than the establishment of Houses of Refuge, one or more, where young offenders, if they have any disposition at all “to turn from the error of their ways,” may have the opportunity, the precious opportunity, presented of learning to do that “which is lawful and right:” an opportunity which, indeed, is never presented to many outcast members of society. We know of no charity which more loudly calls for relief than this. It is the call of ignorance, and wretchedness, and vice; and shall it be said, that the means are in our hands of relieving them, or at least doing what we can to relieve them, and yet that we do it not? Assuredly there is an obligation laid upon society to provide for the reformation of all classes of offenders, but more especially of the young, and a heavy moral responsibility attaches to the neglect of that sacred duty. The opportunity is now presented of fulfilling it, without occasioning the least burden to the public; and we sincerely hope that it will not be suffered to pass by unimproved.

ADDRESS OF THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COURT OF SESSION, AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WINTER SITTINGS OF THE COURT, NOV. 12, 1825, ON THE NEW FORMS OF JUDICIAL PROCEDURE IN SCOTLAND.

OUR readers, we believe, are all aware, that an Act passed the Legislature, during the last Session of Parliament, for the better regulating of the Forms of Process in the Courts of Law in Scotland. Power was given by the Act to the Judges of the Court of Session, and of the Jury-Court, to frame certain additional regulations, for conducting the minor details of business, with which it was thought unnecessary for Parliament to interfere. This new, and, it is to be hoped, improved machinery for the administration of justice, was to commence its operations on the 12th of November this year, and it became necessary for the Judges to prepare the code of regulations directed by the Act of Parliament, and to pass these into a law at the commencement of the Session. The Lord President, in moving his brother Judges to pass the new Acts of Sederunt, took occasion to address a monitory speech to the Bench, in the hearing of all the other members of the legal profession. The calm, business-like style of the Address, the importance of the topics which it handles, and the dignified manner in which it was delivered, produced altogether a very striking effect on the minds of those who heard it; and this effect is but slightly diminished, on a second perusal, in an authentic printed form.

That our readers may judge for themselves of the merits of this Address, we shall lay before them an almost verbatim report of it, and shall afterwards take the liberty of making a few observations on some parts of the speech itself, and on the subjects immediately connected with it.

“I am now to move your Lordships to pass the various Acts of Sederunt which we prepared in the vacation, in obedience to the late Act of Parliament, for more effectually carrying into execution, both in this Court, and in the inferior Courts, the new Form of Process enjoined by that Act.

“A question may here occur to some persons who hear me, why, in preparing these Acts of Sederunt, we did not call for the assistance of the different learned bodies which compose the College of Justice. The question is a natural one, but I think that the answer is satisfactory.

“We were all of opinion, that the fewer regulations we made, in addition to those of the Act of Parliament, and the more simple we could render the machinery of the new Form of Process, the better. We were also fully convinced, that even the united wisdom of the whole College of Justice could not possibly produce a perfect code all at once, which should provide for all the possible difficulties which may arise under this or any other new system. As all such regulations must necessarily be prospective and hypothetical, we thought, that, by multiplying such regulations, we were as likely to multiply errors and inconveniences as to prevent them. We therefore judged it to be more advisable to make no more regulations at present than were just necessary to set the machine in motion, trusting rather to time and experience to point out errors and inconveniences, of which experience would also, in most cases, at once suggest the true practical remedy. By multiplying regulations, we might have been found to be anticipating imaginary difficulties, which, in practice, might never have been felt; while, on the other hand, we might have created real difficulties, which would not otherwise have occurred. Aware, therefore, that many alterations and amendments would probably be required in the course of the first two or three years' practice under the new system, we thought it greatly preferable, that they should arise out of actual practice and experience, which would both point out the evil to be remedied, and the remedy to be applied.

“At the same time, that the machine might not stand still, and in-

dividual hardship arise from the occurrence of any unexpected difficulty in particular cases, provision is made for reporting any such difficulty to the whole Court, in order that the proper remedy may be instantly applied, and regulations made to prevent a recurrence of the evil.

"Such, my Lords, is the principle on which we acted in framing these Acts of Sederunt,—and under them, and the Act of Parliament as our text, we are now to enter on a new era in the administration of justice.

"Whether the new system will ultimately prove beneficial to the country, time only can show—and it is, therefore, of very little consequence what our private speculations may be on that subject. I have no scruple, however, in stating my opinion to be, that the new system will operate a very great improvement on the forms of our procedure.

"I have formed this opinion chiefly on two grounds. In the first place, I think, that a Form of Process cannot fail to possess solid merit, which it has been found so easy to adapt, in all its leading features, to every court of justice in the kingdom, from the highest to the lowest. Secondly, I am of this opinion, because, in truth, there is much less alteration and innovation on our old forms, than, at first sight, may be imagined.

"All the regulations as to giving in precise and pointed defences, and thereafter, if necessary, condescendences, and revised condescendences, and most of the other regulations as to preparing causes, are nothing but our present existing forms, more authoritatively fixed down upon us by Legislative enactment.

"The great improvement here is, (and a *great* one it certainly is,) the provision made to foreclose the parties as to their averments in point of fact, at an early stage of the cause, by closing and authenticating the record, and thus preventing the production of new averments to the very last stage of the cause, which, at present, often makes it quite a different one from what it was before the Lord Ordinary.

"The next improvement, and, in my opinion, the greatest of all, is that which provides that the cause shall be brought into the Inner-House for

review, precisely the same, both as to law and fact, as it stood before the Lord Ordinary in the Outer-House.

"Such of my brethren as were members of the Commission along with me will remember that, at our very first meeting, I stated, that if measures were taken to accomplish this object, I was very indifferent as to any farther regulations, because I was quite satisfied, if the Inner-House were made to judge the cause precisely on the same facts and arguments as the Lord Ordinary had done, that this regulation of itself would necessarily, and that in a very short time, lead to a more correct and precise system of pleading in the preparation of causes.

"The Commission so far fully agreed with me, but they recommended some farther regulations with a view to the same object, to which, of course, I could not have any objection.

"But, my Lords, it is obvious, that neither this, nor any other Form of Process which can be devised, however perfect in itself, can possibly succeed, without a cordial co-operation and determination, by all persons concerned in the administration of justice, to give it a full and fair trial. On the one hand, the Bar must not start, nor must we listen to captious and frivolous objections, calculated merely to throw discredit on the new system. All such must be discountenanced to the utmost. On the other hand, where a real and unforeseen difficulty occurs, we must meet it fairly, and under the powers vested in us by the Act, endeavour to provide the remedy most consonant with the spirit of it.

"With a view, also, to give the new system a fair trial, and to accomplish the great object of the Legislature—the introduction into our practice of a more strict and precise form of pleading in the preparation of causes for final judgment—we must adhere most rigidly to the regulations prescribed to us by the Act.

"This rigid adherence to form may, and probably will, especially at first, be productive of hardship in particular cases, where, from ignorance or inattention in practitioners, the necessary forms have not been complied with. But both in the Inner

and Outer-House, we must steel our minds against every argument and feeling of that nature; for nothing but an absolute conviction, that no departure from form will be overlooked, will ever induce either clients or practitioners to observe that strict attention and accuracy which the law now requires in the preparation of a cause.

"Where deviations take place in the Outer-House, the Lords Ordinary must instantly check them, and if any have escaped the Lord Ordinary, and are detected in the Inner-House, we must, without hesitation or remorse, remit the cause back to the Lord Ordinary, to retrace his steps.

"This, as I have already said, may occasion hardship to parties, and regret to your Lordships; but a stern adherence to this rule will, I am confident, soon bring (and nothing else will ever bring) our former Process into that correct and precise shape which the Legislature requires.

"As every interlocutor, both of the Lords Ordinary and of the Inner-House, is now to be final before them respectively, your Lordships, of course, will all see the necessity of the utmost caution and deliberation in forming your final opinions, and pronouncing your interlocutors.

"The interlocutors of the Lords Ordinary are, no doubt, subject to review in the Inner-House, and therefore an error in judgment may be corrected. But still it is the bounden duty of every Lord Ordinary to prevent the necessity of this review, in so far as care and deliberation can be supposed to render his opinion satisfactory to the losing party, or at least to give him little hope of obtaining an alteration of the judgment.

"In regard to the Inner-House, where, from this day forward, every judgment becomes final, the utmost degree of caution and deliberation becomes peculiarly necessary. Therefore, in cases of difficulty, even although we should be unanimous, but still more when there is a difference of opinion among us, I would humbly recommend, that we should not pronounce our interlocutor *instantur*, but should allow the cause to stand over for a few days, that we may have time and opportunity to reflect on our ~~own~~ opinions, and on

those of our brethren who have differed from us. If necessary, we can hear counsel again on the particular point of difference. But even where we may not think it necessary, or feel ourselves justified to put the parties to this expense, still, where there is a serious difficulty, and no longer an opportunity of reviewing our judgment, it must be satisfactory both to the parties and to ourselves, to have an opportunity of reconsidering our opinions before we pronounce a final judgment. Such a mode of proceeding will be attended with all the advantages of the old reclaiming petitions, without any of the disadvantages.

"One thing more, and one thing only, I have to say, in reference to our own duty, and that is, that much of the success of the new system will depend on the discretion with which the Lords Ordinary exercise the power given them by the Act, of ordering Cases before pronouncing their judgments.

"On the one hand, to do so in all, or in a great proportion of causes, would counteract the obvious intention of the Legislature, by continuing, in too great a degree, the system of written pleadings. On the other hand, not to order Cases in causes of great moment and great difficulty, would, I am persuaded, be neither satisfactory to the parties, nor conducive to the due administration of justice. On this subject, however, it is obvious that no precise rule can be laid down, and that all must depend on the sound discretion of the Lords Ordinary. One thing, however, is very plain, that, where a great variety of authorities, apparently contradictory, or not easily to be reconciled, have been quoted to the Lord Ordinary in the course of the oral pleadings before him, it is highly desirable that Cases should be ordered, which will give both to him and to the Inner-House (if the cause is brought there) a better opportunity of turning up the authorities in the books, and deliberately comparing them with each other. There will be less objection, too, in ordering Cases, where a vacation must necessarily intervene, before the losing party can bring the cause under the review of the Inner-House.

"I shall now trouble your Lordships only with a few words on the subject of the Jury Court, which, although not falling under my particular province, yet, as an important branch of this Court, I think it my duty to contribute all I can to render as useful and efficient as possible:

"According to any calculation I can make, not less than a fifth of the whole business of this Court, independently of other causes which we may remit to it, must now be conducted by that form of trial; and therefore it becomes the duty of every person connected with that Court to do every thing possible to facilitate and improve that mode of administering justice.

"In regard to the preparation of jury causes, the Act of Parliament prescribes the same form as in the Court of Session: and, therefore, on that subject I need not enlarge, but shall confine myself to the trial properly so called.

"Now, although Trial by Jury has, by long practice, become a most useful and efficient mode, in England, of trying civil causes, yet still it is impossible not to be sensible, that in some of its effects it is but an inconvenient form of trial; when it is considered that our Constitution provides a set of professional Judges, who are paid for administering justice to the people, it certainly is a great and anomalous inconvenience, that the most trifling causes, often originating in mere bad humour, and in which not an atom of property is in dispute, cannot be determined, without taking away from their own business twenty or thirty industrious people, who have no manner of concern or interest in the parties or their dispute.

"It is true, that, in the end, only twelve men are put on the jury, but the whole must attend at first, and if they have to come and return any distance, the whole day or more may be lost,—and, at all events, as none of them can be certain that they shall not be put on the jury, it is evident, that not one of the whole number summoned can make any positive arrangement or appointment for business that day, which, in many cases, may be extremely inconvenient.

"Saying, therefore, that this is an

unquestionable evil of no small magnitude which attends Trial by Jury in civil causes, (criminal causes stand on a different principle,) it becomes the more imperative on all parties concerned in it, to render the service of jurymen as light and easy as possible.

"Now, in England, I understand, that they find no difficulty in going through several cases in one day, while, with us, I believe, it has very rarely happened that more than one case has been finished in one day, and frequently one case has lasted two days.

"From what I have heard, this seems to arise principally from two causes.

"In the first place, that parties load the case with a great deal of unnecessary proof. This can be remedied only by the counsel and agents carefully studying the cause, and selecting, in the first place, those facts which it is really necessary to prove; and, secondly, selecting the proper witnesses by whom such facts are to be proved.

"I am well aware that in some cases, such as those depending on custom, or on long possession, a number of witnesses are absolutely necessary. But I would earnestly press on practitioners, that in the case of ordinary facts, which are the objects of sense, two or three credible witnesses are as good as fifty, and will, in most cases, overbalance any number of witnesses who may swear that they did not see or hear the circumstances sworn to by the others; for it may well happen, in very many situations, that one person may see or hear something, which other persons present did not see or hear.

"Therefore, preparatory to the actual trial, I would earnestly recommend to counsel and agents a very careful study of the cause, that they may come into Court with a well-digested plan of their evidence.

"Indeed, bringing forward a number of witnesses is often a real loss to a cause, because there is the greater chance of discrepancy, which, although in circumstances of little moment, gives a great handle to the opposite counsel, and often perplexes and staggers inexperienced jurymen, who do not know that discrepancy,

in minute and minor particulars, is almost inseparable from true and faithful testimony.

"A second cause of the length of our trials in civil causes is the length of the speeches of counsel, often out of all proportion to the difficulty of the case.

"This I have heard much complained of by many persons who have served on juries, and I know from them, that such interminable speeches are often listened to with great impatience, and no small distrust. An intelligent jurymen considers for himself, and he is pretty well qualified to judge of the evidence, without much comment from the counsel; while every jurymen is very apt to suspect that there must be something more in a cause than he sees, which requires such a length of argument to support it.

"Besides, such long and overstrained arguments have another and a more mischievous effect. They in a manner compel the Judge, in summing up the evidence, to take a much more decided view of the case than he otherwise would have done, in order to counteract the erroneous impression which he sees or fears that such speech may have made on the jury.

"I often felt this most painfully, when I presided in the Court of Justice, and I have reason to believe, that my brethren, both of the Justiciary and the Jury Court, often experience the same feelings.

"Now, this is doubly injurious. It not only throws the weight of the Judge's opinion more decidedly into one scale, but it gives to the party, and perhaps even to impartial spectators, a feeling of leaning and partiality in the Judge, which tends to create suspicion and discontent, where none are due, and where the apparent partiality is, in fact, occasioned and rendered necessary, by the improper style of pleading of the party himself.

"I would, therefore, earnestly entreat counsel to endeavour to remedy this evil, by confining their pleadings in the Jury Court as much as possible to what is really necessary to make the jury understand the bearing of the evidence which they are to hear.

"The verdict ought to be, as the oath of a jurymen bears, according to the evidence, and to nothing else; and, therefore, if counsel hope to obtain, by their eloquence, a verdict different from what the evidence itself would warrant, they are pronouncing a more bitter satire against trial by jury in civil causes, than ever was uttered by its bitterest enemy.

"And this naturally leads me to the only other observation with which I shall detain your Lordships, and that is, in reference to the pleadings before ourselves. If we are, to any extent, to do the business of this Court by oral pleadings, it is absolutely necessary that counsel should adopt a more condensed and logical style of pleading than has hitherto been generally practised. For if the pleadings, which we are now to have so much more frequently, are to bear any proportion, in point of length, to the hearings in presence to which we have been accustomed, we must either shut the doors of this Court altogether, or we must render our sittings permanent.

"I therefore trust, that counsel will see the necessity of accommodating themselves to the new order of things, otherwise they must not be surprised, or take it amiss, if they are more frequently interrupted, and reminded of the real merits of the case. It has been suggested to me, since I came into Court, that some agents conceive that the Act of Parliament requires that the summons shall now be much more prolix and verbose than formerly; and that some are now actually preparing of a most voluminous size, and more like memorials than summonses. Now this is not the intention of the Act of Parliament, nor is it the way to prevent—on the contrary, it is the certain way to render necessary and indispensable an order for a condensation; because in such a voluminous summons it will be impossible to discover the real facts on which the cause turns. The object ought to be, and I hope that agents will endeavour rather to make their summonses pointed and precise in point of fact, and correct and logical in point of conclusion, than prolix in point of argument, which is quite out of place in a summons."

We intended to have offered our remarks at considerable length, on various parts of this able Address, but we find ourselves so near the close of this Number of our Journal, that we must rest satisfied with making a very few cursory observations.

In the first place, we are ready fully to agree with the President, that in making the New Acts of Sederunt, the object which the Judges had in view, to make as few regulations as possible, in addition to those contained in the Act of Parliament, was proper. And we are pleased to find the liberality with which his Lordship spoke of receiving every sort of suggestion for the future improvement of the regulations. This is perhaps the best apology which could have been made for not consulting the various legal corporations, before passing the Acts in question. But another observation occurs here, of a more general character, in reference to all rules of procedure in Courts of Law, which is, that in as far as possible, these rules should be enacted by the Legislature itself, and that in no case where it can be avoided, should the character of a Legislator be merged in that of a Judge. From the multiplicity of Acts of Sederunt made by the Court of Session, and the frequency with which one Act succeeded another, according to the Judges' interim views of expediency, great discredit was thrown upon that portion of the law solely depending on these Acts; and the looseness with which they were put in force, often rendered it uncertain whether an Act which the President of the Court had scarcely risen from signing, was or was not in obedience. For these reasons, the friends to the introduction of an improved system of procedure in our Courts wished most anxiously that the whole of the new regulations should have the immediate sanction of the Legislature, instead of being left, in any, even of their minutest details, to the Judges. We confess we are of the number of those who entertained this wish, and to this moment we are unable to discover any reason which could prevent the Legislature from embodying in the

Statute the whole of those rules which the Judges of the Court of Session have chosen to adopt. If it required time, and careful and protracted investigation, to fix these rules, could not this investigation have been made by the Commissioners appointed last year, or by the Court of Session itself, and reported along with the other documents on which the Statute was founded? Should it be said that these rules might require speedily to be altered, and modified in conformity with emerging circumstances, we do not see that the Legislature, which is sitting during the greater period of the time that the Court of Session sits, might not have been applied to for an alteration of these rules, and that Parliament would have as speedily and effectually altered the rules as the Court of Session could. The whole of our forms of procedure would thus have borne an impress of authority, which it is quite impossible ever to look for in the enactments of Judges. Far be it from us to insinuate that the unworthy and degrading motive could actuate any of our existing Judges, of wishing to make their Bench a place for sinecurists: we are certain that a spirit diametrically the reverse actuates one and all of them; but the suspicion cannot be excluded from the mind, that when the power of making rules, which are in truth most important laws, is left by the Legislature in the hands of Judges, they may by possibility abuse this power for their own ease, and inflict incalculable mischief upon the land, before the Legislature saw grounds for interfering to alter or amend the abuses which had taken place, apparently with their own sanction. The enlightened individuals who now preside in our Supreme Court would spurn the base idea that they were actuated by any principle but a regard for the public good, in the framing of regulations for the procedure before them; but it ought to be borne in mind that this, and every other country, have seen times of oppression; that we have also had experience of corrupt times, which may by possibility recur; and that hence the practice of delegating the powers of the Legislation to any but the cou-

stitutional trustees of the laws—the two Houses of Parliament and the Sovereign—ought by all means to be discountenanced.

It is one of the most important rules of administrative justice, that as small a portion as possible of arbitrary power should be left in the hands of the Judge. Upon the immutable principles of the human constitution, this power will certainly be sooner or later abused. In the instance before us, we say not that the Judges have done amiss in framing the Acts of Sederunt, but we say, without the least hesitation, that the rule to which we have just now adverted has been violated by the Legislature, in putting into the hands of any Judges a power which should have been exercised, and which, by taking a very little trouble, would have been exercised to much better purpose by the Legislature itself. After all, however, a great deal of discretionary authority must, in an efficient code of administration, be left in the hands of Judges, as innumerable cases must occur where no precise law or analogical principle of equity exists to guide them; but then, does not this very admission render it still more imperative on the Legislature to provide for all known or *knowable* cases, by laws resting on the very highest sanction which the Constitution of the country recognises,—the sanction of the Imperial Parliament itself?

Various minor regulations of that Act of Sederunt which refers to the Court of Session seem to be objectionable; and we understand it is the purpose of the law incorporations, and particularly of the Faculty of Advocates, to make a representation to the Court, for the purposes of obtaining an alteration of these clauses,—a proceeding which we conceive might have been avoided, had the Acts been submitted, even during vacation, to the heads of these incorporations, and such of the members as could, in the limited time allowed, be called together. The pledge which has been given by the Court, that they would cheerfully listen to any hints given by the Faculty, or other learned bodies, for the improvement of the newly-formed Acts, will, we doubt not, be faithfully redeemed.

Nearly one half of the Address is occupied with observations on the Trial by Jury. We are satisfied that these observations were made in perfect sincerity by the Lord President; but at the same time that we give his Lordship the credit due to him on this point, we cannot agree with him in various opinions which he has thought proper to submit to the public on the Trial by Jury in civil causes.

Whether it arose from a secret hankering after arbitrary power, or an ill-concealed abhorrence of all innovation, although demonstrably accompanied with signal improvements, there cannot be a doubt of the fact, that the introduction of Jury Trial in civil causes into Scotland was looked upon with a very unfavourable eye by most of the high legal functionaries in this country. Much of this feeling has disappeared in the ten years' experience which the country has had of this form of trial; but still we think that we can trace, in the general tendency of the Address before us, some of the lurking remains of that dislike which manifested itself, in very glaring forms, in the conduct and expressed opinions of many individuals,—although we have every reason to believe that the Lord President was not one of those who forgot the dignity of his station, so far as to express either hatred or strong dislike of this new form of trial.

There is one part of these observations in reference to the attendance of jurors at these trials, which we consider to be particularly objectionable. His Lordship seems to regret the loss of time, and the inconvenience sustained by the jurors, when the matter they are summoned to decide upon may only be of small importance, in a pecuniary view, or perhaps altogether a dispute arising from bad humour. Now, if it be admitted, that the due and speedy administration of justice is of the last importance in every civilized, and especially in every commercial country, we think it must also be clear, that every member of the community is bound to give that assistance which may reasonably be demanded of him in rotation, in administering those laws to others which

it may happen that he will call upon others the very next day to administer to himself. On this principle is founded the abstract right which the community has to call for the services of all its members in affairs connected with the general good; and we know well, that, in fact, the most of the jurors who are called upon to do their duty to their country in that character, are proud of being so called, instead of reckoning it to be a hardship. We should be disposed to entertain a very contemptible opinion indeed of that man, whatever rank of life he might hold, who would grudge the sacrifice of one or two days in the three hundred and sixty-five of which the year is composed, to an object of such paramount importance as the due administration of justice. We know not who the jurors may have been who have complained to his Lordship of the hardship imposed upon them by such a paltry sacrifice; but we should be strongly disposed to ask any one who made such a complaint to us, how many were the days he could sum up, in the course of a year, which he had devoted to frivolous pursuits, alike unprofitable to himself or his country.

The indirect or adventitious benefits which flow from the institution of Jury Trial have been often and triumphantly insisted upon as sufficient alone to compensate, and far more than compensate, for all the little inconveniences which jurors may experience in giving attendance at Courts. The interest in public affairs, and in the state of the law

and its efficient application, which is generated and diffused in the community by such a form of trial,—the independence of character which it tends to cherish in those who see and feel that they have a stake in the country,—a respect for institutions accompanied with so much benefit to all classes, and a sincerely patriotic attachment to the constitution of government under which so many advantages are secured to them,—seem to us to be objects deserving to be cherished with the warmest affection by the Legislature of the country, and in no way do we think is this more effectually done than by the institution of Trial by Jury, in all cases which properly admit of it.

But we must close our hasty remarks. The advice tendered by the Lord President to the counsel, on the necessity of making their speeches more condensed and logical than has been customary hitherto, more particularly in jury cases, is, we believe, well timed in the main, although we cannot help thinking that a counsel himself should in general be the best judge whether it be for the benefit of his clients or not, to make his speeches, either to the Bench or to a jury, long or short. Of one thing we are very certain, that agents in the courts, a race of beings the sharpest-sighted in the world, will soon cease to employ any counsel who, either by too long or too short a speech, bungles the case of his client. And this is the natural and most efficient cure for the pestilence, of long-winded harangues poured into the ears either of Judges or jurymen.

WORKS PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

LONDON.

Loudon's Encyclopædia of Agriculture is nearly ready.

Poetic Hours; consisting of occasional poems, translations, stanzas to music, &c. are announced by Mr G. F. Richardson.

Mr John Timbs has in the press "Cameleon Sketches," uniform in size with his "Promenade round Dorking."

Mr Boone's Book of Churches and Sects may speedily be expected.

The long-announced Gardener's Magazine will be commenced at Christmas.

The Literary Souvenir, or Cabinet of Poetry and Romance, for 1826, will be ready in a few days.

Heads of Lectures in Divinity are announced for publication by Dr John Banks Hollingworth.

Captain Brooke is about to publish "Travels through Lapland and Sweden," and "Winter Sketches in Lapland."

The Amulet; or Christian and Literary Remembrancer, is nearly ready.

Waterloo; or the British Minstrel, a Poem, in five cantos, is announced for publication.

A fac-simile reprint of Hamlet, 1604, (in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire), is said to be in progress.

The Rev. F. Dibdin announces a new edition of "An Introduction to the Knowledge of rare and valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics."

Mr Hyman Hurwitz, author of *Vindiciae Hebraicae*, &c., has in the press a volume of Moral Hebrew Tales, translated from ancient Hebrew works; to which will be prefixed a Popular Essay on the still existing remains of the uninspired writings of the ancient Hebrew Sages.

The Principles of Analytical Geometry, designed for the use of Students, are in the press.

The Second Part of "Laconics; or the best Words of the best Authors," with Portraits of Addison, Pope, Johnson, Franklin, and Goldsmith, will be published on December 1.

Biographia Scottiana; or Lives of the Scots Worthies, is announced for publication in numbers.

The Memoirs of the Prince de Montmorency are on the eve of publication, in Paris.

The Duties of a Lady's Maid, by a Lady, are announced as in the press.

Dr Nuttall announces as preparing,

P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica; containing an Ordo and Interlinear Translation accompanying the Text; with references to a Scanning Table, and exhibiting every variety of Hexameter Verse, intended as an introduction to the reading of the Latin Poets.

The third edition of Stuart's History of the Steam-Engine is just ready.

William Tell, translated from the German of Frederic Schiller, will speedily be published in small 8vo.

The Auto-biographical Memoirs of Ferdinand Frank are in the press.

A new edition of the Italian Novelists, by Thomas Roscoe, Esq., is announced for speedy publication.

A Treatise on Clock and Watch-making, theoretical and practical, by Thomas Reid, author of the article "Horology" in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, is announced.

We understand that the author of "Biblical Gleanings," whose studies peculiarly qualify him for the work, is preparing for the press a *Bibliotheca Theologia*, on a new plan, to embrace every publication of value, with Critical Remarks, and Biographical Sketches. The First Part of which will shortly appear.

Mr Chandos Leigh has in the press "The Queen of Golconda's Fete," and other poems.

The publication of the Library for the People will be commenced in Sixpenny Numbers, on December 3.

Obstinacy, a Tale, will be published in a few days.

Disquisitions upon the Painted Greek Vases, and their probable Connexion with the Shows of the Eleusinian and other Mysteries. By James Christie, a member of the Society of Dilettanti. One volume demy 4to. with plates, will shortly be published.

Dr Ayre announces Researches in Pathology, Part I. containing an Inquiry into the Nature and Treatment of Dropsies.

Time's Telescope for 1826 is preparing, and will be published in November. Besides contributions from several eminent living poets, the volume will be embellished 'with a highly-finished Engraving, and some original music.

Facts and Fancies; or Mental Diversions, are preparing for the press, by the author of "Solace of an Invalid."

Mr Hartshorne, of St. John's College, Cambridge, has in the press a volume of Metrical Romances.

Mignet's History of the French Revolution is announced for publication.

Proposals are issued for publishing a half-length Portrait of George Birkbeck, Esq., M.D.; to be engraved in mezzotinto by Dawe, from a painting by Lane.

An History of the Roman Emperors, from Augustus to the last Constantine, is announced, from the classic pen of Mr C. A. Elton.

The author of "The Two Rectors" has in the press a work, entitled "The Converts."

Mrs Hoffand announces a new volume, entitled "Reflection."

A third series of Sayings and Doings may shortly be expected.

A Quarterly Magazine will be commenced at Cork, on January 1, 1826.

Baron Cuvier announces a new edition of Buffon, to which he will prefix two introductory volumes.

A new Medical and Surgical Dictionary, including the collateral branches of Philosophy and Natural History, as connected with *Materia Medica*, is in the press, from the pen of the author of the "New London Medical Pocket-Book," &c.

The English Gentleman's Library Manual; or a Guide to the choice of useful modern Books in British and foreign literature, with biographical, literary, and critical notices, by William Goodhugh, is preparing for publication.

The Rev. Dr Morrison is printing a Parting Memorial, consisting of discourses written and preached in China; at Singapore, on board ship at sea, in the Indian Ocean; at the Cape of Good Hope, and in England.

A new annual work is announced, under the title of "The Literary Scrap-Book, for 1826; containing the most striking and popular pieces in English literature published within the past year." It may be expected early in January.

Characters Contrasted; or, Character modified by Education, by the author of the "Mirven Family," in one volume 12mo., is in the press.

The Rev. Robert Hall's Sermon on the Death of Dr Ryland will be published early in November.

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A new and enlarged edition of Keeper's Travels in search of his Master will appear at Christmas.

Dr Johns, F.R.S., has just ready for publication Practical Botany, consisting of two parts. The first part contains an introduction to the Linnæan system; the second the genera of British plants, in a tabular form.

The Holy Inquisition! being an historical statement of the origin, progress, doctrine, and fall of that infamous tribunal, originally written in Latin by Philip A. Lamborch, D.D., re-modelled and enlarged by C. Mackenzie, will shortly appear.

Tavern Anecdotes, and Reminiscences of the Origin of Signs, Clubs, Coffee-Houses, &c. &c., intended as a lounge-book for Londoners and their country cousins, is nearly ready for publication.

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MONTHLY REGISTER.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—One of the Paris papers to the 24th inst. contains a report that "the French Ambassador at Madrid had addressed a note to the Spanish cabinet, soliciting it to recognise, on certain conditions, the independence of the new states of South America. The British Ambassador seconded the representations of the French agent, and invited the Government of Ferdinand VII. to profit by this favourable opportunity, lest, eventually, the new States should reject all propositions for such an arrangement. He offered, at the same time, the mediation of England. The Spanish Minister replied, that the King was opposed to all absolute recognition of his former colonies; but the Minister (Zaca) submitted the following project: "That each colony should have a native government, named by the King, which should direct the administration of its affairs, impose the taxes, and pay an annual sum to Spain; that the King should have a representative in each colony, with the title of Viceroy; and, finally, that the colonies should, on their part, contribute to pay off the debt of Spain." Even this project, which was strongly supported by a third foreign Ambassador, was rejected by the King, as it would doubtless be by the now emancipated colonies.

The French encampment near Bayonne has broken up; but all the troops are quartered in and near the town, so that the only change is from tents to buildings.

The Court of Justice of Paris has lately condemned several jewellers and goldsmiths to a fine of 200 francs, for manufacturing jewels of gold inferior to the quality required by the law, and which was not stamped. The goods were also condemned to be confiscated.

General Bertrand, so well known for his attachment to Napoleon, is now building a very large cotton-spinning factory in the suburb Madeline, at Lisle. It will cost 1,200,000 francs (about £48,000.)

It appears that there was a disturbance at Rouen when General Lafayette passed through that town. He dined with M. Cabanon, one of his old colleagues in the Chamber of Deputies. More than 2000 persons assembled in front of the house in the evening, shouting "Vive Lafayette!" The police thought fit to call out the gendarmerie to clear the street. The populace were charged with drawn sabres, and many were injured.

The Chamber of Deputies does not meet, it seems, till the month of February next.

SPAIN.—We have seen (says the Courier) a private letter from Madrid, dated the 10th instant, and written by a person who had the means of obtaining accurate information, which alludes to the affairs of South America in a way that would lead us to expect that some measure respecting it is about to be adopted by the Spanish Government.—The writer abstains from any explicit statement; but glances at the probability of a suspension of hostilities between the mother country and her former colonies, to whom a temporary treaty of commerce may be proposed, deferring, for the present, a final recognition. It is hinted, that the influence of this country and of France is employed to accomplish, if possible, a satisfactory adjustment of this question; but we can hardly expect that any thing short of an entire and complete act of recognition would be listened to by the South American States.

Some recent accounts announce at last the sailing of the long-talked-of expedition from Ferrol to reconquer South America; it consists of about three thousand unwilling troops, convoyed by two frigates and three brigs. The first place for which this new Armada is designed is the Havannah.

To assist him in healing the public disorders, the King has appointed a "Consulative Junta," whose duties will obviously be no sinecure—especially if they task themselves, as they promise to do, "to preserve the integrity of his Majesty's dominions." The probability is, that they will never enter upon their functions, but be cast aside in a week or two, like many other ephemeral councils and juntas which have been so rapidly made and unmade by the breath of the instant despot. They have published an address on their acceptance of office. They say that their hearts are right, but that their heads are not such as the state of Spain requires; and in this their address bears them out, for it is mean and slavish in the last degree.

Gibraltar papers, recently received, state, that in order to avert the scarcity and other calamities with which Majorca was threatened in consequence of the late scanty harvest, the Spanish Government had permitted the importation into that Island

of 181,600 fanegas of foreign wheat, and 31,250 of pulse in national bottoms, upon payment of a duty of 10 rs. vellon fanega.

If we are to believe the leading London journals, both ministerial and opposition, Ferdinand begins at length really to exhibit a disposition towards *moderation*, which must proceed, we presume, not from any impulse of benevolence or of common sense, but from resentment of the factious and criminal conduct pursued by the Ultras. An act of amnesty, it is said, has been withheld solely in consequence of the interference of the council of Castile. In Paris, and in London also, it is generally rumoured and believed, that a treaty is actually negotiating between Spain and Mexico, by which the former, for certain considerations, is to recognize the independence of the latter; and the considerations are by some represented to be the payment by Mexico of one half of the other's national debt, and the admission into Mexican ports of Spanish produce at lower duties than that of other nations. But will Mexican ports consent to purchase from Spain—a kingdom which to her must be an object of compassion rather than dread—that independence which she has already fairly conquered and consolidated, and enjoyed for years?

RUSSIA.—By the Hamburg papers, it appears that the free-masons in Russia are viewed with increased suspicion. An existing ordinance, that no person in the service of the State shall belong to a secret society, or free-masons' lodge, is now extended to all individuals who are candidates for degrees in the Russian Universities. All students, before they are admitted, are also to give a certificate that they do not belong to a secret society.

PRUSSIA, &c.—An order of the King of Prussia, directed to the authorities of his Rhenish provinces, prohibits the Roman Catholic priests from exacting, previous to the celebration of marriage between parents of different sects, a promise that the offspring should be brought up in the Roman Catholic system. It would appear, that many of the priests had required this unlawful engagement.

NETHERLANDS.—The session of the States-General of the Netherlands was opened on the 17th October. The speech of the King affords a gratifying view of the progress of improvement in that country. The commerce and finances of the Netherlands are in a flourishing state; but it would appear, that the colonial administration has not been carried on with a due regard to economy,—an evil which his Majesty has adopted means to remedy. It is thought, however, that the cause of

the embarrassments is not so much the want of economy as the adoption of heavy duties on English manufactures, for the purpose of forcing the trade in Dutch and Belgian manufactures, and the consequent almost total drying up of the chief source of revenue, and the fall on the price of the productions of Java, the sale of which was another main source of Government revenue. Speaking of the means which have been adopted for the improvement of the people, the King says, that "schools for instruction are now almost universally established throughout the kingdom, and have in many instances shown their utility, especially those of recent establishment. The universities have lately been much improved and enlarged, and have, in many branches of learning, had additional facilities afforded for the attainment of knowledge, and they now furnish the most liberal means for the study of the various sciences. One institution, devoted to the wants of the Roman Catholics, will afford to the young people appointed to study for the Church the opportunity of obtaining that knowledge which the present state of civilization requires." The disasters which were caused by the late floods have already been repaired; and the dikes will soon again be placed in a state of ample security.

SWEDEN.—A woman at work in the fields, in Sweden, laid her infant on the ground at a little distance: soon after an eagle pounced on the infant and carried it away. The poor woman, who heard the cries of the child in the air, has become insane, and is now in the hospital at Malmoe.

BAVARIA.—The King of Bavaria, aged 70, died of apoplexy, on the 13th instant. He is succeeded by the Prince Royal, aged 39. He is extolled "for having taken decisive measures for the extension of knowledge, by multiplying primary schools, placing them under the civil authority, restraining the power of the clergy respecting domestic education, and at the same time granting to universities a wise liberty, which has been the means of diffusing sounder ideas among the clergy of the different persuasions." The King of Bavaria was a Catholic: we wish Protestant England would only imitate his liberality.

GREECE.—We are sorry to learn that the misunderstanding which has for some time existed between the leading friends of the Greek cause in the metropolis has at length assumed a complexion of a very serious nature. It appears that the Greek Committee have, for several months past, been desirous of appropriating a considerable portion of the Greek loan to the pur-

chase of ships and other means of warfare, instead of remitting the amount direct to Greece, where it might be dissipated in appeasing discontented chiefs or fomenting party intrigues. The Deputies and the Contractors considering, however, that they had no discretionary power, have made the regular remittances. Mr Bouring, one of the most ardent Philhellinists, and the honorary Secretary of the Committee, has remonstrated several times on the subject. The intelligence having been received from Alexandria that the Engineer steam-vessel, which had been offered to the Greeks and rejected, is now in the pay of the Pacha of Egypt, and already despatched against the Greek fleet; and also that other steam-vessels are preparing at Marseilles for the same object, it is probable that these remonstrances will have some effect, and produce a result as beneficial to the magnanimous Greeks as the disagreement has proved hitherto disastrous.

From a letter written by a Mr Emerson, just returned from the Morea, it appears that the affairs of the Greeks are by no means in a satisfactory situation. Ibrahim has indeed retired to Navarin, but he may advance again into the heart of the country when he pleases, for any resistance the Greeks can offer; and Reschid Pacha, who has just abandoned the siege of Missolonghi, may resume it as soon as he thinks fit. The Greeks continue to resist, but they are without energy, because they are destitute of union and organization. The most mortifying circumstance is, that the half million, or million, remitted from England, has been grossly misapplied, and has rendered little service to their cause. The money should evidently have been expended in putting the Greeks in possession of some of those scientific improvements in the business of war, which they could not have obtained by their unassisted means. The sums that went to provide arms and ammunition for the people, and to some extent also to pay the fleet, were beneficially expended; but we doubt if it was wise to give the peasantry a single shilling for irregular and transitory service in arms, which they would have afforded when the enemy was at their doors, without any pay at all, or with such pay as the local government could have supplied. Nearly a million of money has been remitted, and the Greeks still have not a single corps of artillery, or a single regiment of regular troops; and not one of the fortresses on which their security depends, is supplied with ammunition, arms, or provisions. Ibrahim, who brings European officers and arms with him, has but to batter Nauplia

or Corinth, or any one of their fortresses, for a few days, to insure its surrender, or if he cannot batter, he has but to blockade it for a week or two. Though the people do not yield obedience, he commands the country, and can take up his station wherever the harvest is good, or the situation otherwise suitable for his purposes. Would the Greeks have been in a worse condition, though a shilling had never reached them from England? They thought lightly of Ibrahim's 8000 men, because they had witnessed the destruction of 30,000 Turks, who invaded their country in 1822. But it was famine that destroyed the Turks; and against this evil Ibrahim's army is protected by that very smallness which diminishes its apparent strength. Still, we repeat, we do not despair of the cause of the Greeks. The British armies marched through North America during the struggle there, and experienced as little resistance as Ibrahim meets with in the Morea. In the one case, as in the other, towns may be taken and armies defeated, but the spirit of resistance still burns unquenched in the hearts of the people. The Greeks will ultimately wear out the courage and the resources of their enemies; but it is melancholy to think how much bloodshed might be saved, and how much the period of their trials might be shortened, by a little more wisdom and honesty on the part of their rulers.

ASIA.

EAST INDIES.—A Supplement to the London Gazette contains the official dispatches relative to the capture of Donabew and Promé. Considerable resistance was made at the former place, but the latter was abandoned by the Burmese in great confusion, and entered by our troops without firing a shot. It was on the 25th of March that Sir Archibald Campbell reached the vicinity of Donabew, and immediately despatched Major Jackson with a detachment to open a communication with Brigadier-General Cotton's division. This was effected, but Major Jackson's return was intercepted. In consequence, General Cotton determined to force a passage by water. The troops were therefore embarked in boats, and the flotilla was headed by the Powerful cutter, which the Diana steam-vessel had taken in tow. They passed within half range of a Burmese battery, by a shot from which Lieutenant Symes was wounded. The Burmese war-boats, twenty-one in number, then sallied forth to attack our little squadron, when the steam-vessel suddenly cast off the Powerful, dashed in among the war boats, and took or destroyed

thirteen of them. It was on the same day that the enemy's attack with elephants occurred, which Sir Archibald Campbell describes as a novel and interesting scene. The enemy were alike foiled by land and water, and the two divisions of the army effected their complete junction.

Prome was taken on the 25th of April, and with it one hundred and one pieces of ordnance fell into our hands. Nearly one quarter of the town was destroyed by fire. Prince Sarrawuddi, with the remnant of his people, was retiring direct upon the capital, destroying the villages, grain, boats, &c. of every description which lay in the line of his retreat. A reinforcement of troops, and thirty pieces of cannon, were within a short distance of Prome when Sir Archibald Campbell took possession of it. The troops had dispersed, and the greater part of the guns, together with the war boats, had fallen into the hands of the flotilla, under the command of Captain Alexander, R.N. The position of Prome is described as extremely formidable, the hills by which it is surrounded being fortified to their summits. The place, indeed, is by nature so strong, that, in the opinion of Sir Archibald Campbell, ten thousand steady soldiers would have defended it against any attack of ten times that force.

The following is the official return of the killed, wounded, and missing, down to the 3d of April:—

Brigadier-General Cotton's Division—Captain R. C. Rose, and Charles Cannon, of his Majesty's 89th Regiment of foot, killed. Lieutenants W. J. King, C. G. King, and J. Currie, ditto, wounded. W. A. F. Derby, of the Amherst gun-boat, wounded. Rank and file—123 killed, wounded, and missing.

Sir A. Campbell's Division—Lieutenant John Gordon, his Majesty's 47th Regiment; and Lieutenant Symes, Madras artillery, wounded. 75 rank and file killed, wounded, and missing.

A general order was issued from Fort-William, on the 29th April, ordering a royal salute, and three volleys of musquetry, to be fired at all the stations of the land forces in the East Indies, in honour of the capture of Donabew.

The conduct of the Siamese is described in the dispatches received by Government to be such as to shew that they are animated by the most friendly dispositions towards the British.

AMERICA.

UNITED STATES.—*Departure of La Fayette.*—On Wednesday Sept. 7th, long before noon, the bustle of military prepa-

ration was heard in our streets, in which the stores were, for the most part, closed, and all the usual business was suspended, to enable our citizens to join in the farewell ceremonies to General La Fayette. About eleven o'clock the corporations of the district repaired to the President's house; and soon afterwards the President, attended by the Secretaries of State, the Treasury, and Navy, (the Secretary of War being absent from the city,) the Postmaster-General, and the principal officers of the Government, accompanied General La Fayette into the large entrance-hall, where a number of citizens were in waiting to take leave of the venerable guest of the nation. In the midst of the circle the General took his stand, when the President addressed him in a speech of great eloquence and feeling, to which La Fayette made a suitable reply. As the last sentence was pronounced, the General advanced, and, while the tears poured over his venerable cheek, again took the President in his arms—he retired a few paces, but overcome by his feelings, again returned, and uttering, in broken accents, "God bless you!" fell once more on the neck of Mr Adams. It was a scene at once solemn and moving, as the sighs and stealing tears of many who witnessed it bore testimony. Having recovered his self-possession, the General stretched out his hand, and was in a moment surrounded by the greetings of the whole Assembly, who pressed upon him, each eager to seize, perhaps for the last time, that beloved hand which was opened so freely for our aid, when aid was so precious, and which grasped, with firm, undeviating hold, the steel which so bravely helped to achieve our deliverance. The moment of departure at length arrived, and having once more pressed the hand of Mr Adams, he entered the barouche, accompanied by the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, and of the Navy. On reaching the bank of the Potomac, near where the Mount Vernon steam-vessel was in waiting, all the carriages in the procession, except the General's, wheeled off, and the citizens in them assembled on foot around that of the General. The whole military body then passed him in review, as he stood in the barouche of the President, attended by the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, and of the Navy. After the review, the General proceeded to the steam-vessel, under a salute of artillery, surrounded by as many citizens, all eager to catch the last look, as could press on the large wharf; and at four o'clock, this great, and good, and extraordinary man, trod, for the last time, the soil of America, followed by the

blessings of every patriotic heart that lyes on it. As the vessel moved off, and for a short time after, the deepest silence was observed by the whole of the vast multitude that lined the shore. The feeling that pervaded them was that of children bidding a final farewell to a venerated parent.

COLOMBIA.—It has been stated that M. Ravenga, the temporary Minister of Finance in Colombia, has declared his intention to use all his influence for the purpose of promoting the commerce between that country and Great Britain. It is certain that a regular remonstrance against the arbitrary and irregular mode of levying duties, both in Colombia and Mexico, was some time ago forwarded to the respective Governments, by some of the leading merchants in London. The answer to this remonstrance has been as favourable as could be expected, and an intimation has been given, that the amelioration of the import-laws will be one of the first subjects of discussion in the United Congress. The merchants and manufacturers of this country are deeply interested in the affair, for it is a well-known fact, that many persons have been deterred from making shipments, by a knowledge of the obstacles which were interposed, and the imposition practised by the local authorities.

The appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to Colombia has been determined on. Sir George Cockburn, it is said, is to be the person on whom this office is to be bestowed.

MEXICO.—All was quiet in Mexico

up to the 17th of August. The Congress had answered at great length, an "encyclic" letter of the Pope, in favour of Ferdinand. They deny the right of his holiness to interfere in civil questions between States. But for the respect which the Congress is forced to yield to the prejudices of the people, we can suppose this manifesto would have been more indignant and resentful in its tone than it is. However, while it professes the most dutiful obedience, in spirituals, to the head of the Catholic Church, it disclaims his right to interfere with systems of government; and this, in language more peremptory and firm than was held towards him by the earliest Protestant Princes. It refers, with equal dexterity and effect, to the conduct of the Divine Founder of Christianity, who, so far from dictating to his followers in state-matters, abstained from giving an opinion upon political questions, saying to those who sought to entrap him into an avowal of his sentiments, "Give to Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and to God those that be God's;"—a reply which, as the Congress observes, was "full of prudence and wisdom, admirable in all respects, and which, in a few words, comprehends *all the plan of the Gospel* respecting civil governments."

BUENOS AYRES.—By the Buenos Ayres papers to the 6th Aug., we learn, that Woodbine Parish, Esq. had been formally established as the British chargé-d'affaires to the United Provinces of the Rio de Plata. Hostilities with the Portuguese in Monte Video still continued.

BRITISH CHRONICLE.

OCTOBER.

4.—The annual Michaelmas head-court of the County of Edinburgh was held this day in the County Hall, Sir John Hope, Bart., the Convener of the County, in the chair. The only business which excited any discussion was a vote of thanks to Lord Melville, for having conferred such a valuable boon on the country as the new Jury Bill. The motion was made, when the meeting was constituted as Commissioners of Supply, by J. Gibson Craig, Esq., and seconded by J. A. Murray, Esq. Both of these gentlemen were liberal in their praise of his Lordship, particularly for having overcome the prejudices which were at one time entertained towards the measure. The Lord Advocate thought that Lord Melville would not apply more of the thanks to himself than was his right, and hinted that the sole merit of originating the mea-

sure lay with Mr Kennedy. The Learned Lord, at a more subsequent part of the discussion, said, that he considered the vote of thanks to Lord Melville was an indirect mode of thanking Mr Kennedy, although the Bill introduced by that gentleman and the noble Lord were very different. The vote of thanks appeared to be carried, and not a dissentient voice was raised, when Mr J. A. Murray rose to follow up the hint of the Lord Advocate, by moving a vote of thanks to Mr Kennedy, which motion was seconded by Sir J. H. Dalrymple. Mr Atchison, younger of Drumore, thought this was rather taking the meeting somewhat by surprise, and moved the previous question. This was seconded by Mr Millar of Craigintony. A very animated discussion followed, in which Mr Gibson Craig, Mr Cunningham, advocate, Mr Inglis of Auchendunny, Mr Tytler, Mr

Linning, Mr J. A. Murray, Sir J. Dalrymple, Mr Innes of Stow, the Lord Advocate, Dr Nicol, and others, took part. The Earl of Rosebery, who came in after the vote to Lord Melville was passed, spoke against the principle of voting thanks to members of parliament for doing only what was their duty. Mr Jeffrey, on the other hand, contended that it was perfectly constitutional, and was the most proper mode of keeping up a corresponding sympathy between the people and their representatives. After a good deal of discussion, the vote was called for, and the question was, "Whether the motion should be put or not?" which was negatived by a majority of one, 21 voting that the question be put, and 22 against it. The voters were those in the commission of supply.

4.—A keen contest has been carried on this year for the Civic Chair, between William Trotter, Esq. of Ballindean, and William Allan, Esq. of Glen. Some time previous to the election, however, as his prospects of success diminished, Baillie Allan intimated to the Council that he had relinquished the contest. This day, accordingly, after hearing an appropriate sermon from Dr Muir, the Town-Council proceeded to the election of Magistrates, when the following choice was unanimously made:

William Trotter, Esq. Lord Provost.
 William Gilchrist, Esq. First Bailie.
 R. Mitchell, Esq. Second ditto.
 John Bonar, jun. Esq. Third ditto.
 Adam Anderson, Esq. Fourth ditto.
 R. Wright, Esq. Lord Dean of Guild.
 William Patison, Esq. Treasurer.

5.—At two o'clock this morning, an alarming fire broke out in a range of stables at the foot of Macdougald-Street. Three stables were burnt down; and in them from eight to twelve horses were consumed by the flames. By the activity of the firemen, the flames were prevented from communicating with the adjoining premises.

—The Fifth Session of the Edinburgh School of Arts was opened this evening by Mr George Lees, A. M., Lecturer on Mechanics and Mechanical Philosophy. The hall was crowded, and among the auditors were many gentlemen of distinction.

10.—The amount of duties received at the Customhouse, Leith, for the quarter ending 10th instant, is £205,577.9.11d. This, we believe, is the largest sum which has ever been collected during an equal period, at any port in Scotland. It is to be observed, however, that a proportion of this sum must be put to the account of

duties transferred from the Excise to the Customs.

11.—*Auchtermuchty*.—On Monday evening the Mechanics of Auchtermuchty and its vicinity met in the school-room, for the purpose of forming a School of Arts. The meeting being constituted, Mr Pillans in the chair, Dr Bonar, with his usual ability and address, delivered an introductory lecture to a crowded audience, upwards of 300 being present, among whom we observed most of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood.

—*Synod of Glasgow and Ayr*.—At a meeting of the Synod, the Rev. Patrick M'Farlane intimated, that he had, in connection with the committee appointed for the purpose of drawing up a memorial regarding church accommodation, sent off that memorial to Mr Secretary Peel; and he had the pleasure of informing them, that he had received an answer to it, wherein Mr Peel stated, that it was the intention of his Majesty's Government to bring forward a bill next Session of parliament, for the express purpose of procuring more church accommodation in the Lowlands of Scotland. On Wednesday, the Synod appointed the second Sabbath of November next to be observed as a day of thanksgiving for the late abundant harvest, throughout all the churches and chapels within their bounds.

On Wednesday the appeal of Mr Brown, against the sentence of the Presbytery, was read. He appeared for himself, and maintained that the Presbytery had no right to deprive him of his licence as a probationer, for writing the letter to Mr Cunningham of Lainslaw. It was merely a proposal, not a bargain. A murder was not a murder till it was completed. He hoped, therefore, they would reverse the sentence of the Presbytery, and restore him his licence with as little discussion as possible. His offence was as far different from sunony as the gunpowder plot. The Rev. Patrick M'Farlane defended the sentence of the Presbytery. Mr Brown had made a proposal to Mr Cunningham, that a friend of his would pay £100 for five years, if the church was granted to him. The laws of the church were then read, from which it was clear, that a proposal of this kind was attended with deprivation of licence. The Rev. Mr Sommerville argued, that as the offence was not completed, it would be hard to thrust him out entirely from the church, without giving him some time for amendment. He would be willing to expel him for a term of years, but not for life. It was replied, that the law of the church was imperative; he had done every thing on his part to complete the bargain. At-

ter some members expatiated on the enormity of the offence, the Synod unanimously agreed to sustain the sentence of the Presbytery of Glasgow. Mr Brown said he would appeal to the General Assembly.

12.—*Supply of Fish.*—This day a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Edinburgh and Leith was held in the Waterloo Hotel, to consider of the establishment of a company for the better supplying of Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, &c. with fresh fish,—the Right Hon. the Lord Provost in the chair. Among the many gentlemen present were Sir John Hay, Bart., Sir William Arbuthnot, Bart., Mr Mercer of Dryden, J. Balfour, Esq. of Pirig, J. Dundas, Esq. of Dundas, G. Crichton, Esq. Leith, Alexander Smith, Esq. banker, Captain Carnegie, Captain Boswell, Barrie Wright, Doctors Thatcher and Poole, &c. &c. After several gentlemen had addressed the meeting, particularly Captain Carnegie, by whom the scheme had been set on foot, it was unanimously agreed, that an Association, to be called the “Forth and Deep-Sea Fishery Company,” should be instantly formed, for the better supplying our markets with fish.

Greenock.—Greenock has again changed its aspect completely; our harbours exhibit striking proofs of commercial activity—our building yards are full of life and bustle; and no sooner is one ship launched into its native element, than the skeleton of another rises like a mushroom from the ground. Sugar-refining houses are increasing—works for the manufacture of machinery and steam-engines (hitherto unknown amongst us) are in great progress; and though last not least—the Shaw’s Water Company are going rapidly forward in their march of promise, and from them the greatest advantages are expected to result to the community in general. It would have been well if the good spirit and kindly feelings of the inhabitants had kept pace with our other improvements; on the contrary, party spirit has rather been gaining ground; and this is the more to be regretted, as the co-operation of all in our various establishments is highly necessary for the interest of the whole. Greenock has no political influence to maintain. Its voice is never heard in the returning of a member for Parliament, and the squabbles for a little day’s civic ascendancy should never be once named amongst us. Party is an epidemic that does not rest with first causes, but spreads itself into societies and institutions, where party feelings should have nothing to do. It is to be hoped, however, that the good sense of the inha-

bitants is sufficient to correct this evil, or if not, it is to be feared that the most dangerous consequences will ensue to our trade and eventual prosperity.

Arrival of the Northern Expedition.—The discovery-ship *Hecla* arrived off Peterhead on the morning of the 12th, and Captain Parry and two of his officers landed, and proceeded post for the Admiralty Office. Captain Parry reports, that he had not been able to do any thing during this voyage, in the way of discoveries, at least nothing of any importance, and that they had lost their other ship, the *Fury*, in the month of August last—her crew are on board the *Hecla*. The crews are in a better state of health than when they left England, in May 1824, and there had not been a death among them. The officers say that the winter passed off very comfortably; so completely were the ships fitted out, that all felt quite at home. They seemed perfectly delighted at again finding themselves on British ground.

A letter from a Lieutenant on board the *Hecla*, dated the 12th inst. off the Forth, on their passage to the River, says, the expedition passed a miserable winter in Port Bowen, being fifty-eight days in crossing the ice. On leaving that this summer, they got on the western side of Regent’s Inlet, in lat. 72. 46. and long. 91. 50. with the finest possible prospects, when both ships were driven on shore, the *Fury* so much damaged, as not to be sea-worthy; the *Hecla* narrowly escaped.

The following is an extract of a letter from a principal officer of the expedition, addressed to an eminent scientific Gentleman of this city:—

“*H.M.S. Hecla, Oct. 12, 1825.*

“DEAR SIR,—We sailed from the west coast of Greenland on the 4th July 1824. In passing Davis’ Straits, we were beset fifty-eight days in the ice. On the 9th September we cleared the ice, and on the 13th of the same month entered Barrow’s Strait. The winter was now setting in fast, we therefore endeavoured to reach Port Bowen, in Prince Regent’s Inlet, which we effected with some difficulty on the 28th. By the 6th October we were completely surrounded with young ice. The winter passed more agreeably than could have been expected; we had a good library on board, and managed to raise a tolerable masquerade in one of the ships every fortnight. The winter was what might be called a mild one in this part of the world, the thermometer never exceeding 48½ degrees below zero. During its continuance we had fine sport chasing white bears, twelve of which were

killed. White grouse were abundant in spring; we shot a great number of them. They were excellent, and proved a great luxury to the officers and men. The summer, which commenced on the 6th June, with a shower of rain, was very fine; the thaw went on rapidly. On the 19th July the ice broke up, and we bade farewell to Port Bowen, where we had passed nearly ten months. On the 23d we made North Somerset, and worked to the southward along its coast, until the morning of the 1st of August, when unfortunately the *Fury* was driven on shore by the ice. Every effort was made to save her, but our exertions proving fruitless, she was abandoned on the 10th, and her people taken on board the *Hecla*. Thus ended all our hopes of making the north-west passage, which seemed favourable till this accident. On the 1st September we left Regent's Inlet for England, and made the coast of Scotland on the 10th. We have been extremely fortunate during the voyage, not having lost a man either by disease or accident."

20.—*Exhumation of the Duchess de Gramont.*—The French sloop of war *L'Actif*, Captain De Portzamparc, lately arrived in our Roadstead, for the purpose of conveying the remains of Madame la Duchesse de Guiche et de Gramont, to France, from the cemetery of Holyroodhouse. A letter from the Secretary of State having been received by the Lord Provost, requesting that every facility and respect should be paid on the occasion, his Lordship and the Magistrates, with the Lord Advocate and Lord Chief Baron, attended on Monday, accompanied by a number of distinguished individuals. Sir Henry Jardine, King's Remembrancer, accompanied by his Deputy, Mr Longmore, Sir Patrick Walker, Usher of the White Rod, the Chevalier Madol Dugas, on the part of the Duke of Gramont, and a Gentleman from the Duke of Hamilton, the Keeper of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, at whose expence the exhumation has taken place, preceded this day to open the Royal Vault in the chapel, where the body had been deposited for upwards of twenty years. The coffin had been found to be partly decayed, and a new oak one was made; it was very elegant, being covered with crimson velvet, with gold mountings and ducal coronets. The company as they arrived were shewn into the Duke of Hamilton's apartments, and the whole of them having assembled, about twenty minutes before twelve o'clock the hearse, followed by four mourning-coaches with four horses each, moved from the palace by the royal access to the Abbeyhill, the

Great London Road, and Bonnington, to Newhaven. Count Vladimir Davidoff, a relative of the deceased, attached to the Russian Embassy in London, officiated as chief mourner. Captain Portzamparc, with his officers, were in attendance at Newhaven Pier, where the coffin was received into the Admiralty barge with due solemnity; it was then deposited in an outer case, and covered with a white cloth and ensign; the white flag was then hoisted half-mast, and the barge proceeded to the *Actif*, accompanied by the officers of that ship in her launch also with the flag half-mast, the whole being conducted in perfect silence, which, joined to the great respectability of those who attended the departure of the remains of the illustrious Lady from our shores, had a very imposing effect. The deceased was related to most of the crowned heads of Europe.

21.—*Melancholy Catastrophe.*—*Loss of the Comet Steam-Boat, (from the Greenock Advertiser of Friday, 21st Oct.)*—The Comet steam-boat, on her passage from Inverness to Greenock, had reached the point of Kempoch, at nearly two o'clock, when she was met by the steam-boat *Ayr*, *McClelland*, of Ayr, which was on her way to that port, from Greenock. The two boats going with considerable velocity, were very near each other before mutually observed. As soon as perceived, the person on the look-out, on board the Comet, cried to the pilot to put the helm a-starboard, which order the pilot of the *Ayr* understood to be meant as instructions to him:—both vessels were in consequence directed towards each other, and before the unfortunate mistake could be remedied, they came in contact with such violence, as to stove in the starboard bow of the Comet, which vessel, in a few minutes, went down, and melancholy to relate, the whole of the passengers, with the exception of nine, and the master and pilot of the vessel, were drowned! Two of the former, a lady and child, have since died. The total number of passengers on board are estimated to have been between 60 and 70. The most prompt and humane assistance was afforded to the few survivors, by Mr Andrew Rankin and Mr Glen, of Courock, and Mr Robert Maitland of this town, who are still actively engaged in securing the property, which, together with the bodies of the sufferers, is hourly coming ashore. We are unable as yet to furnish any account of the names of those drowned on this melancholy occasion, but from a gold watch, with the name "Archd Grahame" engraved on it, and several bills, drawn in favour of Archd.

Grahame of Corpach, being found on the person of a young gentleman washed ashore, we have little doubt of his being the person of that name; also Mrs Wright of Glasgow, whose body has likewise been got. A Captain Sutherland and his lady from Inverness were on board, whose bodies are not yet found. There have also been washed ashore, besides the two above named, the bodies of four men, four women, and two children. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the people of Gourock, generally, for the readiness with which they gave their assistance, and the honesty which has been shown in delivering up the property picked up along the beach, one instance of which deserves to be mentioned. A young girl, daughter of James Mains of Gourock, found a £50 Bank of England note, which was instantly, in the most praise-worthy manner, delivered to Mr Rankin. Great blame is attached to the Captain of the *Ayr*, for not attempting to afford assistance; he almost instantly, on the catastrophe occurring, put about, and made for Greenock; had he, on the contrary, stopped to pick up those who were able to struggle for a short time on the surface of the water, the chance is, that many might have been saved who have now met a watery grave, and his vessel might have been run on shore at Gourock, had he found her so leaky as to be unfit to proceed back to our port. Those saved were chiefly rescued by wherries belonging to Gourock, which instantly put off when the alarm was given. Besides many respectable people, on their way to Edinburgh and Glasgow, there were, we are led to believe, several traders proceeding to Glasgow, to make purchases for the approaching Fort-William fair, and who may naturally be supposed to have had considerable property on their persons.

A passenger on board the *Ayr* relates, that he was one of four cabin passengers who were all below when the accident happened. He had lain down on a sofa undressed, heard a noise forward which alarmed him, and before he had time to disentangle himself from the clothes he had thrown over him, the vessel struck with a tremendous crash. On reaching the deck, he saw the *Comet* drifting from them, and wheeling round; there was light enough from the moon to enable him to distinguish the hills on either side, and the various objects around. On board the *Ayr* the utmost confusion prevailed. The *Comet* was in sight about three minutes, when a most appalling shriek arose from the passengers on board of her, all evidently crowding to the side nearest the *Ayr*, and with outstretched

arms imploring help; not a cry reached his ears after the vessel went down, and, in a few moments, the river was as unruffled as ever! All on board the *Ayr* were in the utmost consternation, and, it is much to be feared, in downright stupefaction, with the exception of two seamen belonging to the *Harmony*, who, after endeavouring in vain to rally the men belonging to the vessel, lowered the boat at the stern, for the purpose of rendering whatever assistance was in their power; but at the moment when she reached the water, with one of the men in her, and before the tackles were yet unloosed, the steam was unfortunately set on, and boat and man dragged under the water; he saved himself, however, by clinging to the ropes, and, providentially for all on board, reached the deck, where he and his companion had enough to do to keep the vessel from going down; she was evidently in a sinking state. At the time of the accident the *Ayr* had a light at the bow, as well as a man on the look-out.

(From the Glasgow Free Press of Saturday, 22d Oct.)

Early yesterday morning, between two and three o'clock, the *Comet* steam-boat was careering proudly on the waters from Fort-William to Glasgow, between Greenock and the Cloch Light house. The Captain was engaged in some light conversation, relating stories, as our informant (the only cabin passenger alive) states, to amuse those who were listening to him. On the deck the warm-hearted Highland lads and lasses were tripping it on the "light fantastic toe"—every sound on board was revelry, and nothing could be seen or heard but what was calculated to inspire a kindred feeling of joy. At once—in a moment, when rounding the point (Keppoch Point), a horrid crash was heard—a terrible collision had taken place—many rushed on the deck, but it was in vain—a minute or two elapsed—the sea burst in with one fell horrid swoop—a bubble took place on the spot, and the *Comet* disappeared, leaving "not a wreck behind." The *Ayr* steam-boat, having, we understand, 90 horse power, had left Greenock a little after one. She had lights, but the *Comet* had not. None on board the *Ayr* saw the *Comet*, and none on board the *Comet* thought of danger. The collision was instantaneous and fatal, no human help could be given. The *Ayr* suddenly turned round to see what had struck against her—the lights were placed in that direction—they looked, but, after a few moments, the sea was booming on, and vessel and passengers had sunk for ever.

There was no vestige of a living thing then seen on the face of them—a deeper mist than usual appeared before them, but the “bubbling cry of some strong swimmer, in his agony,” was not heard by any man. The steam made a slight hiss, but the ocean had swallowed up the whole. Many highly-respectable names have been mentioned as belonging to the sufferers; but we believe, in a majority of instances, without foundation. Among the sufferers, according to the statement of Mr Colin Alexander Anderson, (the cabin passenger already referred to,) was Captain Sutherland of the 33d regiment, and his lady—recently married—the latter the daughter of H. R. Duff, Esq of Mirtown, near Inverness; Mr McAllister, W. S., Edinburgh, with a relative of the same name; Mr Graham of Corpach; Mr Campbell, a merchant of this city; and the son of a Mr MacBraine, also of Glasgow; and a Mrs Wright, widow of a druggist, formerly in the Trongate of this city, and her servant maid. The body of Mr Grierson, the steward of the Comet, has been washed ashore, and upwards of £.70 in his pocket; also four men and four women—two ladies and two black servants.

Saturday night, Seven o'clock.—Since the first edition of our paper was sent to press, we have ascertained that the four English gentlemen, about whom some fears were entertained, are safe. They were landed at Rothesay. We have seen three of them—Messrs A. Morrison, and George Martineau, of London, and Mr Henry Martineau of Nerwich. The other gentleman who went on shore at Rothesay was Mr Glover, the celebrated landscape painter. They mentioned that Mr McAllister, W. S., had intended to land at Rothesay, but having met with some obstacles in getting on shore his luggage, he was unfortunately detained. They think there were about twenty cabin passengers, and they were mostly all young men. There were only two ladies in the cabin, Mrs Captain Sutherland, and Mrs Wright of this city. The gentlemen estimate the number of people on board at from fifty to sixty, exclusive of the

They think there were not more than seven female passengers in the steerage. Four of them were servants of Sir Joseph Radcliffe of Yorkshire. The gentlemen speak highly of the conduct of Captain McInnes and his crew while they were on board the Comet. We have also seen one of the passengers who was saved, Mr Ewan McDonald, of Fort Augustus, who gives the following account of what fell under his own observation:—He thinks there might be about sixty passen-

gers in all; he was in the steerage; and shortly before the catastrophe he was upon deck. He saw a light ahead, and a fellow-passenger observed that it was a light-house; but one of the crew who was on the look-out forward, remarked, “that it was a steam-boat,” and instantly called aft, “a steam-boat—helm a starboard.” He supposes the helm was *ported*, as the vessels almost immediately struck. Captain McInnes was on the cabin deck, and called to the passengers to come aft, thinking the packet might right. Great confusion ensued, the passengers forcing their way into the Comet’s yawl, which was hung astern. In the hurry, the tackling could not be unloosed; one of the ropes was cut before the other. There were from twenty to thirty people in the small boat at the time; McDonald was one of them; and nearly the whole were precipitated into the water. The other rope was cut almost at the same moment the Comet sunk. McDonald was thrown into the water, and upon getting to the surface, he found no trace of the Comet. He observed the small boat floating bottom upwards, and he and some others caught by it, and in consequence of their struggling, it righted, but was full of water. He and other two got into the yawl, and in about fifteen minutes they were hailed and towed to land by a boat which had pushed off from the shore. Mr Grahame was found in the Comet’s boat. McDonald and the two who were saved with him were so weak at the time they were taken in tow, that they could not move into the other boat.

(From the *Glasgow Herald* of Monday, 24th Oct.)

Greenock, 7 o'clock, Saturday night.—I have just returned from witnessing a most distressing and heart-rending sight. In the course of the afternoon, sixteen unhappy sufferers had been brought to shore, and were placed in the church, in order to be recognised by their anxious and distracted relations. A mother discovered her son; and two young lads found each a brother amongst the melancholy wrecks of humanity. Yesterday morning brought on shore 11 dead bodies, and the 16 of to-day make the whole 27. I, with many others, examined the countenances of almost all of them, and could hardly convince myself that Death had stretched his sceptre over them. There was a mild sweetness peculiar to sleep on every face; and a little infant about two years old lay amongst the dead, as if its mother was lulling it asleep. This unfortunate innocent attracted universal sympathy. Every attention has been

paid to the dead in getting coffins speedily provided for them, and it is expected that the whole will be brought up this night to an aisle in the West Church of Greenock, to be buried, or to remain for a short time till they are claimed by relations. The portmanteau of Mr Rollo, W. S., Edinburgh, has been found, and it is thought he is among the number that is brought on shore to-day. It is impossible to leave this subject without noticing the praiseworthy attention of our excellent Sheriff, Mr Marshall, and Quentin Leitch, Esq., one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, who have been on the spot late and early, and have arranged every thing under their own inspection. An inventory of all the property found has been made out, and until such property is claimed, it has been lodged in the cellars belonging to the town.

Sunday, half-past Four afternoon.—Up to this hour, Gourcock has exhibited a scene of unprecedented bustle and anxiety. Arrivals of strangers continue to an almost incredible extent. Every exertion is still making to recover the bodies yet missing; and the greatest possible sympathy is apparent in the face of every one of the immense crowd of visitors. Sir William Rae, Bart., Lord-Advocate for Scotland, arrived this forenoon, accompanied by John Colin Dunlop, Esq., Sheriff-Depute of Renfrewshire, before whom an examination of the pilot of the Comet and others took place. The result has not yet transpired, but warrants, we understand, have, since their arrival, been issued for the apprehension of the Master of the Ayr steam-boat, and others who are implicated in the melancholy calamity. That boat sailed from Greenock for Ayr yesterday, so that the injury she had sustained must have cost but little trouble to repair. Every precaution in the power of the authorities of Greenock, by having the town-officers, &c., in attendance, have been taken to preserve order, and afford facility to the conveyance of the bodies got ashore, to the church, where they are deposited. Shells are prepared, into which they are placed as soon as conveyed thither; and the whole duty attendant on that painful affair is conducted with such propriety, as reflects the greatest credit on the inhabitants of Gourcock and neighbourhood, particularly those who have taken the more active part of the business. The boats are still employed in trawling for the bodies, and the most indefatigable and unremitting exertions are making to recover every relic of this lamentable catastrophe. Several of the bodies, which were got on Friday and yesterday are to be interred in the West

Church of Greenock burying-ground to-morrow.

Sunday evening, Five o'clock.—On the arrival of the Lord-Advocate here, warrants were immediately issued, and officers despatched for the apprehension of the Master of the Comet, and the Master and Mate of the Ayr steam-boat.

None of the bodies of Captain Sutherland, his lady, or Mr M^r Allister, have yet been found.

When the concussion took place, almost all the passengers were down in the cabin, and the instant the shock was felt, they all rushed upon deck, with the exception of Mr M^r Allister, who, it is believed, remained still in the cabin. Mr Anderson, a student, attending the College of Glasgow, one of the persons saved, was the last to leave the cabin, and he recollects that Mr M^r Allister was left lying upon a sofa, having believed the statement of the steward of the vessel, who called out there was no danger. Almost immediately after the passengers got upon deck, the engine of the Comet stopt, and she appeared to be in a sinking state, though she did not go down till four or five minutes after the concussion took place. She sunk gradually and slowly down, the bow going first, and the water rising gradually upon the passengers, who had all gone towards the stern. The small boat being instantly lowered, got so overloaded with passengers, as to occasion her immediately swamping, and all who had got on board of it perished. Mr Anderson did not quit the vessel till the water had gradually reached more than half-way up his person. He then swam away, endeavouring, but in vain, to reach a box which he saw floating at a short distance from him, but he found he could not overtake it, being impeded by the great-coat and boots in which he was dressed. He then got a glimpse of the lights of the village of Gourcock, and endeavoured to make toward them; in doing this, he met the Comet's small boat which had been upset, floating with its bottom uppermost, having two men clinging to it. He managed to get hold of it, but when he was in the act of doing so, he was seized round the neck by John Gillies, fireman, who clung to him. In consequence of this seizure, Mr Anderson was unable to retain his hold of the boat, and he sunk twice, and as often ascended to the surface of the water. On his last ascent, he found his feet entangled with the seats of the boat; how he got so entangled he cannot account. By twisting his legs round the seats, and by the increase of weight occasioned by the fireman, who still continued to hold the

boat, by the exertions which he so made, got itself turned, the right side getting uppermost, having both Mr Anderson and John Gillies in it. The other two men, who had been hanging by the boat, also managed to get into it, and these four were placed in the boat, up to the neck in water, in hopes of being drifted on shore. A boat from Gourrock then reaching them, they quitted the Comet's boat, and clung to the sides of the other, and were in thi: way brought to shore. Mr Anderson kept his feet while in the Comet's boat in deep water, but by the time he reached near the shore, where the water was shallow, he got so exhausted, from cold and fatigue, that he was unable to use any exertion, and was in great danger of perishing before reaching the shore.

It appeared that other two of the Comet's passengers had succeeded in getting hold of the Comet's boat after Mr Anderson and his three suffering companions had quitted it, and got into it; but from the exhaustion occasioned by the severe cold and fatigue, were unable to keep above water; and when the boat was got possession of, it was found to contain their lifeless bodies.

Mr Anderson saw the lady of Captain Sutherland after he came upon deck, immediately after the collision, and he assisted in getting her to the stern of the Comet; but he does not know what became of the unfortunate lady afterwards. Her cries for help were loud and heart-rending, and must have been heard by the crew of the Ayr steam-boat, which Mr Anderson describes as not having been twenty yards distant from the Comet at the time. He thinks he saw Captain Sutherland, her husband, throw off his coat, and the probability is, from the statement given by one of the Comet's crew, in describing what he recollects of seeing, that this unhappy couple, who had only been seven weeks married, sunk in each other's arms. Neither of their bodies have yet been found.

The following is a correct list of those saved, and of the bodies that have been found, up to Sunday forenoon;—

Saved.

P. Sutherland, carpenter; Peter M^cBride, pilot; John Gillies, fireman; John M^cLellan, steward; M^cInnes, the master; James Nicol, seaman; Jean Munro, John Cameron, Fort-William; C. A. Anderson, Rachael M^cKeller, Mrs Miller, her infant drowned; Ewan M^cDonald, from Fort-Augustus.

Bodies found on the 21st and 22d.

Mrs Wright, Glasgow; Hannah Mitchell, and Sarah Rigley, maid-servants

to Sir Joseph Radcliffe; two other women—not known; a child, about three years old, ditto; Mrs Miller's child; Archibald Graham, Corpach; John Bell, fisher, Dumbarton; James Grierson, steward of Comet; Angus Cameron, Fort-William; William Allan, Camis Eskan; James Miller, Leith; John Reid, Edinburgh; a girl about seventeen years of age—name unknown; Duncan M^cKenzie, a Highland trader; an old man from Crinan—name unknown; a woman, unknown, supposed the mother of four children who were on board. Jas. Dingwall; George Murray, a Highland trader; James Manderson, engineer of the Comet; a young woman, named Rose, claimed, and carried to Greenock; A sailor, belonging to Linckilns or Kincardine; Ronald Mackenzie, piper to Sir Joseph Radcliffe, a young gentleman, linen marked C. B. S.—surgical instruments found on him—supposed to be a Mr Smith of Inverness; Mr Angus A. Kennedy, a young gentleman about fourteen, going to College; a young man about fifteen—unknown; Anthony Gallocher, an Irish pedlar; Euphemia Niven, servant to Mrs Wright of Glasgow; a young lady, claimed by her brother on the shore.

Found on the 23d.

John M^cLauchlan, a seaman belonging to the Comet; Mrs Wincup, housekeeper to Sir Joseph Radcliffe; a man—with a brown coat, yellow buttons, and black trousers; Donald M^cBraine, shoemaker, Glasgow; John Geminill, Sir Joseph Radcliffe's man-servant; a man—had on blue trousers like a seaman—owned by a cousin; a young woman, initials J. N. I. with livery-servant's great-coat on—supposed to be Mary Meek, maid-servant to Sir Joseph Radcliffe; D. Campbell, Glasgow, claimed and taken by a brother; Mr Hugh James Rollo, W. S. Edinburgh; John Heron, supposed second steward of the Comet steam-boat; Donald Cameron and Alex. M^cKenzie, two of the Comet's crew.

Recapitulation.

Number saved,	12
Found, 21st and 22d,	30
Found, 23d,	12

Accounted for 54

Besides the persons whose names are mentioned in the preceding accounts, it is believed there is no person of the upper ranks of life lost by the sinking of the Comet.

(From the Glasgow Chronicle of Tuesday, 25th Oct.)

The following is an additional list of the persons known to be lost:—Donald Cameron, under-steward; Mrs Ross,

Fort-William; Evan Kennedy, Fort-William; Angus Cameron, Arrochar; near Fort-William; Alexander M'Kenzie, cabin-boy; Mr Rose, a student from Inverness, and three young girls, one or more supposed to be his sisters; Mr M'Kenzie, grocer, Canongate, Edinburgh; Mrs M'Mullan, cook to Mr M'Donald, Borraldale, Arisaig.

Among those saved on board the Comet there was a young lady, a Miss Jane Munro, about sixteen, from Tain, on a visit to her aunt in Glasgow. As her relation had never seen her, it was judged needless to go down to claim her body, and all hope was given up, when on Saturday a letter was received from Gourrock with the gratifying and unexpected intelligence of her preservation. So far as she can recollect, it happened as follows:—She sunk twice; but, on coming up the second time, caught hold of two spars, to which she clung from about 20 minutes to half-an-hour. During the whole of this dreadful period she still had hope of being saved, nor lost her presence of mind during the whole time; as an instance of which, feeling a shawl she wore getting heavy with the water, she threw it off to lighten her. A dog, belonging, it is to be believed, to Mr M'Allister, swam, alongside of her, and, she thinks, materially aided her; certain it is, that the dog followed her to the house where she was taken, and after she was put in bed, the faithful animal leapt in and lay at her feet. She felt very unwell after being brought ashore; but after being twice bled, and getting a night's rest, she perfectly recovered. The engine-man of the Comet, who was saved, reports that the last time he saw Captain Sutherland and his wife was at the moment of the vessel going down, when they were standing fast clasped in each other's arms on the quarter-deck. He farther reports, that Mr Graham of Corpach sunk within little more than six yards of the shore. The engine-man's face is much lacerated by the death-grasp with which he was held by that unfortunate young gentleman. He is perfectly convinced, that had the Ayr stopped to render them assistance, many lives would have been saved.

On Tuesday the 25th, the body of Captain Sutherland was brought up, and a private soldier of the second battalion of the 45th regiment of foot. On the person of the captain was found a purse, containing, in the one end, five shillings or so in silver, and in the other five sovereigns and a half. Two watches, the one gold and the other silver, were found in one of his pockets, to which were at-

tached gold appendages. The remains of the unfortunate Captain Sutherland were, shortly after being found, taken to Greenock by a brother officer.

The following are the bodies got on Wednesday the 26th, before two o'clock afternoon. Subsequent to that hour, although the endeavours to get up every sad relic of this calamitous accident were unrelaxed, nothing was obtained except a very handsome scarf, supposed to be the property of the much-lamented Mrs Captain Sutherland. From the weight at first attached to the drag, there is every reason to believe that that unfortunate lady's body was with the scarf, from which it parted on the getting up.

Duncan M'Kenzie, fireman of the Comet, immediately recognised, and claimed by his wife and father.

A girl, apparently about ten or twelve years of age, unknown, but supposed to be Grace M'Kenzie, niece of the young woman Rose, found on Saturday, and whom, it is believed, she was accompanying from the north.

A stout young woman, unknown; had on a brown bombazine gown, coarse grey worsted stockings, and shoes tied with white tape, supposed to have come in at Oban, and then to have had on a black bonnet and two black feathers.

Wednesday morning a trunk of Mr M'Allister's and some other luggage were cast ashore.

Thursday morning, the 27th, the weather being very calm, the business of trawling with the boats were resumed at an early hour, and before seven o'clock the body of a man with a fustian jacket and trowsers, and a black vest, was found; he is supposed, from certain certificates found in a pocket-book on his person, to be either Lewis or Donald M'Kay, a son of George M'Kay, belonging to the parish of Duthil; Peter Sutherland, the carpenter of the Comet, says he is Donald M'Kay, by trade a smith, and that he was on his way from Invergordon to Glasgow, to seek employment. The bodies of the soldier found on Tuesday, and those of the two females found yesterday, have been interred in the church-yard of Gourrock. From the decayed state in which the bodies are which are got now, it is rendered indispensable to have them quickly confined and interred; and except by their dress, or documents found upon them, their nearest relations are unable to identify them. The body of a man was got in the afternoon, supposed, from a letter on his person, to be Alexander Munro of Campbellton.

Captain Thomson's revenue-cutter tried the experiment, on Thursday, of firing

guns over where the boat lies, in the hope of raising the missing bodies, but without success.

The boats did not commence operations till eight o'clock on Friday morning, owing to the rapidity of the tide, and to the wind being high; but they have been out ever since.

The body of Mrs Sutherland was found close by the shore, about one o'clock on Friday the 28th; and an hour afterwards the body of Mr M'Allister, W. S., was found near the same place: they were placed in coffins previously prepared for them; and about five o'clock the remains of that unfortunate lady passed through Greenock on its way to Glasgow, accompanied by Captain Warren, who arrived shortly before they were brought to shore. Every thing has been prepared for raising the Comet since Friday night, but owing to the heavy surf upon the water, nothing has been done. There have been two lighters and two steam-boats, with the necessary tackling, in Gourrock bay, ever since; and as soon as the weather settles, they proceed to the spot without a moment's delay. It has been stated in various papers, that Alexander Gray, piper of the Comet, was found some days since. This is incorrect, and may cause much inconvenience to many individuals who expected remittances by this honest; but unfortunate man, as it has been ascertained that he had from £250 to £300 on his person, to be paid in Glasgow on account of various individuals in the Highlands. The young gentleman whose linens were marked C. B. S. has not been claimed, though asserted otherwise, and it is quite uncertain what his name was: he has been interred, along with some others, a few inches from the surface, lest his friends should wish to claim the body.

It was formerly stated that 47 were accounted for as drowned and 13 saved; since that three more have been added to the melancholy list of sufferers, making the whole accounted for, independent of those missing, 63. The earliest announcement of this awful calamity seems to have been nearer the truth than any later accounts. It was then asserted that from 80 to 90 found a watery grave; and from those accounted for, and those still missing, we are sorry to say that this number has not been overrated.

A person named Charles M'Lean has been ascertained to have been on board the Comet when she sunk, and saved, in addition to those formerly mentioned.

Sunday the 30th, the weather was so stormy as to render it impossible to adopt any measures either to lift the boat or trawl for bodies at Gourrock; and to-day,

as it has increased to a perfect hurricane, and any attempts to that effect being still of necessity suspended, nothing has transpired.

On Saturday Mr Sheriff Dunlop arrived in town with the depositions which he had taken relative to this melancholy catastrophe, which were forwarded to the Lord Advocate at St. Catherine's.

Captain and Mrs Sutherland were on Saturday the 29th buried in the same grave. The funeral was conducted with military honours, and it was also honoured with the regrets and pity of all who witnessed the melancholy, though at the same time splendid, procession. The interment was in the burying-ground of the English Chapel of Glasgow.

24.—*Inverkeithing*.—On Friday last the church of Inverkeithing was discovered to be on fire; a quantity of smoke was observed coming through the roof; an alarm was immediately given by ringing the bell, and a crowd of people soon assembled in the church-yard. The Magistrates came, and were very active in giving directions to extinguish the fire. The flames raged in the roof of the south division of the church; but, by the great exertions of the persons present, only that part was destroyed, and the rafters were pulled down in a burning state. In the meantime, the pulpit, the lofts, and the seating, were removed in broken pieces, and thrown through the demolished windows into the church-yard. The fire was confined to the south division of the roof, but the whole church is rendered totally unfit for a place of worship. This handsome church was repaired and new seated, at a considerable expence, in 1808. It is of a peculiar construction, being covered by three separate roofs, which are supported by two rows of very ancient stone arches within the church, together with the two outer walls. These arches are now much injured, and appear to be giving way. It is expected that a new and larger church will be erected, as great complaints were made for want of accommodation in the old building. The fire was occasioned by plumbers soldering the copper gutters between the roofs.

27.—Mr Hume having lately arrived in Edinburgh, on his way to the north, the Associated Trades of Glasgow, by a Deputation from their number, waited upon him this day, at the Waterloo Hotel, to present him with a magnificent and massive piece of plate, as a token of their esteem for his character, and of their gratitude for his services.—Mr M'Aslan, one of the deputies, in presenting the plate, read over an address, to which Mr Hume made a temperate and judicious

reply. Under existing circumstances, he said, he must decline receiving all such tokens of esteem. But though he declined their present, he accepted with great pleasure their kind and sensible address. Next day, a Deputation of the Colliers of Lanark, Renfrew, and Dumbarton, waited on him, and met with a reception similar to that which he gave the tradesmen on the previous day. Their piece of plate was also politely refused. At the request, however, of a Deputation of gentlemen of this city, he has agreed to accept of a public dinner on his return from the north.

Climate of Edinburgh.—From observations made by Mr Adie during ten years, it appears that the driest months are February, March, April, and May; and the wettest, July, August, September, and October. The average fall of rain in the whole year was $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and that in each month as follows (neglecting the 2d and 3d places of decimals):—viz. Jan. 2 inches, Feb. 1.4, March 1.1, April 1.5, May 1.7, June 1.6, July 2.8, Aug. 2.7, Sept. 2.3, Oct. 2.4, Nov. 1.9, Dec. 1.8. The rain appears to increase regularly from March to July, and to diminish regularly from July to March. The observations were made many years ago.

Curious Discovery.—A short time ago, a search having been made among some ancient papers in Heriot's Hospital, there was discovered a challenge to mortal combat, addressed by the famous Rob Roy to the Duke of Montrose. It is in excellent preservation, and not a doubt can be entertained of its authenticity. It is at present in the hands of one of the sub-librarians of the Advocates' Library.

Glasgow Town Politics.—It appears that the election of Magistrates in Glasgow will be void this year, on more grounds than one. We mentioned lately, that the Council had had the hardihood to neglect the consuetudinary absurdity of stopping the clock at 12, that time might seem to stand still till so great a work was consummated. But what is equally bad, it appears that when the election of three merchants; and two trades bailies, took place on Tuesday the 4th, by some fatality, no record was made of the proceedings till some days after—and such a record, having no other foundation than the accuracy of the clerk's memory, is in no legal sense a minute. Mr M'Tyer, Convener of the Trades, has set forth this in a protest, and contends that the whole election is null and void. The men of Glasgow may therefore enter into the joys of a contested election when they please.

War among the Snakes.—Travelling through one of the Southern States of America, my attention was attracted by a singular rustling in the thickets which bordered the road. I stopped my horse to learn its cause, and soon discovered, at a few paces from the track, a rattlesnake of rather more than ordinary size, in a coil such as these reptiles always throw themselves into on the approach or attack of an enemy, exhibiting every symptom of extreme rage, and displaying all those beauties for which its species are so remarkable when under the influence of passion. No cause for its disorder was first visible, but in a short time a black snake darted from the surrounding bushes rapidly across the folds of his antagonist, and disappeared on the other side. The rattlesnake did not fail to strike at its darting assailant, but with what success, the rapidity of their motion prevented me from determining. The rattlesnake remained in his coil, prepared for another assault, which was accordingly soon offered by his black foe repairing, and again gliding across him with almost inconceivable rapidity, while the same attempt was made to punish the aggression. These movements were several times repeated with no apparent advantage to either party. The black snake seemed once or twice struck with the fangs of his enemy, and yet returned with undiminished celerity to his subtle assault. The density of the underwood would not permit me to follow with my eyes his retreat; and however great my curiosity to ascertain how he employed the time of his absence, I could not prevail upon myself to indulge in by entering on so fatal a battle-ground. At length the rattlesnake, in one of his attempts to revenge the insolence of his assailant, struck his fangs deep into his own body; he extricated them, stretched himself with every appearance of agony on the ground, and turning on his back in a short time expired. The crafty victor once more appeared, and seizing the lifeless body in his mouth, dragged it from the scene of action.

Dumbness cured by Steam.—Between two and three months ago, a young girl, who belongs to a respectable family in Edinburgh, lost her voice, and became completely dumb, in consequence of an inflammation of the lungs. The most eminent of the Faculty there declared they could do nothing for her. Her friends resolved that she should take the advice of Sir Astley Cooper; and about a month ago, she embarked on board the Edinburgh Castle steam-packet for that purpose. The machinery of the engine be-

came deranged on her way, and an alarm was spread amongst some of the female passengers, that the boiler was about to burst. The fright of the poor girl was so great as to have a powerful effect upon her disorder. She cried aloud, and suddenly recovered the use of her tongue, which she exercised sufficiently, until her return home, no doubt, under the apprehension that if she did not, there might be danger of a relapse.

The Jews.—A journal from Berlin has observed, that the whole Jewish population, which, in the times of Kings David and Solomon, amounted to four millions does not at present consist of more than three millions two hundred thousand individuals, who are scattered about as follows:—In Bavaria 53,402; in Saxony 1,300; in Hanover 6,100; in Wurtemberg 9,068; in Baden 16,930; in the principality of Hesse 5,170; in Ducal Hesse 14,982; in the remainder of the Confederation 18,248; in Frankfurt on the Maine 5,200; in Lubeck 400; in Hamburgh 8000; in Austria 453,545; in Prussia 134,980; in Russia 426,908; in Poland 232,000; in Great Britain

12,000; in France 60,000; in Holland 80,000, of which 20,100 are at Amsterdam; in Sweden 450; in Denmark 6,000; in Switzerland 1970; in Italy 36,900; in the Ionian Islands 7,000; in Cracow 7,800; in Turkey in Europe 231,000; in Asia 438,000, of which 300,000 are in Turkey in Asia; in Africa 504,000, of which 300,000 are at Morocco and Fez; in America 5,700; in the Australasia 50. The Jews are not tolerated in Spain or Portugal; and are not to be met with at all in Norway. In the Austrian States they enjoy very few privileges; in England their situation is by no means satisfactory. The laws respecting them in Russia are very rigorous. In the Confederate States, France, Holland, and Prussia, they enjoy all the rights of citizens, but fill no public employments.

Rare fish.—There was lately caught at the mouth of the North Esk, an opah of the Doru species; famous from it being of the reputed kind out of which the Apostle Peter took the piece of tribute-money. It weighed 3½ stones, and measured 3½ feet from the snout to the tip of the tail.

APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, &c.

I. ECCLESIASTICAL.

Sept. 22. The Rev. Charles Bannatyne ordained Minister of Stewarston.

— The Rev. Mr. Hill inducted to the Church and Parish of Logie Pert.

27. The Rev. William Stewart ordained Minister of the Old Dissenting Relief Church, Barrack-Street, Dundee.

— The United Associate Congregation of Kilwinning gave a harmonious call to Mr Robert Allan, preacher, to be their Pastor.

— The Rev. Mackintosh Mackay admitted Minister of Laggan.

Oct. 5. The Rev. Dr John Mitchell, Minister of the Parish of Largo, has been appointed successor of the late Rev. Dr John Cook, in the divinity chair of St. Mary's College, St. Andrew's.

6. The Rev. Mr. Ritchie, late of Kilmarnock, settled as Pastor of the Associate Congregation, Potterlow, Edinburgh.

— Mr Ferguson of Raith has presented the Rev. John Murray to the Church and Parish of Abbotshall.

11. The King has presented the Rev. Robert Allan to the Church and Parish of Little Dunkeld.

20. The Rev. James Gray chosen Minister of the Associate Congregation of Albion Chapel, Moorgate, London.

— 24. Mr William Carswell, called by the Second Associate Congregation of Cupar Angus.

— Mr George Kennedy ordained Minister of the Associate Congregation of Kilsnoquhar.

31. The King has presented the Rev. Adam Duncan Tait to the Church and Parish of Kirkliston.

II. MILITARY.—for September.

Brevet. Capt. Murray, 58 F. Maj. in the Army 12 Aug. 1823

1 Life Gds. Lieut. Hall, Capt. by purch. vice Lord Bingham, prom. 31 July 1823

Cornet and Sub-Lieut. Parker, Lieut. do.

1 Life Gds. H. Blackett, Cornet 31 July 1823

1 Dr. Gds. Lieut. Bray, Capt. by purch. vice Northcote, prom. 10 Sept.

Cornet Elwes, Lieut. do.

Paymast. MacLaurin, from 60 F. Paymast. vice Webster, dead 8 do.

J. C. Hodge, Cornet by purch. vice Hartopp, cancelled 18 Aug.

Lieut. Greene, Capt. by purch. vice Swinburne, prom. 10 Sept.

Cornet Peirse, Lieut. do.

— Dundas, Lieut. vice Todd, prom. 17 do.

W. C. Trevilian, Cornet vice Mitchell, 6 Dr. 11 Aug.

W. H. B. J. Wilson, Cornet 10 Sept.

E. Wethered, Cornet 17 do.

Cornet Keane, Lieut. by purch. vice Lawrenson, prom. 27 Aug.

W. Cunningham, Cornet do.

Lieut. Brymer, Capt. by purch. vice Phipon, prom. 10 Sept.

Cornet Browne, Lieut. do.

J. D. Browne, Cornet do.

Surg. Heriot, from 17 F. Surg. vice Scott, dead 1 do.

4 Dr. Lieut. Upton, Cornet by purch. vice Phillips, prom. do.

6 Cornet Fraser, from 17 Dr. Cornet vice Addison, h. p. re. diff. 8 do.

7 Lord A. Paget, Lieut. vice Daniell, prom. 25 Aug.

— J. E. of Hopetoun, Lieut. by purch. vice Smyth, prom. 10 Sept.

2d Lieut. Vivian, from Rifle Brigade, 6 Cornet 8 do.

Lieut. Hott, Capt. by purch. vice Campbell, prom. 27 Aug.

Cornet Ponsonby, Lieut. do.

Sir W. L. Young, Bt. Cornet do.

Serjt. Maj. Wright, Quart. Mast. vice Heley, dead 11 do.

Cornet Hon. W. E. Fitz Maurice, Lieut. by purch. vice Musgrave, prom. 24 Sept.

N. Weekes, Cornet do.

10 Dr.	Cornet and Riding Master, Surman, Rank of Lieut. 15 April 1825	57 F.	J. Cuppage, Ensign by purch. vice Gilheiss, prom. 10 Sept. 1825
12	Lieut. Phillips, Adj. vice Sidley, res. Adj. only 18 Aug.	59	Ensignborough, Lieut. by purch. vice Bouverie, prom. 17 do.
	Phillips, (Riding Master) Cornet without pay do.	40	M. Spencer, Ensign do.
	Assist. surg. Maginn, from 37 F. Assist. Surg. vice Egan, 66 F. 8 Sept.		Ensign Poyer, Lieut. by purch. vice Clayfield, prom. do.
15	Cornet Sugdon, Lieut. by purch. vice Stuart, prom. 27 Aug.		Robertson, Lieut. by purch. vice Gannagh, prom. do.
	F. G. Smith, Cornet 10 Sept.		S. R. J. Marshall, Ensign do.
	Cornet Sir A. T. C. Campbell, Lt. Lieut. by purch. vice Andrews, prom. 8 do.	42	J. Stopford, Ensign do.
16	Cornet Neale, Lieut. by purch. vice Croasley, prom. 27 Aug.		Lieut. J. Macdonald, Capt. by purch. vice Brevet Maj. Macdonald, prom. 10 do.
17	C. F. R. Johnston, Cornet do.	43	Ensign Macdonald, Lieut. do.
	Cornet Pöle, Lieut. by purch. vice Robbins, prom. do.		W. D. Macfarlane, Ensign do.
	Ensign Walsh, from h. p. Cornet (paying diff.) vice Fraser, 6 Dr. 8 Sept.		Capt. Hon. C. Grey, from 17 F. Capt. vice Maclean, h. p. rec. diff. 10 Aug.
5 F. G.	Ensign Knox, from 55 F. Ensign and Lieut. by purch. vice Fraser, prom. 15 Aug.		Lieut. Koppel, Capt. by purch. vice Hill, ret. 1 Sept.
1 F.	Ensign Muller, Lieut. vice Babington, dead 11 Aug.		Ward, Capt. by purch. vice Fraser, prom. 10 do.
	H. W. Neville, Ensign do.		Ensign Denham, Lieut. 1 do.
	W. H. Campbell, Ensign by purch. vice Every, prom. 27 do.	44	Tryon, Lieut. 10 do.
2	Ensign Cooper, Lieut. by purch. vice Hindle, prom. 10 Sept.	45	H. Bruere, Ensign 1 do.
5	R. Lloyd, Ensign do.		G. J. Burslem, Ensign 10 do.
	W. C. Mayne, Ensign by purch. vice Barton, 15 F. 11 Aug.		Ensign McCrea, Lieut. by purch. vice Courtenay, prom. 8 do.
7	Ensign La Touche, from 11 F. Lieut. by purch. vice Stuart, prom. 15 do.		Lieut. Moore, from 11 F. Capt. vice Kelly, dead 11 Aug.
8	Lieut. Gen. Bayly, Colonel vice Gen. Stevens, dead 15 Sept.	46	Ensign and Adj. Blakeway, from Cape Corps, Lieut. vice Urquhart, dead 8 Sept.
	Ensign Deshon, from 2 Vet. Bn. Ensign 7 April		E. H. D. F. Napier, Ensign vice Mannets, 75 F. 11 Aug.
9	Ogle, Lieut. by purch. vice Brooks, prom. 8 Sept.	48	Ensign Vardo, Lieut. by purch. vice Patton, prom. 10 Sept.
11	England, Lieut. vice Moore, 45 F. 11 Aug.		W. J. Crompton, Ensign do.
	Gent. Cadet W. G. Eyre, from R. Mil. Coll. Ensign by purch. vice La Touche, 7 F. 15 do.		F. W. Martin, Lieut. by purch. vice Taylor, prom. 17 do.
	M. J. Gambier, do. 14 do.		Ensign O'Brien, Lieut. vice Hull, dead 24 Aug.
12	Capt. Turberville, Maj. by purch. vice Hare, prom. 27 do.	50	Fotherill, Lieut. 25 do.
	Lieut. Shafto, Capt. do.		A. H. Hull, Ensign 24 do.
	Lieut. Bayly, Lieut. do.	52	A. Donellan, Ensign 25 do.
	B. Wilson, Ensign do.		Gent. Cadet E. G. H. H. Gibbs, from R. Mil. Coll. Ensign by purch. vice Ward, 45 F. 7 Sept.
16	Brevet Maj. Audain, Maj. vice Hook, Ceylon Reg. 11 do.		Lieut. Williams, from 5 Vet. Bn. Lieut. 8 April
	Lieut. Dalzell, Capt. 1 Sept.		Ensign Eden, from 84 F. Lieut. by purch. vice R. F. Hill, prom. 10 Sept.
	Ensign Jones, Lieut. do.	53	Kelly, from 69 F. Lieut. by purch. vice Spooner, prom. 1 do.
	Delaney, from 93 F. Ensign do.		E. Delrie, Ensign by purch. vice Knox, 5 F. Gds. 11 Aug.
17	Forbes, Lieut. vice Graham, dead 14 Aug.	54	Ensign Hill, Lieut. by purch. vice Adams, prom. 17 Sept.
	Cooper, Ensign do.		T. Carnegie, Lieut. do.
18	Ensign Young, Lieut. by purch. vice Lynar, prom. 24 Sept.	58	Warren, Lieut. by purch. vice Cosby, prom. 10 do.
20	J. F. Cumming, Lieut. vice McDermott, prom. 1 do.		Ingle, from 92 F. Ensign do.
22	Assist. Surg. Brown, from 5 Dr. Gds. Surg. vice Chambers, h. p. 8 do.		Lieut. Saddler, Capt. vice Clabon, dead 25 Aug.
23	W. Jackson, Ensign by purch. vice Smart, prom. 14 Aug.		Jackson, from Staff Corps, Lieut. 1 Sept.
26	Ensign Sitwell, Lieut. by purch. vice Pratt, prom. 17 Sept.	62	Ensign Mackenzie, Lieut. by purch. vice Jackson, prom. 17 do.
	Hagart, Ensign do.		R. Mackenzie, Ensign do.
27	Lieut. Knox, from 1 Vet. Bn. Lieut. vice Talbot, prom. 8 April	63	Fisher, Ensign by purch. vice Mair, prom. do.
29	Weir, Capt. by purch. vice Pennington, ret. 1 Sept.		T. Grayson, Ensign do.
	Ensign Browne, Lieut. do.		Serj. Maj. M. Faulden, from 85 F. Art. and Ensign vice Jordan, res. Adj. only 11 Aug.
31	P. S. Fitz Gerald, Ensign do.	65	G. Armstrong, Ensign by purch. vice Levett, 5 Dr. 10 Sept.
	Ensign Young, Lieut. vice Nunn, prom. 25 Aug.	66	Ensign Dundas, Lieut. by purch. vice Widdrington, prom. 17 do.
32	G. C. Marshall, Ensign do.	67	Lieut. Ross, from h. p. 88 F. Paymast. vice Kerr, h. p. 11 Aug.
	Ensign Hodges, Lieut. by purch. vice Harrison, prom. 21 Sept.		Wood, Capt. by purch. vice Dwyer, prom. 10 Sept.
33	C. S. Beasley, Ensign do.		Currie, Ensign vice Hennessey, prom. 1 do.
	Lieut. Sempie, from 77 F. Lieut. vice Keogh, h. p. 44 F. 19 July	75	Lieut. Payne, from h. p. Rifle Brigade, Lieut. (repay diff.) vice Pictet, cancelled 11 Aug.
	Quart. Mast. Serj. Price, Quart. Mast. vice Mathews, dead 11 Aug.		Harrison, from 11 F. Lieut. vice Macbean, cancelled 25 do.
	W. Warde, Ensign vice Sargent, res. 18 do.		Palmer, from 11 F. Lieut. vice Sempie, 45 F. 11 do.
	R. A. Maxwell, Ensign by purch. vice Lord Portlinton, prom. 10 Sept.	77	

77 F. Ensign Lomax, Lieut. vice Faulkner, dead 1 Sept. 1825
 A. S. Jonek, Ensign do.
 78 Capt. Hon. F. C. Stanhope, from h. p. do.
 82 F. Capt. do.
 79 Ensign Manners, from 46 F. Ensign vice Bates, 55 F. 11 Aug.
 Christie, Lieut. by purch. vice Sinclair, prom. 10 Sept.
 J. S. Smyth, Ensign do.
 80 Lieut. Macdonald, from 89 F. Lieut. vice Twigg, prom. 20 Aug.
 81 W. R. Faber, Ensign by purch. vice Eden, 52 F. 10 Sept.
 85 W. E. M. Mundy, Ensign by purch. vice Martin, prom. 20 Aug.
 Ensign Taylor, Lieut. by purch. vice Butler, prom. 10 Sept.
 Hosp. Assist. Home, Assist. Surg. vice Browne, dead 18 Aug.
 81 Lieut. Ellis, Capt. vice Paris, dead 11 do.
 ——— Woollard, from 44 F. Lieut. 1 Sept.
 90 ——— Stuart, Capt. by purch. vice Conry, ret. 11 Aug.
 Ensign White, Lieut. do.
 92 H. R. Thurlow, Ensign do.
 J. Rolis, Ensign by purch. vice Inglis, 54 F. 10 Sept.
 93 J. Watt, Ensign by purch. vice Dalzell, 60 F. 2 do.
 94 Capt. Meek, from h. p. Capt. vice Franklyn, cancelled 18 Aug.
 Ensign Wetherell, Lieut. by purch. vice Davies, prom. 27 do.
 F. Carter, Ensign do.
 97 Capt. Foster, from h. p. 85 F. Capt. vice Pratt, 17 F. 18 do.
 Rifle Brig. Lieut. Byrne, Capt. by purch. vice Hewett, prom. 10 Sept.
 R. Staff C. 2d Lieut. Westmacott, 1st Lieut. vice Jackson, 58 F. 1 do.
 1 W. L. R. Lieut. Jeffares, Capt. vice Hemsworth, dead 11 Aug.
 Ensign Gray, Lieut. do.
 G. R. Pole, Ensign do.
 Ceylon R. Lieut. Col. Hook, from 16 F. Lieut. Col. do.
 Lieut. Robertson, from h. p. Sicilian R. Lieut. 8 Sept.
 ——— Phelan, from h. p. 1 W. L. R. Lieut. do.
 ——— De Chair, from h. p. 6 F. Lieut. do.
 ——— Hewitt, from h. p. Dillon's R. Lieut. do.
 ——— Kingsley, from h. p. Afr. Corps, Lieut. do.
 ——— Woodford, from h. p. 14 F. Lieut. do.
 ——— McQuestion, from h. p. 103 F. Lieut. do.
 ——— Whitaker, from h. p. 34 F. Lieut. do.
 ——— Lambrecht, from h. p. 3 Gar. Bn. Lieut. do.
 ——— Woolhouse, from h. p. 81 F. Lieut. do.
 ——— Kearn, from h. p. 97 F. Lieut. do.
 Afr. Col. C. G. Landells, Ensign vice Gordon, dead 25 Aug.
 Vet. Co. } Lt. Lieut. Col. Dumaresq. from 49
 N. S. Wales } F. Capt. 24 Sept.
 Capt. Robison, from h. p. 170 F. Capt. do.
 ——— D'Arcy, from h. p. 26 F. Capt. do.
 ——— Lieut. Bell, from 3 Vet. Bn. Lieut. do.
 ——— Warner, from 1 W. L. R. Lieut. do.
 ——— Collins, from 1 Vet. Bn. Lieut. do.
 ——— Travers, from 3 Vet. Bn. Lieut. do.
 ——— from 98 F. Lieut. do.
 ——— from 60 F. Lieut. do.

Ordnance Department.—Royal Artillery.

2d Capt. Hanwell, from h. p. 2d Capt. vice Ed-
 celled 29 July 1825.

Medical Department.

2d Assist. Surg. Parrat, 1st Assist. Surg. 6 July 1825
 ——— Chyholm, from h. p. 2d Assist. Surg. do.

Garrisons.

Capt. White, h. p. Town Major of Dublin 25 July 1825
 Brevet Maj. Terry, 25 F. Town Adj. at Malta, vice Clarke, 6 F. 18 Aug.
 Lieut. Durell, from h. p. 1 W. L. R. Town Adj. Portsmouth, vice Wilson, res. do.

Royal Military College.

Capt. Chadwick, from Riding School of the Army, Riding Master 1 Aug. 1825

Staff.

Brevet Maj. Macleod, 52 F. Dep. Adj. Gen. Jamaica, with rank of Lieut. Col. in the Army, vice Bowles, res. 18 Aug. 1825.
 Brevet Maj. Shaw, 4 F. Dep. Quart. Mast. Gen. Windward and Leeward Islands, with rank of Lieut. Col. in the Army, vice Moore, res. do.
 Lieut. Daniell, from 7 Dr. (Assist. in Riding School of the Army) rank and pay of Capt. of Cavalry, vice Chadwick 1 do.

Hospital Staff.

Assist. Surg. Melin, Surg. vice Mapother, h. p. 1 Sept. 1825.
 ——— Millar, Surg. vice Thomas, prom. do.
 ——— Higaby, from h. p. 97 F. Assist. Surg. vice Hosp. Assist. Blackwood, h. p. 25 Aug.
 H. J. Jemmett, Hosp. Assist. vice Hughes, 53 F. 28 July
 J. Gillice, Hosp. Assist. vice Crawford, 68 F. 18 Aug.
 W. Murray, Hosp. Assist. vice Bell, 81 F. do.

Unattached.

To be Lieutenant-Colonels of Infantry by purchase.

Brevet Lieut. Col. Haro, from 12 F. 27 Aug. 1825.
 ——— Vyse, from 2 Life Gds. 10 Sept.

To be Majors of Infantry by purchase.

Capt. Campbell, from 8 Dr. 27 Aug. 1825
 Brevet Maj. Macdonald, from 42 F. 10 Sept.
 Capt. Freer, from 43 F. do.
 ——— Pipon, from 6 Dr. Gds. do.
 ——— Northcote, from 1 Dr. Gds. do.
 ——— Hewett, from Rifle Brigade do.
 ——— Swinburne, from 3 Dr. Gds. do.
 ——— Dwyer, from 67 F. do.

To be Captains of Companies by purchase.

Lieut. Hon. J. Stuart, from 13 F. 27 Aug. 1825
 ——— Spooner, from 52 F. do.
 ——— Davies, from 94 F. do.
 ——— Lawrenson, from 4 Dr. Gds. do.
 ——— Robbins, from 17 Dr. do.
 ——— Andrews, from 13 Dr. do.
 ——— Brookes, from 9 F. do.
 ——— Crossley, from 16 Dr. do.
 ——— Hill, from 52 F. do.
 ——— Butler, from 85 F. 10 Sept.
 ——— Patton, from 46 F. do.
 ——— Cosby, from 54 F. do.
 ——— Smyth, from 7 Dr. do.
 ——— Hon. J. Sinclair, from 79 F. do.
 ——— Hindle, from 2 F. do.
 ——— Jackson, from 58 F. 17 do.
 ——— Adams, from 53 F. do.
 ——— Master, from 1 Dr. Gds. do.
 ——— Todd, from 3 Dr. Gds. do.
 ——— Pratt, from 26 F. do.
 ——— Barry, from 6 Dr. do.
 ——— Ganning, from 40 F. do.
 ——— Clayfield, from 40 F. do.
 ——— Browne, from 17 F. do.
 ——— Mair, from 62 F. do.

To be Captains of Companies by Purchase.

Lieut. Bouvene, from 39 F.	17 Sept. 1825
Widdington, from 65 F.	do.
Dayrell, from 10 F.	do.
Black, from 74 F.	do.
Lynar, from 18 F.	24 do.
Harrison, from 32 F.	do.
Musgrave, from 9 Dr.	do.
Lord F. Lennox, from 7 F.	do.

To be Lieutenants by purchase.

Ensign Every, from 1 F.	27 Aug. 1825
Gillies, from 37 F.	10 Sept.
J. Earl of Portarlington, from 35 F.	do.

To be Ensigns by purchase.

S. J. W. F. Welch	27 Aug. 1825
G. Crawford	do.
H. G. Gray	10 Sept.
H. S. Smith	do.
E. J. Boddy	17 do.
W. J. M. Hughes	do.

Exchanges.

Bt. Lieut. Col. Love, from 52 F. with Capt. St. George, h. p. (pay, diff. to h. p. fund)	
Major Terry, from 25 F. with Capt. Taylor, h. p. 51 F.	
Capt. Hadden, from 17 Dr. rec. diff. with Capt. Clarke, h. p.	
Murray, from 3 F. Gds. with Capt. Fraser, h. p.	
L'Estrange, from 24 F. with Capt. Andrews, 51 F.	
St. Leger, from 75 F. with Capt. Browne, h. p. Port. Serv.	
Bundon, from 84 F. with Capt. Shee, h. p. 12 F.	
Heart, from Cape Corps with Capt. Briggs, h. p. 5 F.	
Lieut. Sinkins, from 54 F. with Lieut. Brown, 16 F.	
Bunbury, from 95 F. with Lieut. Collis, h. p. 70 F.	
Ensign Horsford, from 35 F. with Ensign Earl of Portarlington, h. p. 86 F.	
Heyland, from 37 F. rec. diff. with Ensign Gillies, h. p. 10 F.	
Farrell, from 64 F. with Ensign Hunter, h. p. 62 F.	
Quart. Mast. Kinkie, from 10 Dr. with Quart. Mast. McClellan, h. p. 19 Dr.	

Resignations and Retirements.

Colonel Mackenzie, h. p. York Lieut. Inf. Vol.	
Sir H. St. Paul, Bt. h. p. 5 F.	
Lieut. Col. Northey, h. p. Perm. Assist. Quart. Mast. Gen.	
Hill, h. p. 1 F.	
Bennet, h. p. 2 Dallon's Reg.	
Thorn, h. p. 25 Dr.	
Stessor, h. p. 35 F.	
Major M'Crea, late 5 Vet. Bn.	
Carter, h. p. 1 Gar. Bn.	
Freer, h. p. 25 F.	
Pipon, h. p. Newfoundland Fencibles	
Capt. Pennington, 29 F.	
Hill, 43 F.	
Conry, 90 F.	
Hon. J. Stopford, h. p. 20 F.	
Thurston, h. p. 16 Dr.	
Le Breton, h. p. 60 F.	
Taylor, h. p. 28 F.	
M'Pherson, h. p. 66 F.	
Campbell, h. p. 84 F.	
Lewin, h. p. 50 F.	
Read, h. p. 18 F.	
Hurd, h. p. 60 F.	
Barry, h. p. 4 Irish Brigade	
Fitz Gibbon, h. p. Glenhagar Fencibles	
Livingston, h. p. 1 Gar. Bn.	
Mahony, h. p. 5 Irish Brigade	
Caulfield, h. p. 6 Dr. Gds.	

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Resignations and Retirements.

Capt. Willis, h. p. 6 Irish Brigade	
De Froger, h. p. 96 F.	
Blake, h. p. 2 Gar. Bn.	
Budd, h. p. 86 F.	
Crean, h. p. 41 F.	
Warre, h. p. 1 Gar. Bn.	
Sandys, h. p. Barrack Artificers	
Cotes, h. p. 45 F.	
Probyn, h. p. 91 F.	
Connell, h. p. 1 F.	
Green, h. p. Nugent's Levy	
Chetwynd, h. p. 7 Gar. Bn.	
Bury, h. p. 6 Gar. Bn.	
Macdonald, h. p. 50 F.	
Visc. Allen, h. p. 7 Gar. Bn.	
Vernon, h. p. 10 Dr.	
Notthey, h. p. Cape Reg.	
Browne, h. p. 81 F.	
Lieut. Kirby, h. p. 47 F.	
Symes, h. p. 68 F.	
Bronckhorst, h. p. 60 F.	
Davidson, h. p. 86 F.	
Launie, h. p. 26 F.	
Cornet Barton, h. p. 2 Dr.	
Ensign Sargent, 55 F.	
Carmichael, h. p. 36 F.	
Davidson, h. p. Cape Reg.	
Daly, h. p. 57 F.	
Honeywood, h. p. 1 F.	

Appointments Cancelled.

Captain Franklyn, 94 F.	
Lieut. Pictet, 75 F.	
Macbean, 75 F.	
2d Lieutenant Caffin, R. Art.	
Cornet Hartopp, 2 Dr. Gds.	

Deaths.

General Stevens, Colonel of 8 F. and Governor of Fort William	Sept. 1825
Colonel Lord Henry Moore, Kildare Mil.	
Major Williamson, h. p. Waggon Train, Parson's Green	28 Feb.
Capt. Lord S. Kerr, 32 F. Corfu	11 Aug.
Kelly, 45 F.	
Faris, 88 F. Templemore	1 do.
Donaldson, 92 F. Up Park Camp, Jamaica,	16 July
Wilson, h. p. 15 F. Cheltenham	11 do.
Ruttledge, h. p. 47 F. Castlebar	27 Aug.
H. Mackay, h. p. 7 W. 1. R. Islington	25 Aug.
Wills, h. p. Fish's Corps	18 June
Gordon, h. p. Port Ser.	Aug. 1824
Bruckmann, h. p. 8 Line Ger. Leg. Hanover	2 Sept. 1825
Lieut. Duke, 46 F.	
Butt, 56 F. Port Louis, Mauritius	6 April
Penn, 69 F. Fort St. George, Madras	
Molony, 80 F. Malta	5 March
Splaine, R. Afr. Col. Corps, Africa	22 July
Gilchrist, late 7 Vet. Bn. Worcester	29 Aug.
Carleton, h. p. 1 Dr. Gds. Lisburne, Ireland	26 do.
Stewart, h. p. 30 F. Perth	25 do.
Small, h. p. 32 F. Hatfield, Herts	22 June
Nickson, h. p. 60 F.	
Ditmas, h. p. 68 F. Burlington Quay	29 Aug.
Scott, h. p. 91 F.	8 July
Egan, h. p. 95 F. Jersey	20 Aug.
Ensign Battley, 80 F. Kampsee, Madras	15 Jan.
M'Pherson, h. p. 6 F. Ardenier, Inverness	8 March
Paymaster Mansell, h. p. 66 F.	
Quart. Mast. Hely, 9 Lancers, Dublin	8 Aug.

Medical Department.

Dep. Insp. Inglis, Africa	
Assist. Surg. James, Malta	19 July

CORN MARKETS.

Edinburgh.

1825.	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Pease.		Quar. Loaf.	Potat. p. peck	1825.	Oatmeal.		B. & P. Meal	
	Bls.	Prices.	Av. pr.									Bls.	Peck.	Bls.	Peck.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Oct. 19	07	31 0 42 0	57	3	30 0 35 0	20 0 24 0	21 0 26	0 11	1 0	0	Oct. 18	243	1 5	37	1 3
26	875	35 0 42 0	56	40	32 0 36 0	21 0 26 0	23 0 28 6	0 11	1 0	0	25	283	1 6	37	1 3
Nov. 2	952	28 0 40 0	54	9	30 0 35 6	20 0 25 6	22 0 25 0	0 11	1 0	0	Nov. 1	502	1 6	36	1 3
9	660	30 0 38 0	54	2	28 0 31 0	20 0 24 0	21 0 24 6	0 11	0	0	8	301	1 5	36	1 3

Glasgow.

1825.	Wheat, 240 lbs.		Oats, 264 lbs.		Barley, 320 lbs.		Bns. & Pse.	Oatmeal, 140 lbs.	Flour, 280 lbs.
	Dantzic.	For. red.	British.	Irish.	Scottish.	Irish.			
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Oct. 19				30 0 34 0	18 0 21 0		21 6 31 0	24 0 26 0	18 6 21 0
25				30 0 34 0	18 0 21 0		21 6 31 0	24 0 26 0	17 6 20 0
Nov. 2				30 0 34 0	18 0 21 0		21 0 31 0	25 0 27 0	17 6 20 0
9				31 0 34 0	18 0 21 5		21 0 31 6	26 0 27 0	17 6 20 0

Haddington.

Dalkeith.

												Oatmeal.														
		Bolls.	Prices.		Av. pr.		Barley.		Pease.	Beans.			Per Boll.	Pr. Peck												
			s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.														
Oct.	21	691	27	0	41	0	36	5	28	0	32	6	19	0	25	0	20	25	6	Oct.	17	18	19	5	1	5
	28	756	50	0	58	0	34	1	28	0	32	0									21	19	20	5	1	4
Nov.	4	919	27	0	35	6	32	7	26	0	30	6	20	0	21	0					51	19	20	6	1	4
	11	527	50	0	55	6	53	7	27	0	31	0	20	0	24	6							20	0	1	4
														20	0	25	0	Nov.					20	0	1	4

London.

1825.	Wheat, per qr.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.		Beans.		Pease.		Flour, 280 lb.		Quar. Loaf.
				Fd & Pol.	Potat.	Pigeon.	Tick.	Boiling.	Grey.	Fine.	2d.	
	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	d.
Oct. 17	50 75	58 41	55 46	25 30	25 35	43 51	58 46	50 60	46 48	55 60	15 51	11
21	50 75	54 42	55 17	24 51	21 31	50 51	57 18	48 62	47 48	55 60	15 51	11
31	50 75	58 41	55 45	25 30	25 35	42 51	58 46	48 56	46 48	55 60	15 51	11
Nov. 7	50 75	58 41	55 46	25 30	25 35	43 51	58 46	48 55	46 48	55 60	15 51	11

Liverpool.

1825.	Wheat, 70 lb.	Oats, 45 lb.	Barley, 60 lb.	Rye, per qr.	Beans, per qr.	Pease, per qr.	Flour.			Oatm. 240 lb.	
							Eng. 240 lb.	Irish.	Amer. 106 lb.	Engl.	Scots.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.
Oct. 18	4 0 10 6	2 0 3 8	5 0 6 10	58 44	42 52	56 51	54 57	50 55	16 26	50 32	50 52
25	5 9 10 6	3 4 3 7	5 0 6 9	58 42	41 50	56 51	54 54	48 53	16 26	50 32	50 52
Nov. 1	5 9 10 6	3 1 3 7	4 9 6 1	58 44	41 50	56 51	54 54	46 50	16 26	50 32	50 52
8	5 9 10 9	3 1 5 7	4 0 6 4	58 44	44 50	56 51	52 55	16 50	17 26	50 31	50 52

England & Wales.

1825.	Wht.	Rye.	Barley	Oats.	Beans.	Pease.	Oatm.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Oct. 8	64 7	41 5	41 2	25 10	16 0	56 6	—
15	64 2	41 9	40 9	26 5	45 10	55 11	—
22	61 7	42 6	40 11	25 6	46 5	55 4	—
29	65 0	42 5	41 7	26 1	46 11	55 4	—

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE.

Kept at Edinburgh, in the Observatory, Caltonhill.

N.B.—The Observations are made twice every day, at nine o'clock forenoon and four o'clock afternoon.—The second Observation, in the afternoon, in the first column, is taken by the Registrar Thermometer.

Ther.	Baro.	Attach. Ther.	Wind.	Weather.	1825.	Ther.	Baro.	Attach. Ther.	Wind.	Weather.
M. 16	29.580	M. 53			Oct. 17	M. 37	29.712	M. 55		
A. 31	.479	A. 58	Cble.	Dull with light rain.		A. 44	.560	A. 46	Cble.	Cold, heavy rain aftern.
M. 49	.550	M. 39				M. 33	.473	M. 46		Dull, with shrs. rain.
A. 30	.520	A. 62	S.	Fair with sunshine.	18	A. 45	28.946	A. 49	W.	Very cold, dull, fair.
M. 50		M. 62		Heavy rain afternoon.	19	M. 58	.999	M. 47	NE.	Very cold, with sunsh.
A. 39		A. 61		Fair with sunshme.		A. 43	.759	A. 45	N.	Morn. frost, aftern. dull.
M. 50		M. 61		Fair with sunshme.	20	M. 51	.999	M. 42		Morn. cold, fair day.
A. 56		A. 60		Cble. with shrs. rain.		A. 56	.969	A. 41	N.	Foren. sunsh. dull aftern.
M. 47	.555	M. 58	SW.	Fair, with sunshme.	21	M. 50	29.250	M. 58	NW.	Fair with some sunsh.
A. 55	.650	A. 60		Foren. rain, aftrn. sunsh.		A. 51	.588	A. 45		Fair, but rather dull.
M. 48	.551	M. 60	SW.	Dull, with shrs. rain aftern.	22	M. 50	.682	M. 42	W.	Frost morn, rain aftern.
A. 58	.551	A. 51		Dull, with shrs. rain aftern.		A. 37	.676	A. 43		Fair, with sunshme.
M. 45	.555	M. 55	N.	Dull, with shrs. rain aftern.	23	M. 40	.708	M. 50	W.	Foren. sunsh. dull aftern.
A. 50	.591	A. 55		Dull, with shrs. rain aftern.		A. 50	.877	A. 50		Fair with some sunsh.
M. 15	.530	M. 45	S.	Dull, with shrs. rain aftern.	24	M. 45	.420	M. 54	SW.	Fair, but rather dull.
A. 54	.530	A. 55		Morn. rain, day sunsh.		A. 53	.486	A. 57		Frost morn, rain aftern.
M. 14	.568	M. 54	SW.	Rain most of day.	25	M. 50	.500	M. 41	NW.	Fair, with sunshme.
A. 56	.516	A. 58		Dull, but fair.		A. 57	.676	A. 44		Ditto.
M. 30	.572	M. 38	S.	Fair, with sunshme.	26	M. 51	.702	M. 42	NW.	Foren. sunsh. dull aftern.
A. 51	.848	A. 51		Fair foren. shower aftern.		A. 58	.638	A. 41	W.	Fair, with sunshme.
M. 47	.848	M. 51	SW.	Fair, with sunshme.	27	M. 50	.576	M. 45	W.	Fair, with sunshme.
A. 49	.878	A. 56		Fair, with sunshme.		A. 59	.638	M. 52	W.	Ditto.
M. 45	.708	M. 58	Cble.	Fair, with sunshme.	28	M. 46	.638	M. 51	W.	Foren. sunsh. dull aftern.
A. 60	.844	A. 60		Fair, with sunshme.		A. 50	.668	A. 52	SW.	Fair, with sunshme.
M. 16	.844	A. 57	W.	Fair, with sunshme.	29	M. 45	.425	A. 52	SW.	Ditto.
A. 50	.844	A. 56		Fair foren. shower aftern.		A. 50	.425	A. 52	SW.	Foren. sunsh. dull aftern.
M. 15	.820	M. 58	W.	Fair, with sunshme.	30	M. 42	.120	M. 54	NW.	Fair, with sunshme.
A. 55	.825	A. 58		Fair, with sunshme.		A. 55	28.999	M. 50	W.	
M. 50	.969	M. 55	SW.	Foren. sunsh. dull aftern.	31	M. 59	.576	M. 50		
A. 41	.969	A. 55		Foren. sunsh. dull aftern.		A. 48	.104	M. 51		
M. 16	.991	M. 55	SW.	Foren. sunsh. dull aftern.						
A. 55	.991	A. 55								

Average of rain, 2.412.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

A SEVERE frost, with a loud wind, on the 20th and 21st October, gave the first indication of Winter's approach. At that period, some potatoes still remained in the field, but by the end of that month, the whole were taken up. The produce on dry soils was unusually light,—on rich, retentive loams, abundant. Little wheat remained to sow by the beginning of November, and since the 7th, none could have been sown, by reason of the frost. A general anticipation prevails that the ensuing Winter will be severely cold: whether or not this may be the case, the frost has been keener than we recollect of having seen it at this early period of the season. On the evening of the 9th, the mercury in the thermometer fell to 21° Fahrenheit, at an elevation of 172 feet above the level of the sea. Plowing was consequently interrupted, and has not yet been generally resumed, as the frost still continues, though less severe.

Turnips have acquired very little additional weight since our last, and the frost precludes any addition in this month. A scarcity may be felt of that root in the Spring months, and potatoes are too scarce, and too high-priced, to be used extensively as a substitute.

Grain of every description sold well about the end of October; since then, the probability that the ports would open for barley has damped the sale of that article, and prices rather look down. In wheat there is little alteration, and oats sell freely. Pease are in demand.

Cattle have fallen something in price: In some of the late fairs, sheep, particularly wethers, met a rather dull sale; but, in general, ewes sold freely, at no diminution of price.

Perthshire, 15th Nov. 1825.

Course of Exchange, London, Nov. 8.—Amsterdam, 12 : 3. Ditto at sight, 12 : 0. Rotterdam, 12 : 4. Antwerp, 12 : 4. Hamburg, 36 : 11. Altona, 37 : 0. Paris, 3 days sight, 25 : 30. Ditto, 25 : 55. Bourdeaux, 25 : 55. Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 151. Petersburg, 9 $\frac{3}{4}$, 3 U. Berlin, 7. Vienna, *Fl. flo.*, 9 : 58. Trieste, ditto, 9 : 58. Madrid, 37. Cadiz, 37. Bilbao, 36 $\frac{1}{2}$. Barcelona, 36. Seville, 36 $\frac{1}{2}$. Gibraltar, 31. Leghorn, 49 $\frac{3}{4}$. Genoa, 44 $\frac{3}{4}$. Venice, 27. Buenos-Ayres, 43 $\frac{1}{4}$. Naples, 40 $\frac{3}{4}$. Palermo, per oz. 123. Lisbon, 51. Oporto, 51. Rio Janeiro, 49. Bahia, 51. Dublin, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ —Cork, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Prices of Bullion, 7 oz.—Portugal Gold in coin, £0.000. Foreign Gold in bars, £3.17.9d.—New Doubloons, £0.000. New Dollars, 4s. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. Silver in bars, standard, 0s. 0d.

Premiums of Insurance at Lloyd's.—Guernsey or Jersey, 15s. 9d.—Cork or Dublin, 15s. 9d.—Belfast, 15s. 9d.—Hamburg, 20s. a 30s.—Madeira, 20s.—Jamaica, 25s. a 30s.—Home, 35s. a 40s.—Greenland, out and home, 0 a 0 gs.

Weekly Prices of the Public Funds, from Oct. 19 to Nov. 9, 1825.

	Oct. 1.	Oct. 26.	Nov. 2.	Nov. 9.
Bank Stock.....	226	225	224 $\frac{1}{2}$	224 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ cent. reduced..	87 $\frac{1}{4}$	87	86 $\frac{3}{4}$	86 $\frac{3}{4}$
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ cent. consols..	88 $\frac{1}{2}$	87 $\frac{3}{4}$	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	87 $\frac{3}{4}$
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ cent. do.....	95 $\frac{1}{2}$	94 $\frac{1}{2}$	94 $\frac{1}{2}$	94 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ cent. do.....	103 $\frac{3}{8}$	103 $\frac{1}{4}$	103 $\frac{1}{4}$	103 $\frac{3}{8}$
Ditto New do.....	—	—	—	—
India Stock.....	—	—	—	—
— Bonds.....	15 12	—	11 14	12 13
Exchequer bills,....	3 pr.	1 pr.	2 pr.	2 3 pr.
Consols for account.	88 $\frac{1}{4}$	87 $\frac{3}{4}$	87 $\frac{3}{4}$	87 $\frac{1}{4}$
French 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents..	100fr.—c.	—	71 fr.50 c.	—

Prices of Stocks.—Edinburgh, 11th November 1825.

	Shares.	Paid up.	Price.
Royal Bank of Scotland,.....	£.100 0 0	£.100 0	£.196 0 0
Bank of Scotland,.....	83 6 8	83 6	220 0 0
Commercial Banking Company of Scotland,..	500 0 0	100 0	
National Banking Company,.....	100 0 0	10 0	10 18 0
British Linen Company,.....	100 0 0	100, 0	315 0 0
Edinburgh Friendly Insurance Company,..	0 0 0	100 0	1000 0 0
Caledonian Fire Insurance Company,.....	100 0	10 0	
Hercules Insurance Company,.....	100 0	10 0	13 0 0
North British Insurance Company,.....	200 0	10 0	
Edinburgh Life Assurance Company,.....	100 0	10 0 0	
Insurance Company of Scotland,.....	10 0 0	10 0	10 10 0
Scottish Union Insurance Company,.....	20 0 0	1 0	1 0 6
West of Scotland Insurance Company,.....	10 0 0	10 0 0	
Edinburgh Coal Gas Company,.....	25 0 0	17 2 6	
Ditto Oil Gas Company,.....	25 0 0	11 10 0	18 0 0
Leith Oil Gas Company,.....	20 0 0	20 0 0	
Edinburgh Portable Gas Company,.....	10 0 0	3 0 0	
Edinburgh Joint Stock Water Company,.....	25 0 0	25 0 0	42 0 0
Forth and Clyde Canal Company,.....	Average.	400 16 0	
Union Canal Company,.....	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0
Australian Company,.....	100 0 0	40 0 0	
Caledonian Iron and Foundry Company,.....	25 0 0	2 0 0	
Shotts Iron and Foundry Company,.....	50 0 0	20 0 0	21 1 0
Edinburgh and Leith Glass Company,.....	20 0 0	9 0 0	11 5 0
Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Alloa Glass Co....	20 0 0	4 0 0	
North British Loan Company,.....	50 0 0	3 0 0	2 10 0
London, Leith, Edin., & Glasgow Shipping Co.	0 0 0	0 0 0	
Scotch Porter Brewery Company,.....	20 0 0	2 0 0	
Leith and Hamburg Shipping Company,...	0 0 0	0 0 0	
Edinburgh Dairy Company,.....	25 0 0	2 0 0	

ALPHABETICAL LIST of ENGLISH BANKRUPTS, announced between the 23d of September and the 19th of October 1825: extracted from the London Gazette.

Aughtie, T. Poultry, grocer.
 Barnes, W. Richardby, Cumberland, hay and corn-merchant.
 Booty, J. Newport, grocer.
 Brinley, J. S. Burchin-lane, ship and insurance-broker.
 Bridgeman, J. Bethnal-green, tallow-chandler.
 Brown, J. Shadwell, plumber.
 Butler, T. Old Radford, Nottingham, joiner.
 Byers, N. Bath-street, Clerkenwell, oilman.
 Collins, F. Pall-Mall, man-milliner.
 Coley, H. F. Broad-street, wine-merchant.
 Cooper, T. W. Liverpool, chemist.
 Cowdroy, W. Gorton, Lancaster, glue-maker.
 Dennett, C. R. Fulham-road, Little Chelsea, cheese-monger.
 Dickinson, J. Church passage, Guildhall, waite-houseman.
 Dobson, J. Hesketh-with-Reconsalt, grocer.
 Emerson, J. and S. S. Whitechapel-road, corn-factors.
 Fairclough, R. Liverpool, painter and glazier.
 Foylett, J. Bath, unkeeper.
 Ford, R. Bridgewater, merchant.
 Ford, W. Broadway, Blackfriars, tea-dealer.
 Hall, W. Gutter-lane, warehouseman.
 Haworth, A. and J. Whitehead, Lever Banks, near Bolton, calico-printers.
 Harvey, W. Cloudesley-terrace, Islington, surgeon.
 Higgs, E. Thornbury, Gloucester, victualler.
 Hill, W. Arundel-street, Pantion-square, taylor.
 Hobbs, B. and W. S. Hellyer, Redbridge, Southampton, ship-builders.
 Houghton, J. Manchester, linen-draper.
 Huddy, G. Mark-lane, hop and seed merchant.
 Hultin, T. Catherine-str. Tower-hill, merchant.
 Jacobs, E. Windsor, dealer in jewellery.
 Johnson, J. B. and J. O'Callaghan, Liverpool, merchants.

Johns, H. I. Devonshire, banker.
 Kincaid, J. Spital-square, silk-manufacturer.
 King, C. Cranbrook, banker.
 King, T. Bermondsey-new-road, linen-draper.
 Levin, W. L. Grove-lane, Camberwell, merchant.
 Lowes, W. Liverpool, broker.
 Massey, W. Heaton Norris, cotton-manufacturer.
 Millin, E. Berkeley-square, shoemaker.
 Mollen, J. G. and R. Alger, Change-alley, timber merchants.
 Nachbar, J. jun. Old Brentford, gardener.
 Nash, J. Bristol, wharfinger.
 Nichol, J. and P. Cornhill, merchants.
 Pain, R. G. City, underwriter.
 Ploudfoot, J. Queen-street, Cheapside, tallow-chandler.
 Potter, C. Scarborough, Yorkshire, coach-painter.
 Pringle, J. London-road, victualler.
 Procter, S. Calverley, clothier.
 Robinson, R. Friday-street, tavern-keeper.
 Robson, W. J. Oxford-street, grocer.
 Sandwell, J. Strand, tavern-keeper.
 Smith, J. Broad-street, broker.
 Squire, J. and W. and W. W. Prideaux, Kings-bridge, Devon, bankers.
 Stevens, J. Lime-street, merchant.
 Sumner, P. Clithero, Lancashire, ironmonger.
 Sutcliffe, T. Halifax, cotton-spinner.
 Tristram, J. Wolverhampton, ironmaster.
 Tucker, T. High-street, Borough, oil and colour-man.
 Tutin, R. Birmingham, builder.
 Walker, W. and T. Baker, Cannon-street, grocers.
 Watts, J. F. Angel-court, Throgmorton-street, stockbroker.
 Welsford, J. Little Guildford-street, Southwark, timber-merchant.
 Whitelock, J. Retford, Nottinghamshire, draper.
 Witherington, C. H. Borough-road, apothecary.
 Wood, D. Milk-street, woollen-warehouseman.

ALPHABETICAL LIST of SCOTCH BANKRUPTCIES and DIVIDENDS, announced October 1825; extracted from the Edinburgh Gazette.

SEQUESTRATIONS.

Andrew, William, horse and cattle-dealer in Newlandmuir.
 Brown, Thomas, manufacturer, Primlaws, Leslie, Fife.
 Douglas, John, fish-hook maker, and hardware merchant, Glasgow.
 Elliot, Andrew, builder in Portobello.
 Gibson, John, auctioneer and broker, Edinburgh.
 Grant, James, shoemaker and leather-dealer in Newton upon Ayr.
 Jacobs, R. and Co. hatters in Edinburgh.
 Johnston, Alexander, and Co. merchants and soda-manufacturers Strathbungo, parish of Govan.

DIVIDENDS.

Cowan, James, silk and cotton yarn merchant in Paisley; by James Gilmour, cotton-yarn merchant there.
 Garden, Francis, and Son, Glasgow, and Garden, King, & Co. Denderara; by the trustee in Glasgow.
 Smith, Peter, late ironmonger in Glasgow; by Archibald Lawson, the trustee, there.
 Stewart, D. junior, late oil and colourman, and spirit-dealer in Edinburgh; by W. Skirving, merchant in Leith.
 Welsh & Dingwall, wood-merchants in Greenock; by James Carmichael, spirit-dealer there.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

1825. April 26. At Madras, the Lady of Lieut. Colonel George Cadell, Deputy-Adjutant-General, a daughter.
 May 3. At Batavia, the Lady of John Robert Turner, Esq., a son.
 Aug. 6. At Malta, Lady Ross, a son.
 Sept. 8. At Ardvie, Mrs Spied, of Ardvie, a daughter.
 18. Mrs Elliot, of Redhaugh and Cooms, a son.
 19. At Bellevue, near Lausanne, the Lady of Captain Wyne Baird, R. N., a son.
 23. At Tarvit House, Mrs Home Rigg, a daughter.
 At Rink, Mrs Arras, a son.
 26. At Dalkeith, Mrs George Mushet, a son.
 27. At East Fortune, Mrs Crawford, a son.
 28. At Denham Green, the Countess of Cathness, a son.

Sept. 29. At Garscube, Mrs Grant of Congalton, a daughter.
 30. At New Laverock Bank, Mrs William Swinton Maclean, a son.
 Oct. 1. At Ayr, the Lady of William Fullarton, Esq., of Skeldon, a son.
 2. At Stirling, the Lady of John Fraser, Esq., advocate, a daughter.
 4. At Warriston Crescent, Edinburgh, the Lady of Captain Campbell, of the royal artillery, a daughter.
 5. At Cunninghamhead, Mrs Snodgrass Buchanan, a daughter.
 6. At Valleyfield, Mrs Charles Cowan, a daughter.
 7. At Edinburgh, the Lady Julian Warrander, a son.
 8. At 29, Heriot Row, Edinburgh, the Lady Robert Lindsay, Esq., a daughter.

Oct. 5. At Great King Street, Edinburgh, the Countess of Glasgow, a son.

10. At Albany Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Orr, a daughter.

12. At 114, George Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Menzies, a son.

15. At Leamington Spa, the Lady of Admiral Sir Charles Knowles, G.C.B., a daughter.

— At Coldoch, Mrs Burn Murdoch, a daughter.

— At Kilrenny Manse, Mrs Brown, a son.

— At Abercromby Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Campbell of Possil, a daughter.

17. Mrs W. Buchanan, 33, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, a son.

— At 65, Queen Street, Edinburgh, the Lady of Dr Nicoll, St. Andrew's, a daughter.

— At Brussels, Lady Elizabeth Murray McGregor, a son.

18. At Cramond, Mrs Hope Johnstone of Annandale, a son.

— At Wellington Square, Ayr, the Lady of Sir David Hunter Blair, Barr. of Brownhill, a son.

— Mrs McCulloch of Balgray, a son.

21. At Ivy House, near Leeds, the Lady Georgina Cathcart, a daughter.

22. At Chester Hall, Miss Kinnear, a daughter.

25. At Belton, the Lady of Captain James Hay, R. N., a daughter.

25. At Glasgow, the Lady of Captain W. A. Riah, 79th Highlanders, a son.

— At No. 60, Great King Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Bridges, a daughter.

— Mrs Smith, Albany Street, Edinburgh, a son.

Lately, At Lochbuy House, the Lady of Murdoch McLaine, Esq. of Lochbuy, a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

1825. Aug. 11. At Montreal, Capt. Root, of the Royal Staff Corps, to Christiana, daughter of Major-General G. Gordon.

Sept. 19. At Over Newton, Mr Mathew Taylor, merchant, Glasgow, to Martha, second daughter of William Taylor, Esq. of Over Newton, Luncarty, and Drumlach.

22. At Keith, James Stewart, M. D. to Jane, youngest daughter of Mr David Sutherland, merchant.

27. At Isle of Nith, Robert McMillan, Esq. of Holm, to Mary, third daughter of James Goldie, Esq. of Knocklauchy.

— At Cammethan House, John Piercy Henderson, Esq. of Foxwell Bank, to Eliza Annie, second daughter of Robert Lockhart, Esq. of Castlehill.

— At Edinburgh, Capt. Stewart, 94th regiment, to Ann, only daughter of Charles Stewart, Esq. of Ardsheal.

— At Westham, Essex, Mr William Grindly, late of Leith, to Charlotte, only daughter of the late Samuel Salmon, Esq. of Twickenham.

28. At Edinburgh, Mr Alexander B. Mackay, merchant, Leith, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Robert Brown, of Newhall, Esq.

— At Rosmount, Aberdeen, Charles Fraser, Esq. of Wilmston, Aberdeenshire, to Margaret Eleanor, youngest daughter of Charles Mitchell, Esq. of Forrethall, Yorks.

29. At Liverpool, Mr Joseph Greaves, of Liverpool, to Mrs Mary Shand, third daughter of the late Archibald Campbell, Esq. of Ardmarnock, Cowal, Argyleshire.

— At Gilmerton House, Charles Kinnear, of Kinnear, Esq. to Miss Christiana Jane, daughter of John Boyd Greenshields of Drurm, Esq. advocate.

— At Kempsey, Lieutenant Chase Bracken, of the Bengal Establishment, to Jane Anne, daughter of Colonel Lud. Grant, of Bank House, Kempsey, Worcestershire.

Oct. 3. At Edinburgh, Captain James Pratt, Kirkaldy, to Mrs Agnes Brown, relict of the late Collector Malcolm.

4. At King's Langley, Herts, Henry Hyndman, Esq. Fludyer Street, Westminster, to Augusta, second daughter of the Rev. Thomas Morgan, T.L.D. vicar of King's Langley.

— At Foulton West Mains, the Rev. William Ritchie, of Athelstaneford, to Isabella, daughter of Robert Brown, Esq.

22. At Clief, the Rev. Robert Brydon, of Dux, Dumfriesshire, to Matilda, daughter of late Lawrence Mackenzie, Esq. collector of Port Campbellton.

At St. Mary's, Mary-le-bone, London, G. I.

Choldmondeley, Esq. to the Hon. Mary Towns head, youngest daughter of Lord Sydney.

Oct. 6. At Edinburgh, David Guthrie, Esq. merchant, Brechin, to Anne, eldest daughter of the late John Burns, Esq. Bo'ness.

— At Leith, Peter Gray, Esq. writer, Alloa, to Mary, eldest daughter of Adam White, Esq. merchant, Leith.

7. At Leith, James Duncan, Esq. Master of the Trinity House, to Easter, eldest daughter of the late J. Scott, Esq.

8. At St. James's Church, London, Sir William George Hylton Johnie, Bart. to Miss Eleanor Pagett, second daughter of the Hon. Berkeley Pagett.

11. At St. Swithin's Church, Winchester, the Lord Bishop of Barbadoes (Dr Coleridge), to Miss Rennell, eldest daughter of the Very Rev. the Dean of Winchester.

— At Edinburgh, the Rev. William Lamont, of South College Street Church, to Sarah, eldest daughter of James Weddell, Esq. Hanover Street.

— At Montreal, Captain Read, of the Royal Staff Corps, to Christiana, daughter of Major-General G. Gordon.

12. At Lambeth, John Gray, Esq. of Edinburgh, to Miss Caroline Mordaunt, daughter of George Mordaunt, Esq. of South Lambeth.

15. At Archibald Place, Edinburgh, Thomas Alexander, Esq. surgeon, to Isabella, second daughter of the late Ralph Richardson, Esq. merchant, Edinburgh.

17. At Shiplake, the Hon. and Rev. Frederick Hertie, to Georgina Anne Emily Kerr, second daughter of Rear Admiral Lord Mark Kerr.

— At Glenricht Cottage, Perthshire, (the residence of Lieutenant-Colonel Chalmers), the Rev. Allan Macpherson, A. M. youngest son of the late Colonel Macpherson, of Blairgowrie, domestic Chaplain of the Most Noble the Marquis of Tweeddale, and rector of Barwick, St. Leonard, in the county of Wilts, to Margaret, youngest daughter of the late William Chalmers, Esq. of Glenricht.

— At Glasgow, Mr James Black, manufacturer, to Jane Barclay, only daughter of Mr Robert Barclay Niven, merchant; and on the 16th, Mr Robert Langmuir, merchant, to Janet, eldest daughter of Mr James Black, manufacturer.

18. At Glasgow, the Rev. John Hunter, Loch-tayside, to Janet, eldest daughter of Mr Daniel Morrison, Glasgow.

— At Glasgow, Mr William Paul, merchant, to Helen, eldest daughter of Mr Samuel Stewart, Glasgow.

19. At Edinburgh, Mr Andrew Blinkie, engraver, Paisley, to Miss Janet Anderson, daughter of the late Archibald Anderson, Esq. Melrose.

— At Watton Church, Herts, the Hon. Alexander Leslie Melville, brother of the Earl of Epsom and Melville, to Charlotte, daughter of Samuel Smith, Esq. M. P.

20. At Braendram House, Andrew Wilson, junior, Esq. of College Street, Glasgow, to Marcella, daughter of Alex. Macdonald, Esq. of Dalhousie.

25. At St. James's Church, London, Lord Charles Fitzroy, second son of the Duke of Grafton, to the Hon. Miss Cavendish, eldest daughter of Lord G. H. Cavendish.

— At Jackson's Cottage, near Dumfries, William Bruce, Esq. younger of Symbister, advocate, to Agnes, second daughter of William Gordon Macrae, Esq. formerly of the island of Jamaica.

27. At Newhall House, Robert Mercer, Esq. younger of Scotchbank, W. S. to Elizabeth, daughter of William Scott Moncrieff, Esq. of Newhall.

Lately, At St. George's Church, Madras, Alexander Johnston, Esq. Garrison Surgeon of Fort St. George, to Miss Barbara McLeod, daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. McLeod, of the Madras army.

DEATHS.

1825. April 21. At Singapore, where he had gone for the recovery of his health, Lieutenant William Dalzell, of the 51th regiment Bengal native infantry.

26. At Colombo, in the island of Ceylon, Ensign Mackenzie, of his Majesty's 16th regiment of foot.

June 6. At sea, on a voyage to St. Helena, where he was going for the recovery of his health, Major John Ross Cleghorn, of the engineers, H. E. I. Company, Madras, eldest son of Hugh Cleghorn, Esq. of Strathvie.

June 22. At Buenos Ayres, near Lisbon, Mary Barbara, the Lady of James Charles Duff, Esq. of Lisbon.

July 11. At Sierra Leone, Thomas Inglis, Esq. Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, son of the Rev. William Inglis, Dumfries.

21. At St. Domingo, aged 30 years, Captain Archibald Black, a native of Greenock.

29. At Hillade, in the parish of St. David's Jamaica, John Weir Thomson, youngest son of the late William Thomson, of Birkenhead, Esq. Leamington.

Aug. 2. At Up-Park Camp, Jamaica, Lieutenant and Adjutant James Deans, of the 92d regiment.

18. At Aberdeen, aged 81, James Brand, Esq. cashier to the Banking Company in Aberdeen.

20. At Manse of Cairney, the Rev. John Finlater, minister of that parish, in the 70th year of his age, and 50th of his ministry.

22. At Berrybank, Andrew McKay, Esq. in the 80th year of his age.

— At Aux Cayes, St. Domingo, of bilious inflammation fever, Mr. Ebenezer Richardson, jun. in the 27d year of his age.

27. At Edinburgh, Mr. Robert Mitchell, late deacon of the incorporation of fleshers, Edinburgh, aged 40.

28. At Allonby, Walter, third son of Richard Mackenzie, Esq. W. S.

31. At Richmond, Virginia, U. S. William Campbell Kidd, A. M. &c. eldest son of James Kidd, D. D. Professor of Oriental Languages in the Manual College and University of Aberdeen.

Sept. 11. At Port Glasgow, Alexander Watson, Esq. writer, in the 72d year of his age.

— At Bagueres de Biorre, departement Hautes Pyrenees, Ann Margaret, only child of Philip B. Arnsie, Esq.

15. At Annan, Mrs. Agnes Stewart, spouse of Mr. Thomas Williamson, merchant, in the 77th year of her age.

11. At Raedon, near Aberdeen, Miss Jean Stratton, of Kirkcaldy, parish of St. Cyrus, in the 6th year of her age.

15. At Drumtochty Castle, James Gammell, Esq. of Countesswells and Drumtochty.

16. At Port-Glasgow, Mr. Robert Boyd, merchant there.

17. At Dundee, Agnes Carnegie, aged 81, relict of William Mitchell, physician.

18. At the Manse of Contin, the Rev. James Dallas, minister of that parish, in the 72d year of his age, and 53d of his ministry.

19. At Falkirk, Robert Walker, Esq. of Murrills.

20. At Port-Dundas, John Herbertson, Esq. in the 81st year of his age.

— At Dalkeith, Mr. Alexander Scott, skinner, aged 79.

23. At Kirkhill, Linthgowshire, Mr. James Hume, aged 22, second son of Mr. Hume, Kirkaldy.

25. Mrs. Smith, of Wodrushall.

— At Duddington, Mr. William Scott, of the Bill Chamber, aged 63.

— At Park, near Coleman, Mr. Anthony Doherty, aged 105 years. From his 10th year, until a few years previous to his death, he followed the business of a blacksmith.

25. At Edinburgh, Mrs. Christian Howison, wife of Mr. James Hennie, slater and glazier. Edinburgh.

— At Citadel, North Leith, Mrs. Janet Fraser, relict of the late John Wilson, shipowner, Leith.

— At Edinburgh, Charles Gordon, Esq. son of Sir James Gordon, Bart. of Gordonstone and Letterfourie.

— At Carlisle, Miss Elizabeth Harrison, wife of John Gibb, Esq. banker in Carlisle.

26. At Gilmore Place, Mrs. Elizabeth Hardie, relict of the late Mr. John Martin, Chancery Office, Edinburgh.

27. At Orangefield, Thomas Wilson, Esq. of Orangefield.

— At Coldstream, Mrs. Isabella Walker, relict of Robert Kay, Esq. of Harlaw, parish of Eccles.

— At Cowhill, Sybilla Harriet Johnstone, second daughter of Captain Charles James Johnstone, R. N. in the 19th year of her age.

— At Sandylane, near Palmuir, Mr. George Marshall, writer, Glasgow.

28. At Belfast, Mr. Matthew Marshall, aged 50. He was serjeant-major in the Enniskillen dra-

goons, and was present on the memorable field of Waterloo in the action of the 18th; the Enniskillens charged in line, when Marshall's squadron dashed into the thickest of the enemy's phalanx, and were cut off from the other troops of the regiment.—Marshall, while sabering one of a party of cuirassiers on his right, had his brittle arm broken by a stroke from an enemy on his left, and had not proceeded much farther when he was beset by another crowd of French cavalry, and hurled from his horse by a lance which penetrated his side; while he was falling he received a heavy blow across the body, and another which broke his right thigh. He lay for some time unconscious of every object, except what pointed to sensibility by the hoofs of the enemy's horses careering over his mangled body; the ground afterwards became somewhat clear; he espied a horse without any rider, towards which he crawled, and was about to mount, when a French trooper, galloping up, cut down poor Marshall in the midst of his hopes, inflicting several severe wounds on his body. This part of the field was again occupied by the French, of whose presence Marshall was first made aware by one of the gunners making his mangled body a resting-place for his foot, while ramming his gun. The battle having concluded, Marshall remained on the field, with nineteen lance and sabre wounds, for two days and three nights. On the regiment returning home, he was discharged with a pension of 2s. a day. He has since resided in Belfast, where he maintained the character of an intelligent, unassuming, and strictly honest and industrious man.

Sept. 28. At St. Roque, in Spain, Mr. James Duncan, third son of Mr. John Duncan, merchant, Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire, aged 20. He had resided in Madeira for the last seven months, whither he had gone for the recovery of his health, and had seemingly been considerably benefited by the salubrity of the climate. Having proceeded to Spain, which he reached on the 6th of September, he was, after a short residence there, suddenly carried off by a severe attack of illness, of a few hours duration.

29. At Glasgow, Dr. Peter Holland, aged 62 years.

30. At Heavitree, near Exeter, Jessie Ann, eldest daughter of Francis Gordon, of Kincardine.

— At Edinburgh, Sir John Leslie, Bart. of Findrossie and Wardes, in the 75th year of his age. The title now devolves on his eldest son, Charles A. Leslie, Esq.

— At Port-Glasgow, John Young, Esq. M. D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh.

Oct. 1. At Greenock, after long illness, Captain Neil Cook.

— At No. 18, Forth-Street, Edinburgh, Mrs. Margaret Innes, spouse of Mr. Robert Scott, druggist, Edinburgh.

2. At Edinburgh, Mr. Charles Todd, of North Shields, optician, aged 37.

— At the Manse of Kirkcaldy, the Rev. Charles Ritchie, minister of that parish.

— At Sandwick Place, Edinburgh, Robert Walker, Esq.

5. At Edinburgh, Mr. Daniel Dewar, aged 75.

— At Edinburgh, Mr. George Dickson, nursery and seedsman.

— At Glasgow, in the 51st year of his age, John Morrison Duncan, Esq. printer to the University.

— At her house, 17, George-Street, Edinburgh, Miss Margaret Seton, daughter of the deceased Mr. David Seton, Kenneway, Fifeshire.

4. At Honeley Grange, near Shrewsbury, Major-General Symton.

— In Winpole-Street, London, in the 35th year of her age, Anne, wife of Captain C. S. J. Hawtayne, of the R. N. daughter of the late Commissioner Charles Hope.

— At Longford House, Exmouth, Dr. William Paget. He was on the Medical Staff of the army under the immortal Wolfe, and the late Marquis Townshend, in America.

— At Two-Mark, parish of Stony Kirk, in the 97th year of his age, Mr. Charles Vacher, long tenant in Cairnwell, in the same parish. Though his strength decayed in his later years, he could walk about till within three weeks of his death, and retained the use of his faculties to the end. One brother, a few years younger, is now in depositing his remains in the pointed for all living.

Oct. 5. At Archibald Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Usher, relict of James Usher, Esq. of Toftfield.

6. Thomas Smith, Esq. aged 77, many years commander of the Mermaid revenue cutter.

— At Dundee, Mrs Warden, in the 77th year of her age.

— Lady Richards, relict of the late Chief Baron of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer.

— At Edinburgh, Ensign David Jameson, of the Fifeshire militia.

7. At Sloan-Street, London, Eliza, eldest daughter of William Stewart, Esq. formerly of Inverkeithing.

— At Huntly, Major Robert Forsyth, late of the 60th regiment.

8. At Edinburgh, Miss Christian Chatto, daughter of the late Rev. Andrew Chatto of Mainhouse.

9. At Eyemouth, the Rev. James Smith, D. D., minister of that parish, and formerly of Hile Hill Chapel, Berwick.

10. At St. David-Street, Edinburgh, Miss Jane Simson, daughter of the deceased John Simson, Esq. of Brunton.

11. At Rose Ville, in the 82d year of her age, Euphemia Maccluff, wife of Mr David Bridges, merchant, Edinburgh.

— At Forres, aged 82, Mrs Jean Grant, relict of the late Duncan Grant, Esq. Provost of Forres. This much respected lady having been deprived of her valuable husband while their numerous family were young, had great merit and satisfaction in their progress in life. It is remarkable, that at one period of the late war, she had not out of six sons in the service of their country, one in Europe; but three of them having accidentally returned to the paternal roof just previous to her decease, they had the melancholy satisfaction of solacing her latter moments, and of attending her remains to the grave.

12. At Blairlogie, Mrs Isabella Ross, relict of Charles Adam Duff, some time pro-consul at Tangier.

13. Of typhus fever, at Mindum, Northumberlandshire, where he was much respected, Mr Jonathan Lindsay, son of the late Mr David Lindsay, of Auchmull, Forfarshire, in the 26th year of his age.

— At East Linton, John Burton, Esq.

— Of apoplexy, the King of Bavaria. His Majesty had completed his 63d year, and is succeeded by his son, the Prince Royal.

14. At Dunolly, Patrick McDougall, Esq. of McDougall.

— At her house, No. 5, Terrace, Edinburgh, Mrs Helen Watt, relict of John Reid, Esq. of Neilfield.

15. At Portobello, William Simson, Esq. Solicitor at Law, Edinburgh.

— At Kells Manse, in the prime of life, the Rev. William Gillespie, minister of that parish.

— At Castle-dikes, Agnes Eleanor Dunlop, wife of Joseph Ellis Percheon, Esq. daughter of the late Mrs Dunlop, of Dunlop, the only daughter and worthy representative of Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigy, Baronet.

— Christina, youngest daughter of David Sim, Esq. of Culter Mans.

16. At Newington, Edinburgh, in the 76th year of his age, Captain Charles Greig, late of the Hon. East India Company's service.

— At Edinburgh, Susannah, eldest daughter of Mr Thomas Kinnear, writer, Stonehaven.

17. At his house, Bo'ness, John Paulon, Esq. distiller, aged 44.

— At Gilmore Place, Edinburgh, after a few hours illness, Captain Donald Macarthur.

— At Edinburgh, Henry, and, on the 22d ult., Eliza, children of Mr Thomas Hynes, solicitor at law.

18. At Dalkeith, Mr James Bell, writer and messenger there.

19. At Erskine, the Hon. Caroline Henrietta Stuart, youngest daughter of Lord Blythre.

— At Saxe-Coburg Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Barclay, wife of John Sim, Esq. accountant of the Bank of Scotland.

— At Woolwich, Mrs Bonnycastle, widow of Messrs Bonnycastle, of the Royal Military Bn.

20. Oct. In Prince's-Street, Hanover-Square, London, Anne, daughter of the late Wm. Duff, Esq. of Corunday, much and justly lamented.

21. At Paris, Mrs Renny Tailour of Borrowfield, eldest daughter of the late Sir Alexander Ramsay of Balmain, Bart.

— Drowned on board the steam-boat, Comet, off Gourock. Hugh James Rollo, Esq. W. S. It is hoped that on this melancholy occasion his relations and friends will receive this as a sufficient intimation of his death.

— Drowned on board the steam-boat Comet, off Gourock, Mr John Reid, youngest son of the late James Reid, Esq. of Exchequer.

22. The Lady Margaret Wildman, wife of Captain Wildman, of the 7th Hussars, and daughter of the Earl of Wemyss and March.

— At Scarborough, in his 81st year, Thomas Hindersell, Esq. author of the History of Scarborough, and many years one of the principal members of that Corporation.

— At Ledlowan, parish of Kijlearn, Jas. Provan, Esq. aged 76.

23. At Edinburgh, Mr John Barclay, of the Lord Nelson Hotel, Adam's Square.

— At her house, in Forres, Mrs Justina Dunbar, widow of the deceased George Gun Munro, Esq. of Pointzfield.

24. At Hawthornden, Mrs Mary Ogilvy Forbes Drummond, of Hawthornden, wife of Captain John Forbes Drummond, of the R. N.

— At her house, Broughton, Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Lendrum, relict of Mr Patrick Fauley, in the 91st year of her age.

24. At Ramsay Lodge, Edinburgh, Isabella Elder, aged thirteen months, daughter of Isaac Bayley, Esq.

— At his house, 162, Rose-Street, Edinburgh, Mr James Watson, builder, much and justly regretted.

— At Hutchesontown, Mr Samuel Macfarlane, manufacturer, Glasgow.

25. At Glasgow, Alexander Hunter, Esq. aged 25 years.

— At Leith Walk, Mrs Forrest, relict of Mr David Forrest, solicitor supreme courts.

— After a few days' illness, at the house of the Rev. John Nelson Goulty, Brighton, the Rev. Dr Bogue, of Gosport, in his 77th year. He had been about fifty years pastor of the church of Protestant Dissenters at Gosport, was tutor of the Missionary Seminary, and one of the first promoters of the London Missionary Society. His loss will be as deeply and as extensively felt as that perhaps of any man of his day. He was one of those men who contributed greatly to influence the character of the public mind.

— At Inveness, Mr George Somerville, youngest son of John Somerville, senior, Esq. Jury Court, aged 25 years.

26. At Dalkeith, Mr Andrew Gray, baker, in the 62d year of his age.

— At No. 15, Nelson-Street, Edinburgh, Adam Henry Crichton, second son of Mr Hew Crichton, writer.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Mary Crockatt, relict of Mr James Murray, solicitor at law.

27. At Montrose, suddenly, Mr David Turnbull, architect, aged 75.

— At Kinneder, Mrs Anne Hally of Kinneder, relict of Mr William Callender, merchant in Edinburgh.

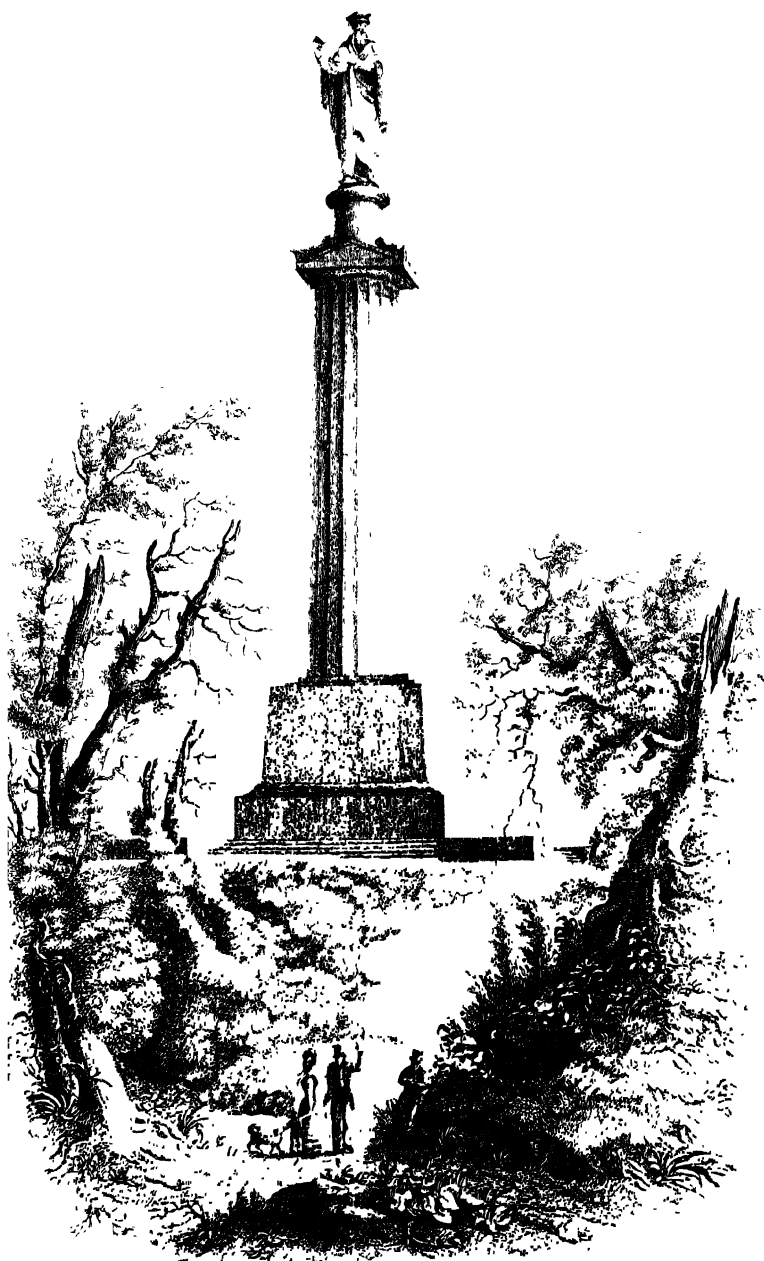
30. At Bridgend, near Sanquhar, Thos. Barker, Esq.

Lately. At Sampit, in the vicinity of Georgetown, United States, Mr Thomas Britt, aged 115. He was a soldier in the Cherokee war more than 90 years ago. His extreme age had not wholly impaired his constitution, for, within three years of his death, he performed a journey on horseback of about 38 miles in a day.

— Ann Moore, of Maclesfield, the pretended fasting woman of Tutbury, in the 76th year of her age.

— At Winchester, Mr George Harding, aged 118 years. He survived five wives, two of whom he married after he was 100 years of age.

— At the Giant's Causeway, Ireland, after a short illness, the Earl of Annesley, Viscount Glenawley, and Baron of Castle Wellan.



MONUMENT OF THE BROTHERS
AT BOSTON.

THE EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,

AND LITERARY MISCELLANY,

BEING A NEW SERIES OF

The Scots Magazine.

DECEMBER 1825.

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EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & COMPANY.

HIGH WATER AT LEITH.

<i>Days.</i>	<i>Morn.</i>		<i>Even.</i>		<i>Days.</i>	<i>Morn.</i>		<i>Even.</i>	
<i>Jan. 1826.</i>	<i>H.</i>	<i>M.</i>	<i>H.</i>	<i>M.</i>	<i>Jan. 1826.</i>	<i>H.</i>	<i>M.</i>	<i>H.</i>	<i>M.</i>
Su. 1.	7	5	7	34	Tu. 17	7	56	8	33
M. 2	8	8	8	44	W. 18	9	15	9	57
Tu. 3	9	25	10	4	Th. 19	10	36	11	14
W. 4	10	44	11	21	Fr. 20	11	45	—	—
Th. 5	11	56	—	—	Sa. 21	0	16	0	40
Fr. 6	0	24	0	55	Su. 22	1	3	1	26
Sa. 7	1	22	1	46	M. 23	1	48	2	7
Su. 8	2	8	2	30	Tu. 24	2	28	2	48
M. 9	2	50	3	8	W. 25	3	9	3	28
Tu. 10	3	26	3	44	Th. 26	3	47	4	6
W. 11	4	0	4	17	Fr. 27	4	27	4	47
Th. 12	4	34	4	51	Sa. 28	5	8	5	28
Fr. 13	5	7	5	22	Su. 29	5	49	6	13
Sa. 14	5	39	5	57	M. 30	6	38	7	8
Su. 15	6	18	6	40	Tu. 31	7	40	8	16
M. 16	7	1	7	27					

MOON'S PHASES.

<i>Mean Time.</i>			
	<i>D.</i>	<i>M.</i>	<i>H.</i>
Last Quart...Su.	1.	12 past	3 noon.
New Moon...Su.	8.	33 —	9 morn.
First Quart...M.	16.	35 —	4 morn.
Full Moon...Tu.	24.	2 —	0 morn.
Last Quart...M.	30.	10 —	8 aftern.

TERMS, &c.

<i>Jan. 18 6.</i>
10. Riv r Tweed opens.
13. Old New-Year's-Day.
27. Duke of Sussex born (1773)
29. King George IV.'s accession.
30. King Charles I.'s martyrdom.
31. King George IV. proclaimed.

* * The Correspondents of the EDINBURGH MAGAZINE and LITERARY MISCELLANY are respectfully requested to transmit their Communications for the Editor to ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & COMPANY, Edinburgh, or to HURST, ROBINSON, & COMPANY, London; to whom also orders for the Work should be addressed.

THE
EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,
 AND
LITERARY MISCELLANY.

DECEMBER 1825.

MONUMENT ERECTING AT GLASGOW TO THE MEMORY OF KNOX.

With a Plate.

WE dwellers in Edinburgh have long been too much accustomed to look on our brethren of Glasgow as a race of Jewish money-makers, fit only to be conversed with, or held in any sort of consideration, when they were likely to become objects of pillage in our courts of law, or when it was probable that they would be induced to buy a considerable quantity of our large solid books, or of our crazy and stupid Magazines, and other Journals. To maintain that any given maker of muslin, or dealer in raw sugar either, had ever thought of the era of the Reformation, or knew that there had been such a man in existence as John Knox, would even to this day be a very doubtful proposition in the ears of many a citizen of New-Edinburgh. To confute and to shame the incredulous ignoramuses, we have the fact to announce, that a noble Monument is at this moment being erected to the memory of Knox, in the most conspicuous part of the environs of Glasgow. The ashes of Knox repose with us, and scarcely a stone marks the burying-place of him *who never feared the face of man*. Shame on you, men of Edinburgh, of whom so many are grovelling sycophants, base worshippers of the powers that be, and only of the powers that be, scramblers for place and emolument! Shame on you who daily tread upon the tomb of Knox, and who, notwithstanding the deserts of that man, never once thought of

honouring his memory with the slightest mark of public regard! Little can be expected of you indeed, when you, in like manner, allow the dust of Adam Smith, that philosopher, "one among a thousand," to remain at your door equally neglected.

It appears that there are some men in Glasgow not so totally absorbed in the pursuits of commerce and manufactures, as to overlook the history of their own country, and especially of the struggles which it has made to free itself from the yoke of the paralyzing superstition of the Church of Rome, and the scarcely less tolerable yoke of the encroaching hierarchical system of the Church of England. Well it is for our country, that a few such men exist in it, who, in spite of the flood of ridicule and grievous misrepresentation which has been poured on the characters of our Reformers, yet stand forward to vindicate these good and great men, and to rescue from oblivion the fact of their existence, as well as to place in a distinct and impartial view the purposes which directed their conduct, and the effects which have resulted from their powerful exertions. Dr M'Crie of Edinburgh, and Mr M'Gavin of Glasgow, may well be denominated the founders of the Monument now erecting. The former has placed on the basis of unrefutable history the life and character of Knox, in a work which ought to hold a prominent situation in the library of every

Scotsman, and ought never to be absent from our recollections, when the liberties and the religion of our country are in question. Mr M'Gavin has given effect, in rather a more fugitive form, no doubt, to the established historical facts and deductions of Dr M'Crie; and the effect thus produced by Mr M'Gavin's various writings has been of such a kind as to have made a lasting impression on the people of his native city.

At the suggestion, we believe, of Mr M'Gavin, a subscription was begun at Glasgow about a year ago, for building this Monument to Knox. A considerable sum was soon realized; a fact highly creditable to the spirited traders of Glasgow. A plan for a Monument was presented to the managers of the fund, by Mr Hamilton of Edinburgh, whose taste in architecture has on many occasions received very decided tokens of public approbation. The Monument consists of a fluted Doric column, sixty feet in height, which is to be surmounted by a statue of the great Reformer, fourteen feet high. The plan of the statue was furnished by Mr Warren of Glasgow, and a liberal citizen of the name of May has engaged to furnish the statue itself, at his own expense. The Engraving prefixed to this Number of the *Edinburgh Magazine*, which has been executed for us by a young Glasgow artist, gives a very accurate conception of the Monument. If we are not misled by wrong notions on the subject of monumental architecture, we must say that this is the best specimen of it that is to be met with in all the limits of broad Scotland. The strong and symmetrical Doric pillar corresponds well with the character of that bold and consistent man whom it is intended to commemorate, and the lofty and commanding site on which it is erecting, by the liberal permission of the Merchants' House of Glasgow, may,

with little stretch of imagination, be said also to correspond with the open, and sincere, and awe-striking conduct of Knox.

We heartily wish prosperity to the undertaking; and when the sons, and the sons' sons of those who have engaged in this work of gratitude, shall ask them the purpose of this Monument, let them be told that it was erected, not to perpetuate the memory of any warrior who had waded in vain triumph over fields drenched with the blood of myriads of innocent human victims sacrificed on the altar of guilty ambition,—that it was not erected to the memory of any statesman who had mounted to the highest pinnacle of power, over the rifled treasures and chained bodies of his countrymen,—that it was not erected to commemorate any insolent, overbearing priest, whose object it had been to overwhelm with utter darkness the minds of his fellow-men, and so to violate with impunity the rights of every individual of the human family to interpret for himself the will of the Deity;—but that this Monument was erected to one whose hands were never stained with blood,—whose course the sighs of the widow and the orphan never followed,—whose manly and unbending integrity set at defiance the strongest temptations to adopt and to pursue the dictates of a compromising and tortuous policy, conferring a present reward, but entailing lasting disgrace; and whose fearless confidence in the truth of his religious principles, and hatred of that degrading superstition under which his country had so long groaned, led him irresistibly to assert and to proclaim, with the hazard of his liberty, and even of his life, the great doctrine, which has proved the mainspring of the regeneration of Europe,—that man is not responsible to man for his belief.

NOTICE OF THE EDINBURGH SESSIONAL SCHOOL, UNDER THE SUPERINTENDANCE OF MR WOOD, AND OF A SCHOOL TO BE ESTABLISHED IN THE NEW TOWN OF EDINBURGH, UPON IMPROVED PRINCIPLES.

THERE is no subject of more importance to the community, and to every individual composing it, than education. It concerns all, in a greater or less degree, and therefore ought to engage the attention of all. But it fares with this, as with many other topics of deep and universal interest; though much is written, and thought, and spoken about it, yet just and accurate notions are far from being common: very few take the trouble thoroughly to investigate the subject. We have no design at present to try the patience of our readers, by a dissertation on education, but we believe it will not be unquitable if we shall merely offer a general remark or two, before introducing to their notice a proposal which has been very recently issued, for establishing a School in the New Town of Edinburgh, for the instruction of the children of people of the better sorts, on very improved principles.

The great object of the education of youth is to cultivate their intellectual and moral powers, in such a manner as to fit them for the right discharge of their various duties to themselves, to each other, and to the State; and the grand secret of a perfect scheme of education is to awaken in the minds of the taught a desire for knowledge and improvement, so as to render the acquisition of it not only easy, but agreeable and even delightful. We are aware of the difficulties of finding and of executing such a scheme, and of the impossibility of applying it in every case, owing partly to the want of proper instructors, and still more to the indocility of many children; yet the business of education is likely to be successful just in proportion as we put in practice the system alluded to.

It has always been lamented, however, that the very contrary course has been followed: education has, for the most part, been imposed upon children as a burdensome and laborious task; they have been whipped and flogged into the knowledge of

their letters, which could not fail to render their progress disagreeable and tiresome. This unfortunate system has been reprobated by almost every writer of eminence who has adverted to the subject. Thus Locke, in his celebrated Treatise on Education, says, "Great care is to be taken that it be never made as a business to him, nor he look on it as a task: We naturally, even from our cradles, love liberty, and have therefore an aversion to many things, for no other reason than because they are enjoined us. I have always had a fancy that learning might be made a play and recreation to children, and that they might be brought to desire to be taught, if it were proposed to them as a thing of honour, credit, delight, and recreation, or as a reward for doing something else, and if they were never chid or corrected for the neglect of it." And he adds a fact in illustration of his sentiments, which we do not remember to have seen noticed or corroborated by any modern traveller. But the Portuguese, since the days of the philosopher, may have declined in this, as in all their other national concerns. "That which confirms me in this opinion," he continues, "is, that amongst the Portuguese, 'tis so much a fashion and emulation amongst their children to learn to read and write, that they cannot hinder them from it! they will learn one from another, and are as intent on it as if it were forbidden them."

But however just the ideas formed by men of enlarged and cultivated minds, as to education, have been, and however correct the practice might be which was followed here and there, in a few Seminaries conducted by able men, the system of public education generally was extremely defective, until a very recent period. Perhaps the system pursued in the Parochial Schools of Scotland has, upon the whole, been preferable to that followed in Schools established in large towns for the education of children of the better classes. All,

however, were susceptible of great improvement.

The plans introduced by Messrs Bell and Lancaster contributed greatly to simplify and improve the business of education. They make children the agents in the instruction of one another,—they cause them to exercise and employ their own understandings on the subjects taught; and by reducing the expense of education, it has been brought within the reach of the poorest of the people. Indeed these improvements have been of the same character with those effected in modern times, in every department of human industry; in the manufacture of all kinds of articles, as well as in the finer process, by which intelligent citizens are manufactured out of the rude natural product, the great object has been to economise the labour employed for the end in view,—to make it go as far as possible, and to make better articles, with half the expenditure of labour that was necessary, formerly, to make very imperfect ones. So universal and so attainable by all has a good, useful education become, that we are fast approaching the accomplishment of that truly wise and paternal wish of his late Majesty, when he hoped the day would come, when every poor child within his dominions might be able to read his Bible.

It is now a great many years since the plans of Bell and Lancaster were first introduced into Edinburgh, and thousands have in consequence been taught to read and write, who would otherwise have grown up without these acquirements. But within these few years, a very great improvement has been effected on these even improved systems, by the philanthropic and indefatigable exertions of a gentleman who has devoted much of his time and talents in this way: we allude to Mr John Wood, Advocate. When he first turned his notice to the Sessional School, then taught in Leith Wynd, it was in an indifferent state; but through the labours of this excellent person, the School has been brought to such a state of perfection, both in regard to the system pursued, and the progress made by the scholars, that it may be considered as a model for the whole country. A new School-room

has lately been erected east from the Earthen Mound, and the number of scholars consists of about 500 boys and girls.

We have very recently visited this School, and we conceive that we cannot present to our readers an account of the system pursued in a more agreeable form than by describing the state in which we found it. Mr Wood superintends it himself, and gives daily attendance; there is, besides, a teacher to assist in the various duties of this numerous School. The branches of education taught are Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic. Geography has lately been added, which is taught to those who have distinguished themselves, and as a reward of merit. Children are admitted of all ages, from five and six to thirteen and fourteen; the fees are Sixpence per month; books, slates, &c., are furnished to the pupils.

The School assembles in one large room; upon entering which, you find the numerous crowd subdivided into a great variety of different classes, arranged in a circular form, each under its own monitor. It is very observable, that so completely is every little scholar engrossed with his work, that the presence of any number of strangers does not interrupt the system, but it proceeds, and every one goes on with his task, and brings forward the exercise proposed. The discipline is, also, so good and efficient, that though the numbers are very great, we have seen a little School of twenty children more noisy, and far more difficult to manage;—every thing proceeds systematically and regularly. The greatest harmony and good humour seemed to prevail in this interesting assembly.

We examined the Writing, and found it extremely good. The Reading, too, was excellent: a distinct and full-toned enunciation is communicated, that makes it very agreeable to listen to. We were gratified by an examination of the highest class. The portion selected for their reading was Thomson's Hymn to the Deity. They were thoroughly examined in the grammar and construction of the piece, and on the meaning of the words employed, their roots and derivatives, with all of which they displayed such a deep and

ready acquaintance as would make many blush who have gone through all the formalities of a College education. Indeed we did feel, that we should have been puzzled ourselves with some of the questions which these urchins solved with the rapidity of thought. They explained the style of the composition,—pointed out the metaphors used,—explained what metaphors meant,—showed where analogy was employed,—explained its meaning,—displayed an acquaintance with the solar system,—and, above all, a minute and intimate acquaintance with religious truth and moral obligation. We were particularly struck with one poor, blind boy: his answers were most prompt and acute: he explained the different senses of the body; and our feelings were touched as he pathetically observed, that he had only four himself; his kind instructor, however, consoled him by telling him, that his four were worth the five of most other people, he made so good a use of them.

The means employed by which this great quantity of knowledge is imparted to these children, are of the most simple kind. There are here no heavy tasks imposed, no committing long passages to memory, which oppress the mind, without improving it. The children are made to exercise their own understandings from the moment they enter the School. There is even no formal book of grammar taught, from which the pupils are compelled to learn off rules, which they can scarcely understand. The rules of grammar are familiarly taught from the daily lessons as they occur. A series of books has been compiled by Mr Wood, for the use of the school, which we should rejoice much to see in general use, as we are confident they must improve the system of teaching wherever they are introduced. In these books, the pupil is led on step by step; there is nothing taught which he may not easily understand; and care is taken that the lesson shall, besides an exercise in reading, contain something instructive and interesting. The Bible is also a standard school-book, and the most familiar and accurate acquaint-

ance with its contents seems to be imparted.

Nothing can be more pleasing than to contemplate a Seminary of this kind. The fees are so very moderate, that the poorest may send their children, or get some charitable people to do it for them—while the education they receive is of so excellent a kind, that the richest cannot educate their children more thoroughly or better. What the effect of this, and similar institutions, may be upon the character of our people, may form an interesting speculation. For ourselves, we contemplate the prospect with unmingled pleasure and delight; and most firmly believe, that the people at large will discharge all their duties in a more perfect manner,—be better men and women,—and better subjects of the State, the more completely and perfectly they are educated.

The Rev. Dr Andrew Thomson has also opened a School on the same principles as that now described, for the children of his extensive parish. When we state that he himself devotes much of his time, and applies his splendid abilities to bring this School to perfection, the public will readily believe that it must be of a very superior order. The number of scholars is about 200.

It does seem a very curious circumstance, but it is nevertheless true, that the education of the children of people in the lower ranks is conducted upon a system far superior to that of the children of the higher ranks. We can boast of no Schools of equal excellence with those now described, for the last description of children. The general system upon which the knowledge of our own language is communicated to genteel children is exceedingly defective. Instead of cultivating their understandings and powers of mind and judgment, the children are exercised very commonly in long and useless recitations, which, indeed, give them an opportunity for display, and please the vanity of parents, but are worse than useless; and Geography is most commonly taught as a dry, barren catalogue of names and distances. We rejoice, therefore, to observe, that there is a probability of this

state of things coming to an end, and of the system of education followed for the important class of the community now alluded to being signally improved.

A proposal has been issued, "For the establishment of a School, in the New Town of Edinburgh, for teaching English, Writing, Arithmetic, and Geography;" which we feel happy to insert here, in order to give it as wide a publicity as possible:

"The education of the children of the poorer classes in Edinburgh has been conducted for some time in such a manner, as not merely to obtain the applause, but even to excite the admiration of all who have witnessed it. Of this several examples might be adduced; but at present, particular reference is made to the Sessional School, formerly taught in Leith Wynd, now in Market-Street, to the east of the Mound, and to the School more recently established for the Parish of St. George's, in Young-Street, Charlotte Square. In both of these,—the former containing nearly 500, and the latter nearly 200,—a system of tuition has been adopted, so judicious and so excellent, as to give to the humble pupils who attend them advantages of which their superiors in rank and opulence have not yet been so fortunate as to partake, and which promise to elevate the character of our population much higher than it has ever been, in the essential points of useful knowledge, intellectual culture, and religious and moral principle.

"It is surely most desirable, and, indeed, has become indispensable, that the children of the higher and wealthier classes of the community should enjoy the benefit of a similar mode of instruction. And, therefore, it is proposed to institute, in some convenient part of the New Town, a School for teaching English, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, &c., and to introduce into it those methods which have been already pursued with such marked success, along with all the improvements which may from time to time be suggested,—to initiate the young persons attending it into a free and vigorous exercise of their understanding on every thing that they are

called to read or to perform,—to impart to them as much substantial information as possible, on all the subjects that are level to their capacity,—to form them to habits of diligent application, as well as to cherish in them the love of knowledge,—and to instil into their minds, both by separate lessons, and through the medium of their ordinary exercises, the principles of genuine Christianity and of moral virtue.

"A School-house, with the requisite accommodations and apparatus, must be obtained: and it is thought that the sum of £.3000 will be sufficient for this purpose. This sum it is proposed to raise in 300 Shares of £.10 each,—no individual to hold more than two Shares.

"In order to provide for the interest of the capital, to liquidate the capital itself, and to defray all the necessary expences of the School, the following fees are considered as equally sufficient and reasonable, viz. 15s. per Quarter for the Elementary Reading, and £.1:1s. per Quarter for Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and every other branch that is to be taught. And these fees shall include all charges for coals, ink, the use of slates, slate-pencils, and servant's allowance."

We are glad to hear that the subscription is nearly filled up; and so confident are the projectors of this Seminary of its success, that a large and commodious School-house has already been purchased in Circus-Place, and there is every probability of the School being in operation in January next.

We anticipate two most desirable results from the establishment of such a School as this. The first is, the direct benefits that must be reaped by all the pupils who shall attend it, from being educated on a most improved and excellent system. When we consider the class of society from which the children are likely to be drawn, and the important spheres of duty in which they are destined to move in their mature years, it is not easy to estimate the prodigious advantages that must follow from the introduction of a system by which their understandings will be better and more efficiently

cultivated than they are at present. The second result is less direct, but more important, and it is the improvement which must be communicated to the mode of education generally by the establishment of this School. When the superiority of the plan to be pursued shall be proved by the most certain of all tests, the rapid progress, and the solid acquisitions of the scholars to be educated here, parents will become quite dissatisfied with the present system, and they will demand improvement. To this demand, teachers, universally, will be compelled to conform; and thus education, throughout the country, will be improved to a great degree.

Milton, in his Tractate on Education, wherein his enlightened mind, "fraught with an universal insight into things," sketches out a grand and comprehensive scheme for the education of young gentlemen, says,

that his plan was only the development of an idea "which had long in silence presented itself to me of a better education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter, and of attainment far more certain, than hath been yet in practice." The great ends of a perfect system of education are here briefly expressed. It ought to be as comprehensive, yet, at the same time, as easy and certain of acquisition as possible. We think that these important ends will be much furthered by the new School which we have adverted to. It is a step towards realizing the idea of Milton, and of other friends to the improvement of our species: we therefore wish it every success; and we cannot refrain from adding, that the gentlemen by whom the scheme has been brought forward deserve well of their fellow-citizens and their country.

EPISTLE OBSERVATORY ON "A DAY AT FAIRLIE."

Burnfoot, near Fairlie,
30th Nov. 1825.

MR EDITOR,

IT hath pleased Providence graciously to spin out my thread of life to upwards of three-score years, and though, during this long period, I have had my own trials, yet I have been enabled to pass through my pilgrimage in friendship with all men. My thinly-scattered white hairs do not betoken much wrathful passion in my frail frame, but the little that doth lodge there, was mightily provoked by a paper in your Magazine, called "*A Day at Fairlie*," in which the writer has made some statements of a very strange nature, and, may I gently add, not much to his credit, or to the credit of the rational inhabitants of Fairlie. These statements it behoveth me to correct, but the author, whoever he is, shall be treated in the same merciful manner by which all my corrections were distinguished when I bore away among the graceless youth of Fairlie. My maxim indeed hath always been, *Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*.

The paper in question was laid by me, in the performance of my ordinary duties as Chairman, before

the *Select Literary Society of Fairlie*, at their last monthly meeting, and it gave rise to a very animated discussion among the members, the result of which was, a unanimous resolution, that the Secretary should address a letter to you on the subject. I have the honour to hold the office of Secretary, as well as that of Chairman; but that the resolution might be fairly treated, I can assure you, that though it met with my approbation as Chairman, I allowed it, as Secretary, to pass *sub silentio*. This honest conduct on my part, however, did not protect me, or even the harmless resolution, from the ribaldry of the village worthies. John Jamieson, (he of the wooden limb,) who is somewhat addicted to clavering, alleged that I treated the members to a gill in Robin Macnaught's, with a view to wheedle them into the vote. John seems to think that nobody is acute enough to recollect that he also sells a gill, and likes custom. Old Hugh Miller the blacksmith could not refrain from his usual sarcasm, that my epistle would prove that I had more timber members about me than my left leg—a coarse allusion to my unfortunate

loss of this limb, and substitution of a wooden stump; but Hugh hath never forgotten that on his application to become a member of the Society he was black-balled, and he hath always blamed me as the cause, saying, vainly enough, that *I* could not bear a rival near my petty throne. John Shearer, too, had his stupid joke on the subject; and even old Willie Gow, who can do nothing but drive Mr P——'s shandrydan, and talk nonsense to any body silly enough to listen to him, had the impudence to vent a vulgar oath, and add, that if he had a glass extra any morning, he would do the job much better than the old liltin' schoolmaster—meaning me. I mention all these things to you, not merely to shew you the malicious nature of my neighbours, and the impertinent opposition they offer to the Society's proceedings, but to satisfy you that the *Select Society* is indeed a powerful one, raised far above the envy of the clachan of Fairlie, and one, therefore, to whose commands, expressed by their unworthy Secretary, it becometh you to attend.

My first observe is,—That the Society require to know, with all convenient speed, who is the author of the production 'cyleped "A Day at Fairlie?" One of our ready-spoken members guessed him to be a Glasgow bookseller—a thin, stooping man, with a long nose and a sharp visage—who went about our village poking for news and scandal, many a blessed day during the bye-gone summer. Another member, a very sagacious man, pronounced the guilty wight to be a scarecrow creature, as lean as an author, amazingly fond of sporting nankeens on a rainy day, and regularly equipped in black Saxony during the days of warmth and sunshine. This personage attracted great attention, not merely from the peculiarity of his dress, but also from a strong propensity to something like sleeping and dreaming, during the few sauntering walks in which he indulged himself along our beach. He was a great favourite with old Francie Tarbet's wife; and, verily, his carbuncled nose and jaws, and Mrs Tarbet's suspected propensity to exhilarating liquids, did seem to fit them for boon companions, who

could feel for each other's woe, and administer to each other's comfort in their devotions at the shrine of the jolly deity. In support of this opinion, it was strongly urged that old Mrs Tarbet was the only intimate acquaintance of the strange-looking man of whom I am now speaking, and that the paper in your Magazine bore evident marks of having been concocted by the two worthies, in John Jamieson's but-and-ben. It humbly appeareth to me, however, that the author of the obnoxious paper must have been one of the young whippersnapper Advocates who visited Mr K—— in the course of the summer; pert laddies, who perhaps can rave very prettily about villas, and sycamores, and lawns, and such things, but in whose hands I would be very loath to trust a lawsuit about a cabbage-stock. One of them asked me, when opposite to my own door, and looking at me through a quizzing-glass the meanwhile, if I recollected when the lofty sycamore before us had been planted. Sycamore! sycamore! the boy meant the plane-tree that spreads its branches over my dwelling, and at the root of which I had erected a most convenient pig-house! I gave him a snubber, by telling him it was pretty plain that the tree had been planted before *he* could see. He asked me no more questions. It is not the first time that Andrew Allan has sent an Edinburgh lawyer to the right-about. I recollect well—but the story is extraneous. I conclude, then, with requesting you to inform the Society whether I am right in my conjecture as to the author.

My second observe is,—That the society wish to correct the errors which have crept into the individual and topographical descriptions of the "Day at Fairlie." The gentles, to do them justice, are well enough, though perhaps somewhat too highly praised by your contributor; that is to say, they spend some time and some money among us, and they sometimes take a dip in the sea, and sometimes go to church on Sundays,—and they say *good-day* to me when I meet them, and, I believe, say little more to Mr Parlane, their fashionable schoolmaster; for although, to make room for him, they dismissed

me. And as to their houses and villas, as you call them, they too are well enough. Professor M——'s cottage is a small hut like my own, built of stone and lime, and covered with thatch; the two fine villas on the shore are very pretty, if green paint on the outside of any house be pretty: Mr P——'s cluster of houses is either a non-descript, or is best known by the comparison of my son John, a clever young man, and the Professor's gardener, who says it resembles one-half of a bunch of grapes, after it has been perpendicularly cut through the centre, and laid on the ground. When speaking of Mr P——, I may mention, that the projected balloon is not altogether of iron; on the contrary, a web of fine strong plaiding is at this moment weaving in Patrick Dogherty's broadest loom for its use, and Dogherty is under contract to finish the web in the month of December next, that the whole apparatus may be prepared and ready for trial when the equinoctial gales visit us in March or April 1826.

My third observe is,—That our Society lament most especially the obvious ignorance of your contributor, respecting the past history of Fairlie. On this topic I intend to be very brief, having already written a pretty long account of the chief matters which have occurred in our eventful annals, from the year 512, to the beginning of the reign of his present Majesty, which is to be published in the forthcoming volume of the Transactions of our Literary Society. When this account (which of course includes a very particular description of the ship Don Philip, one of the Spanish Armada, stranded off our shore in Queen Bess's time) appears in print, the reading public will learn, that so lately as thirty years ago, our population was wholly composed of fishers, smugglers, and sea-captains,—that at this period Greenock was a clachan, and its harbour small and incommodious,—and that every vessel which cleared from that inconsiderable and unsafe port dropped into Fairlie Roads, and there rode at anchor till the owners had prepared their final instructions for the skippers. The departures for foreign climes were not so numerous

in those days as they are now; and often has a vessel rested her timbers on the waves opposite our doors, for two or three weeks at a time, to give the merchants an opportunity of collecting all dispatches for her destination. These were the days of joy, and mirth, and comfort, and fun! The inn then existed in all its glory! Its signboard decorated the stately plane, (I hate the new-fangled word sycamore,) where now the iron-staple, on which it hung, alone remains to point out its former glorious use. Ten, yea, twenty sail of gallant merchantmen have I seen anchored in our Roads at one time, whose captains and crews have caroused among us till our villagers scarcely knew them or one another. Oft has the welkin rung till the midnight hour, and even morning has dawned on our jollity. Mrs Ritchie furnished the captains and myself with brandy in the parlour,—to the crews she dispensed home-brewed ale in the spence,—ale that would make the degenerated heels of modern sailors dance a few cantrips, before each had stowed a pint in his wallet,—ale, in comparison of which the modern stuff called *ale* is fit for hogs only. In my mind's eye, I still see the good dame,—her silver locks peeping from a cap of the finest starched lawn,—her gown of flowered silk, tucked with care at each side,—her white linen apron pure as the driven snow; and the hand clad with broad gold rings, and the countenance full of content, which bade each guest a hearty welcome! I could almost worship her image, as the last representative of all that was jocund in Fairlie, of all that was desirable in woman. My own Janet, though a decent woman and a worthy wife, will not bear a comparison with Mrs Ritchie. How divinely she looked when she entered our parlour, bade us all welcome, and ushered in Peggy—daft, lively, bonny Peggy—with the first stoup of brandy! And when the parting glass came round,—when the excellent dame opened the precious gardevine—a gardevine which had been recovered from the wreck of the Don Philip, and was strongly jointed and bound with brass—and poured out to each of us a full good-night, the stoutest heart amongst us

worshipped our admirable hostess, and was fain to hurry from her presence, to prevent a display of unmanly feeling! Verily, the recollection of these things is almost as good as a dram to me. But you, Sir, who never knew them, and many hundreds besides you, must postpone their respective gratifications, as I now postpone my farther observations on your "Day at Fair-

lie," until the first volume of our Society's Transactions be published; and on that occasion you and they will discover what obligations have been conferred on all his readers, by

Your humble Servant,

ANDREW ALLAN,
Sometime Schoolmaster of
Fairlie, now residing at
Burnfoot, there.

To the Aurora Borealis.

YE visions of refulgent light
That gleam beyond the wintry night,
Say whence your living fires that glow
Unquench'd amid the Polar snow!
From what profound sepulchral cave,
Far down beneath the Arctic wave,
In darkness, have ye glided forth,
The sheeted spectres of the North?
To Fancy's raptur'd eye ye seem
The forms that live in northern dream,
Valhalla's gods, of mightiest name,
Their standard o'er the Pole unsull'd,
And waving wide their swords of flame,
In vengeance o'er a guilty world.
But now your airy dance is o'er,
Through heaven's high vault ye wave no
more,
But where the earth and sky unite,
Lie blended in one cloud of light,

Where radiant volumes softly glow
Like sunset light on hills of snow;
As if beneath th' horizon's bound,
Where Summer smil'd in endless round,
And Day his eyelids never clos'd,
Some sunny clime in light repos'd;
While scenes of bliss we find not here
Beneath that golden atmosphere.—
How like the world, that shines so
bright,

Ere our worn feet its paths explore,
When Hope has pour'd her meteor
light

The distant landscape o'er!
As fair those gladsome visions seem,
Beheld in youth's romantic dream,—
As soon to hopeless gloom consign'd,
They leave as dark a night behind.

C. E. I.

CRITICAL NOTES ON

1. *The Literary Souvenir; or, Cabinet of Poetry and Romance for 1826.* Edited by Alaric A. Watts. London: Hurst, Robinson & Co.
2. *Forget-me-Not for 1826; published by Ackermann.* London.
- 3 *The Amulet; or, Christian and Literary Remembrancer.* London: Baynes & Son.

ALTHOUGH we cannot help saying that these little works, and various others of the same kind, sent forth about Christmas, are much better suited for the tastes and capacities of pretty misses in their teens, than for the study of grave matrons and speculated reviewers, yet there is much that is delightful in their beautifully printed pages; and no one, we are sure, can look upon their embellishments without being satisfied that the art of engraving was never carried to greater perfection on so small a scale. In saying this, we refer particularly to the first Engraving by Rolls, in the *Literary Souvenir*, entitled "Lovers' Quarrels," and to

that entitled "Contemplation," by E. Finden, at the beginning of the *Forget-me-Not*.

In looking over the works we have mentioned, we cannot help thinking that Mr Watts has been more successful than any of his rivals, in contributing to the public gratification. His own contributions are of a character pleasing, varied, and sometimes powerful. The names of Bowring, Montgomery, Barton, Hogg, Mrs Hemans, Miss Landon, and other authors of celebrity, who appear in the list of contributors, are a pledge that there must be some valuable materials for the production, at least of entertainment, if not of

deep reflection and useful instruction. The Germans seem to have been our precursors in works of the kind which we are considering; and the remarkable success which has attended these publications in this country, shews very plainly that they were really a desideratum in our literature. If they had only the effect of superseding, to a small extent, the deplorable trashy stuff which, under the names of tales and stories, crowds the shelves of circulating libraries, and the brains of beardless boys and simpering girls, we should consider they had done an essential service to the morals of the country. Some of the stories, both in prose and verse, are silly enough; but we have not seen in any of them one sentence, the tendency of which was to injure, directly or indirectly, the received principles of moral and religious belief. Indeed, the character of the Editors and Publishers of the works is a sort of guarantee for their purity in these respects. And, doubtless, the well-known anxiety of parents and near relations, however worthless themselves, to protect their children and young connections from imbibing incorrect principles, is another most powerful reason why the Editors and Publishers of these works must be specially on their guard, to exclude from their pages every thing that is the least equivocal in a moral point of view. We are not sure that the *Amulet* has not gone a little too far in its pretensions to extra purity, when it calls itself the *Christian and Literary Remembrancer*. To call it an unchristian publication is not our purpose; but the name would lead us to suppose that there was more space given to articles chiefly of a religious cast than it will be actually found to contain. We think, therefore, it would have been better to omit this part of its designation entirely, as it will probably cause some disappointment to various antique Methodistical dames living in the country, who, from the title, may have been induced to order it for their sweet little nieces.

Let us return for a moment to our favourite, Mr Watts. One of the prettiest and most touching articles in his collection, is that composed by

Mr Watts himself, entitled, "My Own Fireside:"

My own Fireside! those simple words
Can bid the sweetest dreams arise,
Awaken feeling's tenderest chords,
And fill with tears of joy my eyes!
What is there my wild heart can prize
That doth not in thy sphere abide,
Haunt of my home-bred sympathies,
My own—My own Fire-side!

Shrine of my household deities!
Fair scene of home's unsullied joys!
To thee my burthen'd spirit flies,
When fortune frowns or care annoys:
Thine is the bliss that never cloy;
The smile whose truth hath oft been
tried;
What, then, are this world's tinsel joys
To thee—My own Fireside!

Oh may the yearnings, fond and sweet,
That bid my thoughts be all of thee,
Thou ever guide my wandering feet
To thy hert-soothing sanctuary!
Whate'er my future years may be,
Let joy or grief my fate betide;
Be still my Eden, bright to me,
My own—MY OWN FIRESIDE!

The elegant little poem of the *Troubadour*, and Richard Cœur de Lion, by Mrs Hemans, possesses all the characteristics of strong poetical feeling and elegant expression, by which this lady has rendered herself so conspicuous among the living poets of her country. The "Old Manor-house" is a kind of a "Tam O' Shanter" tale, in which we rather think we can trace the hand of a writer little known by name, but whose poetical efforts, on a small and fugitive scale, have commanded a considerable share of public applause. Charlie Dinmont, in the *Border Chronicer*, by Hogg, is a well-drawn, rough sketch of a moorland farmer; and we really should have liked to see more of such sketches, rough though they be, scattered up and down the volume. They might have well occupied the place of some silly love-stories, containing quantities of feeble, milk-and-water sentimentality, which has already been a thousand times repeated in the poetry, plays, and romances of every nation that ever produced poetry, plays, or romances. We do beg of Mr Watts, when he prepares the *Souvenir* of 1827, as we hope and wish

he may do, that he will be on his guard against *sillyism*, as well as against irreligion and immorality. Don't let him be in the least afraid that any of the young ladies and gentlemen who read, understand, and admire the *Waverley Novels*, will fail to read and admire his little work, although it should contain a good many passages which would be quite unintelligible in a nursery, or even in an elementary boarding-school for young masters or misses.

Although various names of those whom we have mentioned as the best contributors to the *Souvenir* also appear in the lists of Ackermann's beautifully-embellished "*Forget-me-Not*," we do not find their articles very numerous in it, or that the collection is on the whole to be compared to that of Mr Watts, either for variety or excellence. We hate the puerile talk about that most particularly puerile, semi-barbarous accumulation of large cups and candlesticks, called the "*Pavilion*" at Brighton. Miss Mitford's *Village Sketch* is really very good, although not quite new. The *Literary Gazette*, which has now become a very poor thing indeed, so bepraised and flattered Miss Laudon for the enormous quantities of romantic, whining nonsense which she poured out in her poems of the *Improvisatrice* and the *Traubadour*, that the whole world was moved to buy them. We too were guilty of this foolish act, and so severely have we felt the bite inflicted by our rashness in so parting with our money, that we were on the point of forswearing for ever all the poetry that should hereafter be made by women, whether ugly or pretty, young or old. Miss Laudon, we understand, is young and pretty; and the more shame to her that she occupies herself in making nonsense verses, when she should be acquiring sense-like accomplishments, and shewing herself in the world, for the purpose of getting a husband with all convenient speed. But this is merely by the bye. Miss Laudon seems to be struck with the poetic frenzy; but we really cannot see that there is any more "method in her madness," as exhibited in the little puny pieces of the *Forget-me-Not*, than was to be found in any of

her former ravings about red-cross knights and ladye's loves.

In the little book called the *Amulet*, of which we have already spoken, we find a variety of pieces entitled "*Essays on*" this, that, or t'other thing. This is an odd, old-fashioned, *Spectator*-and-*Tattler* sort of a way of announcing the subject of discourse. We would as lief be condemned to read through Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* six times running, as to read once through any given article, however short, which should be headed "*An Essay*." Why, it is only the utter tag-rag and bob-tail of literary men that ever think of using these frightful old-world words, "*An Essay*." Mr Editor of the *Amulet*, see that you never again use such words, unless you are anxious that your *bijou* should meet with contempt or total neglect, in a world which is ruled and tyrannized over by names, and the phantoms of names.

4. *Laconics, or the Best Words of the Best Authors. London: Boys.*

This is a small, unpretending work, the first number of which only has yet been published. It contains short extracts from all that has been written by the most celebrated moralists and literary men, domestic and foreign, ancient and modern. The publishers say that the work is to be comprised in twelve such parts as the one which has lately been issued from the press, and we have no doubt, that if the remainder of it is executed with the same care as the first small number, we shall by this selection become possessed of the wisest and most celebrated thoughts and sayings of the most distinguished men of all ages and nations, and in particular, we shall obtain, in a very tangible form, the results of the experience and reasonings of our own great philosophers and moralists, from Bacon, to Johnson and Franklin. Many a one will thus be induced to peruse more at large the works of those eminent men from whom these excellent extracts are made, and many a one may receive practical benefit from the best rules of earthly wisdom, brought so conveniently within their reach.

SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR IMPROVING THE SYSTEM OF CHURCH
PATRONAGE.

THIS Society was instituted in Edinburgh twelve months ago, and our attention has been drawn to it by an account of the proceedings at its first Annual Meeting, recently published. Since ever we knew any thing of the civil and ecclesiastical history of our country, it has appeared to us a monstrous—an inexplicable phenomenon, that the people of Scotland, who, during the execrable reigns of the two last sovereigns of the house of Stewart, had fought, and suffered, and died in the cause of civil and religious freedom,—who, by their zeal and successful perseverance in that cause, had secured to themselves, and apparently to their posterity, an ecclesiastical constitution, the most liberal and perfect that had been seen till that period, should yield, without any efficient resistance, to that disgraceful law of Queen Anne, which, by a most direct and barefaced violation of the Act of Union, and in defiance of the known feelings of the country, deprived the Christian people of the right of choosing their own religious instructors. Nothing, we conceive, could have produced such a torpor in the nation, except the dread of being hopelessly involved in the horrors of such another disastrous and bloody persecution as that from which they had but lately escaped. But to whatever cause this apathy to their own established rights and highest interests may be attributable, certain it is, that a pusillanimous and degrading acquiescence has been manifested by the majority of the influential classes, and of the Established Clergy of the country, in this daring Legislative, or rather Aristocratic outrage, from the time it was committed to the period in which the Society, whose Report is now before us, was instituted. No doubt, there were complaints now and then heard, in various parts of the country, against the violent intrusion of Clergymen, by reckless Patrons, and the decrees of the majority of a reckless and tyrannical ruling party of churchmen in the Ecclesiastical Courts. These, however, were mere temporary and

partial ebullitions of popular feeling, which were not followed by any combined attempt to rectify the great evil. Men at last sunk under the contest as hopeless, and either became totally indifferent to all religious instruction, or sought and found relief for their offended consciences in the Meetings of Dissenters. The cold and repulsive manners of the ruling party in the Church,—their contemptuous disregard of the once acknowledged right of at least a portion of the people to a voice in the nomination of their Pastors, and a conviction that this spirit might be encountered with the hope of some success, if not of ultimate triumph,—at last has roused a number of respectable individuals, to associate for the purpose of mitigating some of the evils of the existing system of Church Patronage. They have laid down the great principle, that the people who pay for their religious instruction ought to have some influence in the nomination of those by whom they are to be instructed. In defining the extent of this influence, the Society has endeavoured to avoid the questionable extreme of giving to every individual, male and female, arrived at the years of discretion, a vote in the election of a Clergyman, and has declared that its principle is to settle the right of election in the male heads of families, who have been for a certain period in full communion with the Church. By thus circumscribing the right of suffrage, the Society meets the wretched, sophistical argument used as the reason for passing Queen Anne's Act, and still maintained, after a thousand refutations, that an extended popular election must always be attended with violent heats and animosities, alike injurious to the peace of society and the interests of true religion. The proposed body of electors must, in almost every instance, be small, and yet we conceive that abundant provision is thus made that the wishes of the great majority of the population of every parish will be attended to, and these dreaded animosities almost entirely avoided. It is very clear, that the head of a fa-

mily, if he govern it as every Christian ought to do, must have a material, and almost necessary control over the opinions and conduct of the other members of his family, and that hence the utility of giving to any of them a voice in an election, must be at least extremely questionable—probably injurious.

We have heard, in our ordinary intercourse with society,—we have read in newspapers and pamphlets, the most calumnious accusations thrown out against the motives of the members of this Society, and more particularly against some of the Reverend Gentlemen who espouse its cause, as if it were their wish to establish a monopoly of Church Patronage in their own favour, and hence secure the reign of priests, instead of the present reign of aristocrats. We have no doubt that the Reverend Gentlemen to whom we refer, conscious of the purity of their own motives, and satisfied of the excellence of their purpose to co-operate in obtaining for the people of their country a long-lost and invaluable privilege, laugh to scorn the base calumnies raised against themselves, and the equally base attempts to counteract and overturn the spread of those principles of religious freedom which this Society has been so instrumental in diffusing over the country.

Misrepresentation and falsehood have been added to calumny; and the men who have so long reigned with absolute sway in the ecclesiastical courts of the country, alarmed that the power which they have so long held only to abuse it, may soon slip entirely from their grasp, have set themselves, with all the *acharnement* which of old characterized their predecessors of the infallible Church of Rome, to ridicule, to calumniate, and, if possible, to ruin the Society, which, with contracted means, and few supporters, has begun its operations with the assertion of a principle which we have no doubt will be hailed with approbation, and finally carried to a practical issue by the people of this country. Of one thing we are certain, that all who are sincerely attached to the principles of the great Revolution, and to that Constitution, in Church or State, which was then so happily establish-

ed, must approve of the objects which the Society has in view, which are only, in effect, to bring back the Church of Scotland to that purity of government and discipline which it was her proud distinction to have attained at the glorious epoch to which we refer.

Sensible as we are that many persons shew an apathy to the cause of this reform, from an ignorance of the real foundations on which this Society rests, we think it is but justice to the respectable gentlemen who have chosen to give their services gratuitously to promote its objects, to quote at length the Resolutions moved and adopted at its formation. They are as follow :

“Resolved, I. That the meeting do form themselves into a Society, to be called ‘*The Society in Scotland for Improving the System of Church Patronage*,’ with *Auxiliaries* in other towns and parishes,—The object of which shall be, to *acquire rights of Patronage*, and to *secure the nomination of acceptable Ministers*, by settling them on a popular principle, as well as by every means to excite attention to the importance of this branch of Ecclesiastical polity, so as to ameliorate the exercise of Patronage, in those instances where the right cannot be acquired.

“II. That, without proposing any very extended right of suffrage, it shall, accordingly, be the object of this Institution to settle the nomination in all rights of patronage to be acquired by it, on a body of Trustees, who shall exercise the same, according to an election to be made by the *Male Heads of Families*, who have been in full communion with the Church for a certain time previous to any vacancy;—a class of persons, compared to the whole population, necessarily limited in number, while they are, of all others, the most deeply interested in, and the most likely to make a proper choice of a pastor.

“III. That, in order to secure the successful commencement of the system, it shall be in the power of the Directors, where they shall see cause, on occasion of the first election taking place after acquiring a Patronage, to submit a list of names, not fewer than six, from among which

such first election shall be made, and to repeat this course, should new vacancies occur *within ten years* from the first appointment, *the right thenceforward in all cases to become popular.*

“IV. That all subscribers of a penny a-week for a year, of 10s. 6d. annually, or £.5 in a single sum, (admitted during the first year of the Institution, by the Directors, and thenceforth by ballot at a general meeting,) the heir-at-law of any person disposing a Patronage to the Society, and one of the executors of persons bequeathing £.50 to it, shall be members of the Head and Auxiliary Societies.

“V. That the members shall meet annually in Edinburgh, on the third Friday of November, and elect a President, Six Vice Presidents; Twelve Extraordinary and Twenty-four Ordinary Directors, of which last, one shall be Treasurer and one Secretary, and that Extraordinary General Meetings shall be called on the desire of any ten members, duly advertised.

“VI. That one of the Directors of each Auxiliary Society chosen by it shall be a Director of the Parent Society.

“VII. That while the support of persons of all denominations shall be solicited for the Society, those in full communion with the Church of Scotland shall alone be Ordinary Directors.

“VIII. That the Ordinary Directors (five a quorum) shall have the sole management of the affairs of the Society, and shall have power, in settling Patronages, to provide all necessary regulations for carrying the principles of the Institution into effect.

“IX. That all office-bearers shall be removable by a majority of the Annual Meetings, or of any Extraordinary Meeting, confirmed at a second Extraordinary Meeting.

“X. That the Treasurer shall deposit the Society's funds, while not otherwise invested, with a bank named by the Directors, on an account to be kept in his name ‘for the Society’ (to be operated on by his drafts, countersigned by a Director); that farther investments shall be made at the pleasure of the Directors, and that the Treasurer's accounts shall be balanced yearly.

“XI. That all motions relative to the laws shall be submitted to the Directors, and notified at least two months previous to the meeting at which they are to be disposed of; and Laws once established shall not be repealed or altered, unless by the consent of two-thirds of a General Meeting.

“XII. That this Institution shall be indissoluble, unless by the unanimous consent of the members.”

We regret that we have not at present leisure or space to enter into any commentary on the spirit and tendency of these Resolutions; but so far as we can see at present, the formation of such a Society, which may operate as a national organ for expressing in strong terms, both to the Legislature of the Country and the Legislature of the Scottish Church, the opinion of the country on a leading feature in its present ecclesiastical establishment, is one of the signs of the times not to be overlooked, but to be studied calmly and deeply by every one who holds the temporal and the eternal interests of his fellow-country in any sort of esteem.

Should we have said any thing unadvisedly in the course of these few hurried observations, we shall be glad to be corrected; and we have only to regret, in closing them, that we have not room for the insertion of any part of the able and powerful speeches of Mr Hume, M.P., and of the Rev. Dr Thomson, at the late meeting. The impression which these and some other speakers made on that occasion, will not be soon effaced from the memory of those who heard them. Strong practical sense, and a constant appeal to principles which the experience of ages has rendered indubitable, marked every sentence spoken by these gentlemen. The people of Scotland, we trust, will profit by the example which has been set to them by a few, who, undismayed by the frown of power—unawed by the hateful breath of calumny, have, through evil report and good report, asserted boldly their attachment to that form of government which was possessed by the Church of Scotland in the earlier and purer periods of its existence.

Song.

NEW-YEAR'S-DAY.

COME stir up, this gay, merry morn,
 We will welcome the new-year in
 With usquebaugh, het-pint and horn,
 With shouting and joy-giving din.

The clock hath already struck One,
 The people are all now abroad,
 Sans either lamp, moonlight, or sun,
 To illumine their darksome road.

Then stop just a little, my friends ;
 I think it were better by far,
 And it surely would answer all ends,
 To enjoy ourselves just where we are.

Then pull in the table and chairs,
 And heap up more coals on the fire,
 And then let us drown all our cares,
 While our spirits mount higher and higher !

The old year, like the Phoenix of old,
 Hath ta'en wings to itself and away ;
 While out of the very same mould,
 A new-year will beam on us to-day.

Then fill up your glasses, and here's
 Success to the year Twenty-six !
 May the foes that try to come near's,
 Meet with buffet, blow, cudgels, and kicks !

The Greeks 'gainst the Turks have been fighting,
 Their liberty lost to regain ;
 Thank God, we have ours to delight in,
 Which in spite of them all we'll retain.

Though radicals may make a noise,
 And weavers be hang'd in their yarn,
 And a squad of red-hot Irish boys
 Transport themselves just for an airing,—

Though grunblers for changes may fret,
 And steam-packets still go to pot,
 And fools may more joint-stocks create,
 To set their own noddles afloat :

Yet, in spite of these moats on its face,
 The year will jog merrily through,
 And day unto day will give chase,
 Until all disappear from our view.

So have pass'd, and will pass all our years,
 Like clouds the pale moon floating past,
 Which one moment is dim, but appears
 In all its bright lustre at last.

THE LIFE OF MATTHEW BAILLIE, M.D. BY JAMES WARDROP, SURGEON-
EXTRAORDINARY TO THE KING*.

THE most generally attractive and seducing kinds of literary works are Romances, Adventures, and Biographical Accounts of eminent Individuals: 1st, because they are level to the capacities of all classes of readers; and, 2dly, because they gradually and insensibly awaken so intense an interest, that the reader frequently identifies himself with the hero of the tale. Of the three kinds of writing above specified, Biography, though, perhaps, not the most in vogue, (as the French say,) is by far the most useful, because it exhibits men as they really were, and pictures events as they actually occurred. In fact, it presents numerous circumstances and events, some of which every reader of experience and candour may bring home to himself: it shows the rocks and shoals on which others have split—the Scyllæ and Charybdes of life; it holds up to sight the happy destiny of some, the luckless stars of others, and the extraordinary varieties of this ever-fleeting scene; it exhibits the manner in which men, through the exercise of talents, as well as by industry and perseverance, have risen to eminence; it presents to view the rewards of good conduct, virtue, and religion, while it depicts the disgrace and miserable termination of folly, immorality, and wickedness. In fact, Biography is a mirror, in which the *experienced* may see themselves, and in which the *inexperienced* may find a standard for the guidance of their lives. Therefore, as the study of distinguished characters is of the highest utility to the human race, it is with pleasure we hail every biographical memoir of eminent men.

Dr Baillie's name is universally known, and stands in the highest

rank of medical fame; of course, an account of his works, and more especially the outlines of his life, lay claim to general attention.

Dr Baillie's works are so well known, and so highly esteemed by the medical world, that they require not one word to be said in their praise. We allude more especially to the *Morbid Anatomy*†, and the Plates which illustrate that work. His miscellaneous papers are less known, because they were scattered throughout the transactions of various societies, but some of them are very valuable. We are therefore glad to see a complete edition of Dr Baillie's works, edited by a distinguished individual, who was adequate for the task he undertook.

Wardrop's edition of Baillie's works consists of two very unequal volumes, and we regret that their price should have been fixed at more than a guinea. The first, and by far the smallest volume, contains a concise and elegant account of the life of Dr Baillie, by the Editor; and a collection of miscellaneous papers, dissertations, and dissections, by the author: while, in the second volume, we find "*Preliminary Observations on Diseased Structures*," by the Editor; and the sixth edition of the *Morbid Anatomy*. We should think that an octavo cheap edition of the Plates illustrative of the *Morbid Anatomy* would be an excellent accompaniment to these volumes, and we trust that the Editor will take this measure into consideration, if he has not done so already.

It is rarely that we touch on medical subjects, but we have been induced to give some account of Dr Baillie's works, in consequence of the high character he attained in his

* Prefixed to Mr Wardrop's Edition of Dr Baillie's Works.

† It has been observed, that Dr Baillie's work on *Morbid Anatomy* was defective in its account of symptoms and histories of diseases. The fact is, the author did not attempt, in the first edition, to enter upon this department. It professedly treated of *Morbid Structures*, or the changes which the various parts and organs of the human system undergo, in consequence of disease. It might as well be objected to his book of *Descriptive Anatomy*, that it contains no account of the functions of the various systems or organs of the body, as that a work on *Morbid Anatomy* does not contain an account of the phenomena of diseases in the living body.

profession, and of the very interesting life of him, composed from most authentic sources by Mr Wardrop. The general reader will not fail to be interested by its perusal, and to the medical reader it affords numerous important lessons for his imitation, and others for his guidance.

Perhaps the worthy Editor has shown *good taste* in suppressing any disagreeable remarks with regard to Dr Baillie and his writings; but we hold it as essential to the spirit of biography, that the failings as well as the virtues, "*the bad as well as the good*," of distinguished characters, should be unveiled. This may be done, however, in a gentlemanly style, and not with an invidious intention; it may be done with the view of being still more useful to the living, by indicating what is reprehensible and to be avoided, from what is worthy of approbation and imitation. However delicate or indulgent the Editor may have been, perhaps from his respect for Dr Baillie's surviving relations, we do not deem it necessary to be under any restraint. And, *1st*, we would remark, that though Dr Baillie had the advantage of being educated at an English University, he does not appear to much advantage as an English scholar, or rather as a mere writer. We do not think there is a single page of Dr Baillie's works in which some transgressions against grammar and correctness of expression may not be detected by the severe critic; and some of them are so remarkable as not to escape the observation of the merest tyro. Yet the *Morbid Anatomy* passed through five editions without being corrected; and we regret to find that the Editor, though he has made some emendations, has been far too sparing of his labours; or perhaps, as he says in his advertisement, he felt a delicacy in making all the necessary changes, aware that he might be charged with offering an insult to the memory of the man whose life he was composing. From the example of Dr Baillie the student may derive one important lesson, viz., the folly of attempting to write Latin before he can write his own language with a necessary degree of correctness and elegance.

That the *Morbid Anatomy* should

have passed through no less than five editions without being properly corrected, seems to us astonishing; and yet the fact, perhaps, may be thus explained. The very valuable matter of the *Morbid Anatomy* caught the general attention, and entirely occupied the mind of the reader: the very condensed and comprehensive sketches of disease and morbid appearances given by Dr Baillie compensated for inaccuracy or inelegance of expression; and medical readers, among whom Dr Baillie's works almost exclusively circulated, with a few exceptions, are neither the most severe nor the best literary critics. In different accounts which we have heard, a narrowness of mind and an illiberality of spirit may be traced, which was not suitable to the dignity of the medical profession, and especially to that of an individual who had reached the zenith of fame.

The *College or Corporation* to which the Doctor belonged had a bye-law, by which the members were bound not to consult with any physician, *however eminent*, if he were not likewise a member of the same *Corporation* or body. Such a law, however, well adapted for butchers, bakers, tailors, and such like tradesmen, was, and is, highly derogatory to the medical character, and to medical science; and we trust the time is at hand when a general emancipation from such trammels is to take place.

Dr Baillie was extremely anxious, besides, to divide the medical profession into distinct branches; a circumstance which the more surprises us, when we bear in mind that his uncles rose into eminence by their superior *general* knowledge, and that he himself owed much of his fame to his knowledge of anatomy, and perhaps, also, to that of surgery. In great cities, the division is practicable, and may have advantages; but it is quite out of the question in small towns, or in the country. Now, as no man can be sure that his destiny may not be to pass his life remote from great cities, it follows, that all medical students should make themselves masters of every branch of the medical profession. Dr Baillie used every means within his reach to mark the differences between the various branches of the profession, or, in

other words, in what is termed *professional rank*, and was extremely anxious to uphold what he considered the *dignity* of a learned physician: thus confounding useless and mere superficial denominations with real talents and merit, and evincing littleness of mind. The way in which surgeon-apothecaries are rewarded for their labour and science in England gives rise to numerous abuses—abuses which time alone can cure, and we fear the cure is still at a distance. The folly of rewarding a medical attendant by the quantity of medicine used, is so preposterous and so reprehensible, that it requires no illustration; and yet this practice prevails in enlightened England, and, as far as we know, in no other part of the world. This is a subject which deserves the most serious investigation and amendment. We make this remark, because it has been often suspected that the physicians, at least some of them, and the chemists and druggists, had private connections, which led to expensive forms of prescriptions. Were it not well known that Dr Baillie was far above such a practice, it might have been suspected that at least he was a friend to the chemists and druggists, for he made it an *invariable rule*, when he was consulted, to write a prescription. We should hope such a custom as this is chiefly confined to London, where every transaction is metamorphosed into the appearance of a trade, and where *brisk trade* may be said to be confounded with professional celebrity.

Having made these disagreeable remarks, we shall now proceed to the more agreeable task of giving our readers some details of the life of Dr Baillie, and we do this the more readily, because many may wish to know them without purchasing a copy of his works.

Matthew Baillie was a native of Scotland; he was born on the 27th of October 1761, at the manse of Shots, in the county of Lanark. His father, the Rev. James Baillie, was soon after removed from Shots to the church of Bothwell, then to that of Hamilton; and subsequently was elected Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow.

Having passed through the usual course of education at the grammar-school of

Hamilton, where he acquired a reputation both for industry and talent, young Baillie became a student of the University of Glasgow. He there attended the Greek and Latin Classes during the first two seasons; in the third season he became a diligent mathematician, and attended the Logic Class, and that of Moral Philosophy, then taught by the celebrated Dr Reid.

Dr Baillie's mother, Miss Dorothea Hunter, was the sister of William and John Hunter, the celebrated anatomists. From the peculiar advantages held out to him by his uncle, William Hunter, he was induced, though at first rather contrary to his inclination, to choose medicine for his profession; at that time the pulpit or the bar would have pleased him better. It was William Hunter's wish that he should receive his medical education under his own immediate direction, but in order that he might obtain an English degree in medicine, his nephew's limited means made it necessary for him to procure an Oxford "exhibition," which the Professors of the College of Glasgow have in their power to bestow on deserving merit. Whilst this plan was in contemplation, he had the misfortune to lose his father, and as the family was then left in narrow circumstances, the necessity to secure the exhibition became in consequence particularly urgent. It was, however, at last obtained.

Dr Baillie had reached his eighteenth year, when he arrived in London, on his way to the University of Oxford.

He now commenced a career under the most favourable auspices. William Hunter, who at this time was far advanced in years, was a shrewd observer of mankind, and his long intercourse with the world had furnished him with many recollections and observations. He had, at the same time, a peculiarly happy talent for relating anecdote, and with such expression of countenance and voice, that it was supposed he might have acquired on the stage the highest rank as a comedian. To hear him tell stories, and indulge those humours by the fireside, which was a common custom when alone with his nephew, was delightful to the youth, who, on the following morning, had the advantage of receiving instruction from one of the most distinguished philosophers of his age.

At Oxford, Baillie continued to pursue his classical education, but as that university afforded him no means of acquiring a knowledge of medicine, he spent

the whole of his time, after the first year, with William Hunter, except during the "terms," which amounted only to a few weeks annually.

Whilst at Oxford his habits were studious and diligent.

In two years from the commencement of his studies, Baillie became a teacher in the Anatomical Theatre. But he had not been thus employed more than twelve months when William Hunter died, bequeathing to him the use of that museum which is now deposited in the University of Glasgow, and forms so noble a monument of its founder; and it may be remarked as a most extraordinary circumstance, that two brothers, at the same time, and in the same place, should have collected the two most splendid and most extensive museums now existing; and any person inspecting them can hardly conceive how either of two such vast collections could have been the work of a single individual. Besides the use of the museum, William Hunter left his nephew his Anatomical Theatre, and house in Windmill Street, and also a small family estate in Scotland, which he had repurchased, but which Baillie, in the most handsome manner, immediately gave up to his uncle John, considering him as his brother's natural heir. William Hunter also left his nephew about one hundred pounds a-year, the remainder of his fortune being entirely devoted to upholding the museum, to erecting an adequate building for its reception at Glasgow, and to an annuity to two surviving sisters. I have heard it said, that, in a conversation a short time previous to his death, his uncle told him "that it was his intention to leave him but little money, as he had derived too much pleasure from making his own fortune to deprive him of doing the same."

Dr Baillie's comprehensive and accurate knowledge of anatomy materially assisted him in acquiring an intimate and correct acquaintance with all the diseases incident to the human frame, and, instead of studying those complaints only which were necessary to enable him to practise in such cases as usually come under the care of the physician, he extended his enquiries, and became eminently skilled in general pathology. He embraced every opportunity of examining morbid appearances after death, of which he kept accurate notes, pursuing at this period his pathological researches with great eagerness; and on one occasion, his life nearly fell a sacrifice, from a slight wound on his hand, by a knife with which he was dissecting a putrid body. His industry and application, and the dissections which he was

necessarily compelled to make as a teacher of anatomy, were, indeed, in after life, the sources of that minute pathological knowledge for which he became so eminent.

Two years after William Hunter's death, Baillie, associated with Mr Cruickshank, gave his first course of Anatomical Lectures; thus undertaking, in the 22d year of his age, the arduous task of supplying the place of one of the most distinguished teachers. But such was his success, that the number of students of that school was not diminished by the loss of its illustrious founder.

As a lecturer, he soon attained considerable eminence, being remarkable for the simplicity and perspicuity of his demonstrations, the order and method of his style, and the clearness and distinctness of his delivery.

In the year 1787 Dr Baillie was appointed Physician to St. George's Hospital, and two years afterwards, being then 29 years of age, he received his degree at Oxford, and became a Fellow of the College of Physicians of London. Up to this period his opportunities of studying the practical part of his profession had been comparatively limited; but great assiduity and attention, united with his natural sagacity, enabled him to acquire that tact in discriminating diseases in the living body, which formed a striking feature in his future character; an acquirement which few attain who have not had constant opportunities of visiting the sick early in life.

The taste which the Hunters created in this country for the study of Morbid Anatomy marks the period in which they lived as one of the most important and proud eras in our medical history; and their nephew acquired a taste for this branch of medicine, and cultivated it with great assiduity. Surrounded by their labours, it was not long before he made an admirable use of the valuable stores contained in their museums. A multitude of pathological facts were there illustrated, which he collected and arranged, and which formed the basis of his work on Morbid Anatomy, first published in 1795,—a work which, whether we consider the subject, or the manner in which it is treated, has been justly estimated as one of the most practically useful, and most valuable acquisitions to medical science.

Soon after the publication of the Morbid Anatomy, Dr Baillie became so deeply engaged in the routine and drudgery of practice, that he no longer devoted any of his time to the prosecution of pathological researches.

In 1799, after having for thirteen years assiduously performed his duties at St. George's Hospital, he resigned that appointment, giving up, at the same period, his Anatomical Lectures; his whole time being now engaged in the practical part of his profession.

Dr Baillie was one of those medical men whose success is greatly to be attributed to professional knowledge, adorned with every private virtue. Minute anatomical study had been too much disregarded by physicians, and conceived necessary for those only who practised surgery. His comprehensive knowledge of anatomy, therefore, could not fail to give him immense superiority over those who were competing with him for practice. Whenever more than ordinary scientific precision was wanted, his opinion was resorted to; and the advantages which his anatomical skill afforded him, soon established his reputation among the better informed in his profession, as well as secured to him the public confidence. However unaccountable it may appear, yet it is not less true, that many of the physicians then in London were of opinion, that his pre-eminence in anatomical knowledge, instead of establishing his fame as a practitioner, would be the means of not only impeding, but absolutely of frustrating his prospects; and he was, in consequence, repeatedly advised to relinquish his anatomical class.

It must, however, be admitted, that Dr Baillie enjoyed some unusual advantages in addition to his own excellent qualities, at the time when he entered into the practice of medicine. Besides other family connections, his name was early brought before the public as the relative and the pupil of two of the most eminent men of the day: in addition to this, Dr Pitcairn, with whom he had been acquainted in very early life, at the time when he had arrived at great eminence, was obliged, from declining health, to relinquish his extensive practice, and Dr Baillie was introduced by him to his patients, which introduction was the means of speedily bringing him into notice: and after the death of Dr Pitcairn, so rapid was the increase of his practice, that he was then induced to abandon his anatomical lectures.

Dr Baillie possessed in an eminent degree a facility in distinguishing diseases:—one of the most important qualities in the practice of medicine, and which can only be acquired by an intimate knowledge of the natural structure of the human body. Habits of attentive observation had also enabled him to know, with great accuracy, the precise effects and ex-

tent of the powers of medicines; indeed there was no class of cases more likely to fall under his observation than those in which they had been abused; younger practitioners being apt to carry particular systems of treatment beyond their proper limits. Dr Baillie's quickness, therefore, in perceiving this abuse, rendered his opinion, in many such cases, of great value.

Mr Wardrop alludes to Dr Baillie's clearness, conciseness, and unaffected simplicity, in the mode of delivering his opinions,—his natural and unassuming, but decided and impressive manner, to all persons and on all occasions,—the remarkable attention he paid to the feelings of his professional brethren,—his remarkable punctuality in his intercourse with society,—his communicative disposition,—and to the simplicity of his personal manners, and the feebleness of his physical frame, compared with the vigour of his mental powers.

Our readers may have a good idea of the life of slavery of a well-employed medical man, from the manner in which Dr Baillie spent some of the best years of his life: for unfortunately it happens, that he seldom gets into good practice till he has passed many of the years best fitted for bodily exertion in comparative obscurity.

At the time of his greatest business, Dr Baillie

—usually rose at six o'clock in the morning, and occupied himself till half-past eight in answering letters, writing consultations received the day before, and arranging the visits for the day. Until half-past ten o'clock he saw patients at his own house, after which hour he paid visits till six o'clock. He generally allowed only two hours of relaxation for dinner, spending the remainder of the evening, and often till a late hour at night, in again paying visits.

As might naturally be expected, Dr Baillie amassed a very considerable fortune.

No man had a more just notion of the value of money, estimating it merely in as much as it afforded him the means of procuring what was necessary and suitable for his situation; but he was extremely careless in the management of it, and paid no attention to pecuniary de-

tails. With so little love for money, it may appear strange that he should have devoted so much of his time, and have exposed himself to so much mental and bodily fatigue, in order to obtain it. But it seems natural in most men, who arrive at the zenith of professional fame, to cherish the desire of reaping all the advantages which their elevated situation affords them, and thus, without considering the evil consequences to their health, and the destruction of their constitution, run headlong into all the mischiefs of a life of constant excitement, and deprive themselves of every domestic enjoyment and mental recreation. In the various departments of public life, as well as in medicine, there are daily before us painful examples of eminent men sacrificing their dearest interests, in the pursuit of professional fame, whilst the more reflecting part of that very public, for whom they are thus destroying their health and their true happiness, never regard the sacrifices which they thus make.

Mr Wardrop relates several noble instances of Dr Baillie's generosity, which add much lustre to his character as a man, and especially as a physician.

Dr Baillie was celebrated for many years, and he pursued his avocations with more or less ardour, according to the state of his health, which was declining. His Editor says,

Dr Baillie's health had for some years materially suffered from the fatigue of business, and it may justly be said, that he fell a victim to the constant excitement of professional avocations. His physical frame, far from being originally robust, began gradually to fall into a state of exhaustion past relief from repose; and this continuing without intermission, wore out his body more than the tranquillity and annual retirement of a few

months in the country were sufficient to restore. A manifest change at last took place in his appearance: already much wasted, he now became emaciated and feeble; and though the faculties of his mind remained perfect, there were times when even these were deprived of their wonted vigour.

In the early part of the summer of 1823 he had an attack of inflammation of the mucous membrane of the trachea, which, though it at first created little disturbance, became in the month of June very troublesome, being attended with some fever and a frequent cough. In this state he quitted London for Tunbridge Wells, and returned in a few weeks, the more teasing symptoms of cough having been relieved by local bleeding and blisters; but in no respect had his general health improved. His feebleness was now so great, that even conversation was a considerable effort, and he had completely lost all relish for food. Though aware that his situation was precarious, he seemed to entertain the hope of being able to return to London in the ensuing winter, and resume, to a certain extent, his professional avocations; for he was persuaded that he had no organic affection, and that by repose, and living in the country, the digestive organs, whose functions were so much deranged, would be restored. Such were the expressions he then used, when adverting to his situation.

With these hopes, he went down with his family to his residence in Gloucestershire; but, instead of gaining strength after his arrival there, he became daily more and more enfeebled; and after much bodily suffering, but with a mind unshaken, he expired on the 23d of September 1823. Thus terminated the life of a man, at once an example to the living by his virtues, his inflexible integrity, his great moral worth, his benevolence to his afflicted fellow-creatures, and his high intellectual endowments.

SKETCHES OF THE COURTS OF FRANCE AND BURGUNDY IN THE TIME OF
LOUIS XI.

No. I.

La Chronique Scandaleuse—First entry of Louis XI. into Paris—Constable of S. Paul.

Now wol I pray every person discrete that redeth or heareth this litel treatise, to have my rude entencing excused, and my superfluite of wordes.

And if it so be that I shewe thee in my lith Englishe, as trewe conclusions touching this mater, and not onely as trewe, but as many and subtil conclusions as bene yshewed in Latin, conne me the more thanke, and praye God save the King that is Loide of this Langage, and all that him faith beareth and obeith everich in his degree, the more and the lasse. But consydre thwell that I ne usurpe to have founnden this werke of my labour or of mine engin. I nam but a leude compilatour; and have it translated in myn Englishe, onely for thy doctrine: and with this sweide shal I slcwe enuy.—*Chaucer's Conclusions of the Astrolabic.*

"A L'HONNEUR et louange de Dieu, nostre doux Sauveur et Redempteur," begins the good old *Chronique Scandaleuse* of the Reign of Louis XI. "et de la Benoiste, glorieuse Vierge et pucelle Marie, sans le moyen desquels nulles bonnes oeuvres ou operations ne peuvent estre conduites. Et pource aussi que plusieurs Roys, Princes, Comtes, Barons, Prelats nobles hommes, gens d'Eglise, et autre Populace se sont souvent delectez et delectent à ouyr et escouter* des histoires merveilleuses, et choses avenües en divers lieux tant de ce Royaume, que d'autres Royaumes Chretiens." Therefore, in common with the said Chronicle, we have resolved, for the benefit of our readers, to commemorate, in this article, along with other matters, some of those "histoires merveilleuses" which it describes.

The *Chronique Scandaleuse*†, as we have already hinted, narrates events which took place in the reign of Louis XI. of France, and part of the Life of Charles, the last Duke of Burgundy; a time of singular interest in the early History of Europe. Then, the forms and lineament of chivalry were still preserved; but the spirit that animated the wondrous institution had fled. There was no want, however, of magnificence and splendour; perhaps there was even more of them than in those days when feudal ideas, in all their integrity, prevailed. It was the magnificence of that period which followed the downfall of pure chivalric feelings, and preceded the institution of observances more similar to those now in use. Then, too, the policy of the European kingdoms became more subtle and refined; less pas-

* This is a kind of expression often used by historians and other writers of the middle ages. Many of the most celebrated knights of that period could not read, and were therefore obliged to content themselves by listening to the reading of Monks or others who accompanied them. Repeated allusions to this are to be found in the works of Chaucer, Froissard, Comines, and every writer, in short, of the times. In the Tales of the Crusaders, Gwenwyn, when he requires the assistance of father Hugh to decypher to him the letter of Raymond Berenger, is made to do nothing that would have been accounted disgraceful by the feudal nobility.

† As to the authors and composition of the *Chronique Scandaleuse*, the Abbé Langlet says, "Ce n'est pas l'ouvrage d'un seul homme; c'est une compilation suivie des Chroniques qui se faisoient dans le quatorzième et quinzième siècles. Il y en a six ou sept exemplaires dans la Bibliothèque de sa majesté, qui ne sont que des copies l'une de l'autre. Le dernier écrivain ajoutoit toujours quelques particularitez, ou quelques faits nouveaux, de son tems à la Chronique plus ancienne, qu'il écrivoit ou faisoit écrire. Celle qui est à la fin du Tome troisième. de Monstrelet est du même genre."

sionate and stormy. Negotiations usurped the place of battles; and, by the faithlessness of Cabinets, those quarrels were appeased, or hushed for a while, which of old, when there was less wisdom, or more bravery, were imagined to require the expiation of many a well-fought field.

But, alas! notwithstanding the confident exordium of this ancient Chronicle, have not posterity rejected the title of "*Les Chroniques de Louis XI.*," to substitute another—*La Chronique Scandaleuse*—more agreeable to their idea of its contents, and their belief of the nonfulfilment of the promise with which it sets out? Has not Godefroy, in the Preface to his excellent edition of *Comines**, lamented that this Chronicle was "*appelée sans raison scandaleuse*," thus evincing his sorrow, as well as his opinion, that such a denomination had been bestowed upon it from a conviction that it had something which should not have been there? But this complaint is unjust. Its injustice, and our own excuse for noticing the work to

which it relates, may easily be established. The Chronicles of Louis XI. were designated "*La Chronique Scandaleuse*," not from any feeling of the description supposed, but because they included an unusual quantity of private and other occurrences, especially at Paris—"La cite que j'ainais je visse environée de meilleur pays et plus plantureuse†"—inconsistent with the dignity of history. Every notable circumstance, too, in any way connected with individuals occupying the most insignificant public situations, is put down with the same minuteness as the historical events that then happened, and not unfrequently with more. We do not, indeed, recollect that, like another Chronicle of those days, it informs us, in the midst of an important relation, that at this time the mode of dress of ladies, old and young, was changed: that they began to wear bonnets, with kerchiefs of such a length as to reach the ground behind them: that their waists were larger, and their laces richer than before; and that instead of their trains, they adopted borders

* The *Memoirs of Comines*, all our readers know, have enjoyed a very high reputation. The affectionate exclamation of "*mon cher Comines*," with which the author is greeted by Montagne, has been re-echoed over Europe. Of his *Life and Memoirs* we may speak at another time. We may observe, at present, that they have been translated into Latin†, and, we believe, into several of the Continental languages. There have been numerous editions of them in France, and several translations have appeared at different times in England, "like new-stamped coin made out of angel gold." The first edition of *Comines* was printed in 1523, at Paris, by S. de Selve, in folio. It comprised only six books, which bring the history down to the year 1483; and it was not until 1528 that the work was completed. (Brunet *Manuel de Lib.* Tom. I. p. 443.) Brunet had seen, in the King's Library at Paris, a copy in vellum, printed at Paris 1524. (*Ibid.*) In 1648 the *Memoirs* were published by Denys Sauvage, in 12mo. Vol. II. *Diet. Bibliograph. Hist. and Critique de Livres Rares, Precieux, Singuliers, Curieux, Estimés, and Recherchés, Art. Comines.*) This edition stands pretty high in the good graces of collectors. The edition of Godefroy in 1649 received more attention from the editors than any preceding one. It issued from the *Imprimerie Royale* at Paris. (*Ibid.* *Mem. Historiques*, Vol. X. Notice des Editeurs.) It was, however, surpassed by that of Jean Godefroy, to whom we have alluded above, who superintended the publication of the Editions of the *Memoirs* of 1713 and 1723. The labours of the Abbé Langlet, however, on the *Memoirs* of *Comines*, (his edition occupies four quarto volumes,) are the most useful and meritorious. They have been of great service to the Editors of the *Memoires Historiques*, who, in copying, have abridged them. Then as to the English translations. In the year 1565 Marthe printed "*The History of Phil. Comines upon the Actes and Deades of King Lewis XI.*," aucrysted by my Lorde of London. (Ames and Herbert, *Typograph. Antiq.* Vol. II. p. 871.) Arnold Hatfield published, 1596, "*The Hist. of Phil. de Comines, Knight*," for John Norton, in folio. (*Id.* p. 1213.) And another translation, in two octavo volumes, was printed in 1712. (*Chalmers's Biograph. Dict.*, Vol. X., *Art. Comines.*)

* We recollect, in particular, "*Cominsei de Carol, 8vo., Gallie Rege et Bello Neapolitano Comment. &c. Scladane Interprete.*"

† *Mem. de Comines*, Liv. I. c. 8.

large and beautiful ; or that the men, habiting themselves "plus court" than they had ever done, were in their appearance so similar to mon-kies, "qu'on voyoit leurs derrieres et leurs devant." And to crown the whole, even valets, we are told, in a plaintive tone, in imitation of their masters, and the lower classes in general, distinguished themselves by doublets of silk or velvet—a proof of great vanity, and, without doubt, hateful in the eyes of God. But what our Chronicle records would, in many cases, in the minds of most people, appear of no greater interest, all the trifling municipal regulations in the capital of France—the accidents which happened there—the execution of criminals in it, and innumerable other things of a like sort, are never forgotten. And of the great deeds of national concern under Louis, our "Frenshe Boke" speaks not largely, or at any rate not much to the purpose.

Then, for our own justification, it must be recollected, that what was scandal in the time of Louis is scandal no longer. A record of it either commands not attention from any one, or it has changed its character, and become extremely important, as illustrative of the manners, amusements, and every-day life of the period. We are very far from thinking that this is in any respect like the way in which history should be written. But, nevertheless, such registers may, in after times, be of greater interest than others in which historical propriety is more closely observed. This will be especially the case, if they relate to an era the national occurrences in which are not, at present, from their nature or consequences, of universal importance: and the customs and notions then prevalent are, on the other hand, curious and attractive. Now, in our idea, this is true, to a certain extent, of the reign of Louis XI. The line of policy he adopted had indeed the most signal effect: much of what he did is still not only almost necessary to be known, but wonderful; yet, though alive to all this, we take more concern in ex-

mining the habits of his people, and the pageants of which they were witnesses. "Whilom yeris passed in the old dawis*," and we delight in the *Chronique Scandaleuse*, and every thing that increases our acquaintance with them,—the "dawis" in which Froissart, the entertaining herald-painter's son, registered the story of his own wanderings, along with the deeds of warlike knights, and the pomp of courts and castles, where he was so acceptable a guest, and which he so dearly loved: or with that age, in which Comines drew, in sombre colouring, the dark and crooked policy of Louis XI., his master, or his friend.

The *Chronique Scandaleuse*†, of which we speak, though it mentions a few facts relative to the last events of the reign of Charles VII., may be said to begin with the accession of Louis XI. to the throne of France. The dissensions between him, then Dauphin, and his father, had compelled him to retire to the court of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. At the time of his father's death, Louis resided at Genappe; and, accordingly, many of the officers of the realm, anxious to ingratiate themselves with their future monarch, hastened to the countries of Hainault and Picardy. The palace of the late king was almost deserted; but there still remained a sufficient number of his faithful attendants to perform the ceremonies due to the dead, and, as an ancient Chronicle relates‡, in the Hall of the Chateau de Meun was the body, on a bed richly decorated, and covered with blue velvet, adorned with fleurs de lys, which were marvellously beautiful, while numbers of torches illumined the gloom of the funeral chamber, where were great lords and ladies, weeping, and lamenting the death of King Charles. The *Chronique Scandaleuse*§ describes the procession which accompanied the remains of the Sovereign to the grave; and an account of it may not be wholly destitute of amusement to some of our readers. On its arrival at Paris from the Chateau de Meun, the corpse of the deceased monarch lay one night in state in the Church

* History of Beryn.

† *Chronique sur le Comte de Dammartin*.

‡ La Chron. Scand. ad ann. 1461.

of our Lady of the Fields, on the outskirts of the city ; and next day it was brought to Paris, attended by the clergy, nobility, officers of the city, and populace. First were the Criers of the City Council, with the arms of France emblazoned all over their garments. Then two hundred torches, ornamented in like manner, were carried by as many poor persons dressed in mourning robes. The body, which followed, reclined on a couch spread with very rich cloth of gold, on the top of which was the portrait of the late monarch in Royal robes, having a crown on his head, and in his hand a sceptre. In this order, the procession moved to the Church of our Lady of Paris. There were present, the Dukes of Orleans and Angouleme, the Counts of Eu and Dunois, the Chancellor and Grand Esquire of France, and the other officers of the palace, in mourning, and exhibiting a sight pitiful to behold. The citizens joined in the lamentations ; but those who displayed the greatest signs of grief were the King's pages, who, mounted on horses caparisoned with black velvet, added to the solemnity of the whole.

For another night, the body remained in state in the Church of our Lady, and then the last rites were accomplished ; and Charles VII. was placed for ever in the Church of S. Denys, beside his ancestors.

In the same month the citizens of Paris were to behold a pageant of a very opposite character. After his coronation at Rheims, Louis, the young monarch, according to the ancient custom of the French kings, made his entry into the capital, and the citizens welcomed him by a representation of all those extraordinary embellishments, and quaint devices, which over Europe were ever readily imagined by the inhabitants of those cities that were honoured by a visit from their Sovereign.

On the last day of August 1461* Louis left the hotel named the Swineherds, in the suburbs, near the gate of S. Honore, to enter in state his good city of Paris. Previously, however, all the estates of the town had

arrived to pay their respects to him. Among these were Chartier the Bishop, the Members of the University and of the Court of Parliament, the Provost, the Officers of the Chamber of Accounts, the Provost of the Merchants, and others, all clothed in damask furred with sable ; and the Provost of the Merchants, on presenting the King with the keys of the gate of S. Denys, through which he was to pass, made a speech to him in the name of the city. Then each one retired to the place allotted him, and the King created a great number of knights. When he reached the gate of S. Denys, he was met near the Church of S. Ladre by a herald named Loyal Cœur, mounted on a horse whose trappings were richly ornamented with the city arms, and, in name of the inhabitants, he presented to him five ladies splendidly dressed, and riding on five horses of great value, covered with robes, bearing similarly the arms of the capital. Each lady had a part assigned to her, according with the five letters of which the word Paris is composed, and each in her turn addressed her Sovereign.

His Majesty, on the other hand, was nobly accompanied by all the great princes and high lords of his kingdom. The Dukes of Orleans, Burgundy, Bourbon, and Cleves ; the Counts of Charolois, Angouleme, S. Paul, and Dunois ; and many other Counts, Barons, Knights, Captains, and eminent gentlemen, who, to honour him, had their horses conducted by handsome young pages, and arrayed in very fine and costly trappings ; some of cloth of gold, enriched with sable furs ; others of velvet, interspersed with ermine, damask cloth, golden ornaments, or large fields of silver.

At the gate of S. Denys there stood a silver ship above the bridge, representing the armorial bearings of the metropolis. Within it were placed the three estates. In two castles, the one situated before the other, behind the ship, sat Justice and Equity, and from the top of the mast, which had a fantastic resemblance to the lily, appeared a king in his robes of

* La Chron. Scand. ad ann. 1461. In the *Ceremonial de France*, Tom. I. a description of the Procession is given ; but we have not access to it at present.

state, attended by two angels. A little farther on, at the Fountain of the Red Poppy, were individuals of both sexes, personating savages. The part they acted in the pageant is not described to us as of the most delicate kind. It was, however, we have no doubt, much admired by the spectators, for the most substantial excellencies of the scene were gathered round the place of their habitations. There musical instruments made great melody; and which was most delightful, there were pipes in the Fountain of the Red Poppy, whence issued streams of milk, wine, and hyppocrace, for the refreshment of all who entered the city, and every one drank of them as he pleased. Then, a little beyond the Fountain, at the place of the Trinity, a mystery of the Passion—Christ extended between the thieves—was played. Persons richly dressed were stationed at the painter's gate, equally silent with those who performed in the mystery. The Fountain of S. Innocent was surrounded by hunters, and the "Boucherie," very properly decorated with the Bastille of Dieppe, inclosed by scaffolding. From it, when the King passed, an assault was begun on the Bastille, supposed to be defended by the English, who, of course, were all killed in the contest, or were put to death afterwards. The "Moult Beau Personnages" were again repeated at the gate of the Chatelet, and at the Pont aux Changes, a short distance beyond it. Nor was this all; when the King was crossing the bridge, more than two hundred dozens of birds of various sorts were let fly by the poulterers, who were bound to this by their tenure; they at that time being permitted to hold their markets on that bridge. In this manner did Louis go to return thanks to Heaven in the Church of Notre Dame; and after he had retired to his Palace, festivities more grateful were shared by those great and noble Lords for whom the genius of the Parisians had prepared so edifying a spectacle.

But ceremonial observations were not to characterize the reign of Louis; and though his genius had prompted him to encourage them, a crisis was approaching, sufficiently alarming to demand his utmost exertions. The avowed hostility with which Louis regarded many of the most able ministers of Charles,—his conduct to his brother, and to the Dukes of Burgundy* and Brittany,—and the contempt he was inclined to display of all the usages of former years, excited a spirit of dissatisfaction, which, bursting forth in the war for the public weal, nearly deprived him of his crown. In that war, the professed object of the league of the nobility was undoubtedly great—the reformation of the abuses that prevailed in the kingdom. The abilities of him with whom they had to contend were well known, and deep were the injuries he had inflicted on many of them. Yet the knowledge of all this did not increase the energy and zeal of those who had espoused the common cause. But what could be expected where each leaders ought, not the abolition of oppression, nor the security of the people, but his own advancement and share of the plunder? The Comte de Charolois had the towns on the Somme ceded to him by the Duke of Conflans: the Duke of Berry, the Duchy of Normandy: of the rest, some were received into favour, others obtained profitable offices, and thus a formidable confederation was dissolved, and Louis had time to destroy those of his enemies whom he disliked, or to secure the friendship or services of those he thought would be useful and obedient to him.

The war for the public weal was thus perhaps, in its character, even more unimportant than the generality of the wars of chivalry; and it had none of those striking features of individual prowess which, amid the general monotony, inspire, in our imaginations, life into all the combats of the earlier time. There were no gallant deeds performed in

* See Monstrelet and Olivier de la Marche as to the Expedition of the Bastard of Ruempre. La Chron. Scand. notices, on the other hand, a similar instance of the Duke of Burgundy's peridy; and Comines (Liv. IV. c. xiii.) a singular example of generosity in Louis, when the Count of Campobasso proposed to betray to him the Duke, his master.

it: and in the breasts of the most celebrated warriors of the league, all that courage was dormant which, in the English wars, had exalted the reputation of French knighthood. This, we would observe, may be one of the reasons that Comines is somewhat confused in his description of the enterprise for the public good. Not but that he has given us, in it, several admirable pictures of particular occurrences; but there is a meagerness about the narrative that has always made the first book of his memoirs the least interesting to us. But we can forgive the historian for the defect, and we could well afford to pardon him many more. His talent, after all, does not appear to have consisted in the description of chivalry, as the turn of his mind did not lead him, we should think, to a very ardent admiration of it. He speaks of political intrigues, and little of tournaments; and it must be presumed, since the story of his life justifies the supposition*, that he had likewise greater delight in the former than in the havoc of the battle-field, that had not, even in his time, lost all those features which, at an earlier period still, had likened it yet more closely to the famed tournaments at the courts of princes. The Count of Argenton, by turns the dupe, ambassador, secretary, and valet-de-chambre of Louis XI., had a higher relish for courtly refinement, in some cases approaching to treachery itself, than for those amusements, to excel in which physical qualities alone were almost sufficient, and were most frequently employed; though, by a cherished illusion of the fancy, some of the brightest minds of modern times have associated ideas of grandeur and intellectual activity with these spectacles, more exalted than persons of less excellent understanding would, perhaps justly, admit to be attributable to them. In fine, Philip de Comines is the historian of a court where there was a sufficient degree of fraud and subtle politics; or rather, of a monarch so distinguished;

for Louis was too jealous of his power, and withal too timid, to love the presence of the meanest of his vassals, if they would not be his slaves. The qualities requisite for the description of such scenery are, manifestly, very opposite to those we should conceive as glowing in the breast of the chronicler of knightly achievement and lady's love; and he who was well content to spend many of his days in Plessis de la Tours, had, it is probable, not much wish or ability to engage in the one, and few opportunities, or little interest, to obtain the other.

That the story of the Burgundian war, as it may with some propriety be termed, in the *Chronique Scandaleuse*, is superior to that of Comines, we will not have the boldness to assert; but, in the former, the narration is given with more enthusiasm. We are told oftener of combats at the barriers, of skirmishes, and deeds of arms. A warrior of the feudal times would have preferred it. So would writers like Froissart and Olivier de la Marche, who esteemed gallant Lords and Esquires before everything.

Of the confederated nobles who profited by the war for the public good, the Count of S. Paul, a celebrated character in that period of French History, was one. After the pacification of Conflans, he went to Paris, and in the hall of the Palace, at the marble table, was invested with the office of Constable, and took the accustomed oaths†. But it was not his intention to remain faithful to the monarch from whom he had received an office so considerable. His revenues, which amounted to 30,000 francs yearly, besides what he had from other employments of great value, enabled him to maintain constantly in his pay a body of four hundred lances‡. The enlargement of the power, either of France or Burgundy, therefore, inspired him with alarm; for his lands being situated between the two states, the first exploit of the conqueror, he had reason to fear, would be the reduction of his exorbitant authority. It

* See, besides, various passages in his Memoirs, which shew this preference.

† *La Chron. Scand.* ad ann. 1465.

‡ There are various passages in the Third and Fourth Books of the *Mém. de Comines* that shew the considerable power of this Minister.

was on this account his object, by cherishing the jealousies of Louis and the Duke of Burgundy, and by availing himself of favourable circumstances, at once to keep both in perpetual hatred of each other, or in open war, and to prevent any material augmentation of the influence of either. We find him, after the conclusion of the enterprise in which he had assisted Duke Charles, at that time Comte de Charolais, and when he himself bore the title of Constable, acting as the Ambassador of Louis, while endeavouring to deter his rival from quelling the rebellion of the inhabitants of Liege. He was influenced partly by the same motives at the period he espoused the cause of the King of France, when that Sovereign recovered, by policy, those towns on the Somme he had been obliged, by the success of the Comte de Charolais, at Montlehery, to re-deliver to him. The Constable, too, along with the Dukes of Guienne and Brittany, the former of whom desired the heiress of Burgundy in marriage, urged Louis to invade the territories of his rival with the whole force of his kingdom; and expressed much dissatisfaction at the treaty concluded between them, by the exertions of the Duke and the timidity of his master. On the other hand, when Edward IV. of England invaded France, the conduct of S. Paul had been more than dubious. He entered into a treaty with Edward and Duke Charles, though indeed he did not fulfil it, to surrender St. Quentin on their approach. He was earnest in his application to the King of England not to conclude a peace, but merely to accept of a treaty for one year, and to pass the winter at Eu and St. Valery: and not long after, his expectations in this quarter being disappointed, he sent an Ambassador to the King of France, in order to appease his indignation, by proposing a plan for the destruction of the English army.

Such were the conduct and the views of the Constable of S. Paul. He could not be esteemed by either of those against whom his machinations were directed; and even before the English invasion, a treaty had been entered into at Bouvines, by Louis and the Duke of Burgundy,

against his life. But he managed to escape this time from destruction, though the state and pretensions assumed by him at the interview of reconciliation with Louis were not calculated to make his security greater. Three leagues from Noyon, the Monarch and his great officer met each other, attended by armed men. A strong barrier was erected between them; and the Constable, for his protection, wore armour under his robes of peace. Every thing displayed the suspicions of both parties, and their disbelief of each other's sincerity. The King of France was, of all others, the least disposed to forget the presumption of his subject, and reflection heightened his indignation at the insult thus publicly offered to his authority. At the same time, the mutual dislike of the Count of S. Paul and the Duke of Burgundy was aggravated, by an act of the former, into a personal quarrel. An audience was granted by the French King to Louis de Creville, an envoy from the Constable, for the purpose of conciliation to the Court of France. The Lord of Contay, Ambassador of the Duke of Burgundy, was along with the Lord of Argenton, who relates the anecdote, concealed behind a screen in the Chamber of Audience, to witness the demeanour of De Creville; and his demeanour was indeed extraordinary. With the view of pleasing Louis, the envoy, when describing the haughty conduct of Charles of Burgundy, began to mimic the furious gestures and language of that Prince. The King feigned delight, and requested this buffoon of a minister to repeat that part again, and to speak still louder. He was anxious that nothing should escape the notice of the Ambassador of Burgundy. The request thus made was immediately complied with, really to the great joy of Louis, who, besides gratifying his own propensity for coarse humour, made the Constable, by his representative, offer an unpardonable indignity to the Duke of Burgundy, the rage and astonishment of whose Ambassador was without bounds, and in fact, in this way put a kind of slight, in his own person, but with perfect impunity, upon that haughty Prince.

At last the increasing enmity of

the King, and danger of his situation, induced S. Paul to seek for refuge in Peronne, a town belonging to Duke Charles; and here, by the Duke's order, then at the siege of Nanci, though he is said to have repented of it afterwards, the fugitive was delivered up to the Admiral of France, and Monsieur de S. Pierre commissioned by the French King to receive him into custody.

The ministers of Louis were not likely, or rather they had it not in their power, to pardon any one on whose destruction their master was bent; and, besides, the conduct of the Constable had been such as justified the capital punishment to which he was doomed. Full accounts have been transmitted to us of his trial; and we have all the particulars of his condemnation and execution, giving, in some respects, a very striking picture of the institutions of the time.

On Tuesday the nineteenth day of December 1475* orders were issued to conduct the prisoner to the Court of Parliament, there to receive the sentence to be passed upon him. "What," said S. Pierre, on entering his prison in the Bastille, to inform him of it, "what, my Lord Constable, do you sleep still?" "No," replied he, "and it is a long time since I have: you find me here sad and melancholy." He hesitated whether he should obey the summons of S. Pierre, when he was told that Robert d'Estouteville, Provost of Paris, and his enemy, was to accompany him; for he apprehended it was meant to transfer him to Estouteville's custody. But this apprehension being removed, and on an assurance that he should be protected from the populace of Paris, who were greatly irritated against him, he complied, and guarded by Estouteville and S. Pierre, he went on horseback to the Palace of the Parliament. The Lord of Gaucourt and Hesselip saluted him as he was ascending the steps that led to it. The Constable returned the salutation. In the Tour Criminelle he met the Chancellor, who had arrived there before him. "My Lord of S. Paul," he said, "you have hitherto been accounted the wisest knight in this kingdom; and

it is at this moment more necessary than ever that you display your wisdom and your constancy." He ordered the Constable to take from off his neck the emblem of the order of the King that was suspended there. The Constable replied that he should do so willingly. When removed, having kissed it, he presented it to the Chancellor. That minister then demanding, in the same haughty tone as before, the sword presented to him on his investment with the Constableness, he said, that it had been taken from him when he was arrested, and that he had now no other property in the world, save what remained about his person when he was thrown into the Bastille. On this answer, the Chancellor left the hall; and immediately John de Poupaincourt, President of the Parliament, appeared, and warned the prisoner to prepare for death that very day. On hearing this, he exclaimed, "Ha! Heaven's will be done! a hard sentence certainly; but I pray that I may know my God well this day." And, turning to S. Pierre, he said to him, "Ha, ha! Monsieur de S. Pierre, this is not the result you encouraged me to look for." The Count was recommended to the charge of four doctors in theology; one of them a Cordelier, named John de Soldun; another was an Augustin; the third a Penitencier of Paris; and the fourth was Master John Hue, Curate of S. Andry des Ars. Notwithstanding his urgent entreaties, the Chancellor would not allow him to partake of the sacrament. But a mass was said for the salvation of his soul. Having eat a little of the consecrated bread, he remained shut up with his confessors till between one and two o'clock in the afternoon; when leaving the Palace on horseback, he went to the hotel of the city, and the notary and bailiffs of the Court of Parliament accompanied him. In the court of the hotel was prepared a large scaffold, and joined to it by a wooden gallery was a smaller, on which the execution was to take place. Till three o'clock he was occupied in presence of the confessors, who made deep and heartfelt

lamentations in dictating such a testament as Louis had chosen to prescribe to him. Afterwards ascending the lesser scaffold, he threw himself on his knees, his face being turned towards the church of Notre Dame. He expressed great contrition for his past life; and, bathed in tears, he often kissed the cross held before him. His devotions being ended, the executioner (Petit Jehan *) bound his hands with a cord, and conducted him to the smaller scaffold; there, turning to several officers of the King, who were present, among whom were the Chancellor, the Lord of Gaucourt, the Provost of Paris, and S. Pierre, he invoked blessings for the King, and requested their prayers for the happiness of his own soul. Turning to the people, who were collected there, as we are told, to the number of two hundred thousand persons, he made the same request to them. He then knelt down on a woollen cushion, and at one blow his head was severed from his body. For a short time it was exposed to the view of the spectators, and afterwards rolled, along with the body, in linen, inclosed in a wooden coffin, and buried in one of the churches of Paris †.

Such was the end of Louis de Lux-

embourg, Count of S. Paul, and Constable of France. The student of French history will recollect the reputation which many of the Counts of S. Paul acquired in the defence of their country. He will lament that the Count of whom we have been speaking abandoned their example, or he will feel indignant at the fate to which he was subjected. In the former case, the peculiar situation in which the Constable of S. Paul was placed may be regarded as palliating his errors. He was deeply implicated in all the transactions of a busy period. A further examination of the Courts of France and Burgundy will require more particular statements of some of his actions and policy. His is a character in the history of the period, without a knowledge of which, our idea of it would be incomplete. We are certain that there is an intimate connection between his story and that of the house of Croy; we suspect that our notions regarding some of the darker parts of the life of Comines, particularly that of his abandonment of the Duke of Burgundy, when his affairs were in a critical state, would be illustrated, by considering them in reference to the situation and alliances of the Count of S. Paul.

* Messire Petit Jehan has been rendered immortal by his introduction into Quentin Durward, for we suppose he is the prototype of Petit-André. It may gratify some of our readers to learn that this wretch met with a punishment he deserved. He was assassinated in Paris for some insolences he had committed. (*La Chron. Scand. ann. 1477.*) For the character of another monster, M. Tristan l'Hermitte, associated with Petit-André in the novel we have mentioned, we refer to the comparison of Louis XI. and Louis XII. by Scyssel, in his *Histoire de Louis XII.* We may, at some other time, have more to say of them, and other minions of Louis XI. They form, indeed, an important *item* in the reign of this monarch.

† Molinet, Canon of Valenciennes, made the following verses on occasion of the Constable's execution:—

J'ay veu Saint-Paul en gloire
Ravy jusques es Cieux
Puis descendre en bas loirc
Mal en grace des Dieux
Saint-Pierre l'en delivre
Et au Prince le livre
Qui le decapita.

Edit. de Comines, par l'Abbe Langlet, Vol. I. p. 251.

NUGÆ CAMBRICÆ.

Memoir of Sir Rice ap Thomas.

Stanley.—But tell me, where is princely Richmond now?

Christ.—At Pembroke, or at Ha'rfordwest in Wales.

Stanley.—What men of name resort to him?

Christ.—Sir Walter Herbert, a renowned soldier,
Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir William Stanley;
Oxford, redoubted Pembroke, Sir James Blunt,
And *Rice ap Thomas*, with a valiant crew,
And many other of great fame and worth.

Richard III.—Act IV. Sc. 5.

THERE are, perhaps, few more interesting departments of polite literature than that of Historical Biography. The events of a great and distinguished man's life are so incorporated with the events of the age in which he flourished, that a faithful record of them comprises much of the history and manners of the period. From the details of his public life we learn the one, and from those of his private life the other. These advantages are super-eminently afforded by a very rare and amusing manuscript, containing the memoir of *Rice ap Thomas*, a Welsh Chieftain of great note in his day, and no less famed for his own hereditary honours, than for his instrumentality in seating Henry the Seventh on the tottering and distracted throne of England. But, independently of the historical interest and value attached to the manuscript, it is, of itself, a most entertaining composition; and its title is a good forerunner of the general quaintness of its style. The following is this title, and our readers will see that this Cambrian hero was worthy of being ranked among the men "of great fame and worth," who opposed the cruelty of "the crooked-back tyrant." "A Short View of the Long Life of that ever-wise, valiant, and fortunate Commander, *Rice ap Thomas*, Knight, Constable, and Lieutenant of Brecknock; Chamberlain of Caermarthen and Caerdigan; Seneschal and Chancellor of Haverfordwest, Ross, and Builth; Justiciary of South Wales, and Governor of all Wales; Knight Banneret, and Knight of the most honourable Order of the Garter; a Privy Counsellor to Henry the Seventh, and favourite to Henry the Eighth."

This learned composition, and learned indeed it is, was never intended for publication, but was written by a descendant, to commemorate the mighty exploits and superabundant honours of an ancestor, who, as we may learn from his numerous titles, was a man of some notoriety in his day. The writer, whose name is not disclosed, lived and flourished in the erudite reign of the first James; and we have every reason to believe, that the documents made use of in the compilation were perfectly authentic; indeed we have cause to know, from our own local knowledge, that several of the incidents which are recorded, although trivial in themselves, are borne out by facts of greater importance, and so placed beyond the reach of doubt. It must not be supposed that a man of *Sir Rice ap Thomas's* rank and consequence left no memorials of his glory among the mountain wilds of the Principality: there are still in existence several traditions of his prowess, his wealth, his wisdom, and his valour; and although, in some points, these traditions differ from the grave details of his biographer, the variation is only such as we might expect to find between the far-distant traditions of an untutored and partial peasantry, and the deliberate reflections and records of a learned historian.

In the "Proëme, or Apparatus to the Ensuing Work," the author inveighs most bitterly against those "who have crept into great honours and eminent places *per saltum*, by sinister and indirect courses." This he does, that he may the more advantageously contrast with such upstarts the honourable exaltation and manly virtues of his ancestor, *Sir*

Rice, who certainly was, as things were, a very upright and independent chieftain. But we must not forestal our author; he shall detail the adventures of this Cambrian worthy.

"There are yett among us, the small remainder of the ancient Brittaines, certaine old recordes left (all-devouring time as yett wanting time to devour all,) whereip, to our greate comfort, we may behold how this famous isle, for manie centuries of yeares past, hath been beautified and adorned with the honourable title of *Yngs y Cedwiric*, or *Insula Fortium*: a most true and infallible argument of our undaunted prowess and brave achievements in those former ages. Oh! there was a time when we had our Mutii, our Fabricii, and our Reguli, as well as Rome; and we had our Socrates' and our Cato's too,—men little dreading fire, povertie, exile, torment, payson, or death, when the saving or upholding of their countrie's honour were once in question. That we may not suffer the fame of our noble progenitors utterlie to perish, let us but imagine this spacious goodlie island to be a fair triangular garden, and out of each corner thereof, among the manie sweetes there growing, let us select some choice flower of chivalry to solace and refresh our too-much dejected spirits. Fix we our eyes first upon that noble chieftaine, the stout Earl Percie, and then upon his noe less noble antagonist, the renowned Earl Douglas: examine we their brave actions and doughty performances in that memorable combate of braverie, and of *gayeté de coeur*, as the French terme it, in Chevy Chase; there may we behold Hector against Ajax, and Ajax against Hector, both conquerors, both conquered—equale combatants. Had England and Scotland been wagered for the garland, then, as Rome and Alba were in time past, there had been champions for them indeede! Now, to add unto these two worthies, (and so make up my triangle,) give me leave to point you out a third in Wales; for Wales, as that famous commander himself said of

the Carthaginians, had its Hannibal too, even the great Rice, the subject of this ensuing discourse; nay, he was more than a Hannibal, carrying yet this advantage with him, that he never met with a Marcellus to teach him in martialle matters. He was, to do him but right, both a Marcellus and a Fabius Maximus; for, as they of Rome, so he of Wales, might truly be called their sworde and buckler. You shall seldom read in martial story of any man adorned with such high attributes and epithets of honour as this Rice was, both by English historiographers, and especially among our Welsh Bardes, who, in their rhythmes and carols, magnifie him above all that ever were in those partes."

These "epithets of honour" then follow, and very grand and sonorous they are. Tudor Aled, "a famous poete in those dayes," calls him "*Tarian c thalwas i wlad*," the shield, and buckler of his country; Rys Naumor entitles him "*Brondor y Brutanniaid*," the Shield of Britain; Lewis Môn designates him as "*Campiwr y Cymry*," the Champion of Wales; Jorewerth Fynglwyd, "flying beyond his circle," styles him nothing less than "*Pen y Byd*," the Head of the World. Others have chronicled his fame, and emblazoned his virtues, under the titles of the Scourge of the Obstinate, the Protection of the Innocent, and the Heart of the Soldier: while "Christopher Ocland, an Englishman, will have him named *Flos Cambro-Britannum*; and Mr Camden doth him the honour to call him *Delicie Henrici Octavi*." "Thus may you see," quoth our annalist, "by clapping these eulogiums and favours upon him, of what high estimation that noble gentleman was in those dayes, when his virtues hammered and hewed him out these glorious titles. Now, should these three brave champions (Percy, Douglas, and Rice, to wit) have met and encountered in a fight imitating the *Matachin Danse**, as that dance heretofore was invented in imitation of such a fight, each one having two

* The Matachin Dance, Sir Philip Sidney says, was a fight that did imitate the Matachin; for they being but three that fought, every one had two adversaries, striking him who struck the third. Hence our author's allusion.

adversaries, this of necessity must have followed—England had been England still, Scotland Scotland, and Wales Wales. But peace, and the God of peace, has produced those effects, by conjoining these three in one, which, perhaps otherwise, the doubtful valour of their invincible swords might have perpetually severed, *trino-uni sit gloria*. Now, to set an edge upon our appetites, and to give lief and quickening to those good notions which often arise in noble hearts, the shortest and readiest way (no doubt) is by example; for by precept is a journey somewhat too far about; besides, our ears are not of that credit with us as our eyes, neither do the wordes of men so soon take us as their manners. Then let us call to mind our Bedford, our Salisbury, our Talbot, or this grave Rice, true patternes of wisdom, magnanimitie, and justice, or what else may deserve the name of praise. Oh! had we, in our late expeditions, but carried the bones of a Bedford about us, as the Turks did George Castriot's, that invincible Turco-Mastix; or cried out A Talbot! A Talbot! or had we flead this great Rice, and clapped his skin upon our drum-head, as Zisca, that great commander, would have had the Bohemians to have done his, we had no question made either absolute conquest of the French, or rattled them away, or (at leastwise) shown ourselves invincible. But this is a sore too green, too tender for the tender touch."

Notwithstanding the high honour and excellent fame of his hero, our Biographer considers it incumbent upon him to explain very particularly why he has been induced to presume to write his life; and these, he says, are his reasons: "First, to revive an ancient custom of writing the lives of worthy men, so that their fame might not perish. My second reason proceeds from a desire I have to dash in pieces some false forged traditions concerning this Rice, which daily (so apt, for old affection, are we to believe wonders of that man) increaseth among the credulous multitude, and may hereafter, if not prevented, bring his name, as of others, into suspect. And, lastly,

in discharge of the reverence I owe to his memory, (for I may not deny but, I have an interest in his blood,) I could not chuse but let my pen play the part of a spade, to dig him out of the pit of oblivion. Truth, then, is the thing I do earnestly aim at, which cannot be attained but by conference with old records. If the gentlemen of Wales, especially they of the north, who are the best preservers of antiquity, will peruse their moth-eaten writings, and communicate their knowledge with mine, they shall do great honour to Rice ap Thomas's ashes, and perhaps thereby revive the memory of their own noble ancestors, who ran the fortune of the wars with him, *qui jam illacrimabiles argentur ignotique longa nocte, quia carent vole sacro*."

Having thus satisfactorily explained the reasons of his presumption, our historian proceeds with his narrative, commencing with a brief survey of the birth, exploits, lineage, and death of Griffith ap Nicholas, the grandfather of Rice; a man of considerable wealth and consequence, "having for power and command, together with fastness of kindred and friends, (a rare thing in those times,) few equals or superiors; having also an estate at least of seven hundred pounds a-year, old rent of assize, seven strong castles, and seven houses. He was linked also, by marriage, to three great houses, having a plentiful issue by all three,—valiant and courageous sons, to second him in all dangers; daughters bestowd upon men of the greatest reckoning and account in all South Wales; and his eldest son, being matched to the chief house in North Wales, drew in likewise to himself a mightie alliance. For his descent, he was in the fourth degree to Sir Glyder, surnamed the Black Knight of the Sepulchre; and so upward in a direct series and long concatenation of worthy progenitors up to Sir Urien Rheged, King of Gower in Wales, Prince of Murriff in Scotland, Lord of Kidwelly, and Knight of the Round Table to King Arthur." As the said honourably-descended Griffith was actively engaged in the civil commotions which arose out of the rivalry of the houses of York and Lancaster, when

———"Here a snow-white rose,
And there a red, with fatal blossoming
And deadly fragrance, maddened all the
land ;"

we shall briefly epitomise his valorous deeds, before we proceed to the narration of the exploits of his gallant grandson, commencing with our author's own quaint and curious introduction to these deeds of "high emprise," and stormy turbulence.

"In the ruffling days of Henry the Sixth and Edward the Fourth, when we were at our *Cujus est terra?* Abner's question, and no *Œdipus* then living to resolve the same,—when the fair face of this flourishing kingdom was so unnaturally scratched and disfigured by the uncivil hands of its own inhabitants,—when our crown lay between the anvil and the hammer, *in extremo discrimine*, neither York's nor Lancaster's fortune, still like herself, playing at fast and loose with them both, sometimes raying, sometimes depressing the beams of sovereignty with a false finger,—when our king was a true lawful king to-day, and a traitour to-morrow, and so adjudged to be by Act of Parliament—woeful times!—when a Parliament, the mouth of Justice, wrested from its own true bias, durst speak in no other language, true or false, but such as the sword did dictate,—when our princes of the blood, and our nobles, had no way of appeasing the furie of Belloona, but with a sacrifice of their own blood,—when our Commons, and the whole bodie of this realm, either fearing the event, or perplexed with the tedious debasement of the title, or tired with the heavy pressure of their lingering calamities, were even ready to split upon a desperate rock ; and, to conclude, if we guess not amiss, among themselves, *juxta vocem illum meretriciam, nec Eboraco soli, nec Lancastriæ soli, sed dividatur*,—Oh, the dayes!—In those dayes, I say, tumultuary, tempestuous dayes, there was of Wales, among many that fished in those troublous seas, one Griffith ap Nicholas, a man for power, riches, and parentage, beyond all the great men in those parts."

Like other great and illustrious personages, the gallant career of Griffith ap Nicholas was predicted to his mother before he was born.

His noble mother, the lineal descendant of Elystan Glodrydd, Earl of Ferlex, and Prince of all those goodly counties between Wye and Severn, drawing near her delivery, dreamt (as if she had a Paris or a Pericles there) that in her womb grew a bay tree, the root whereof tore up her bowels, and the branches reached from the Taw to the Tivy,—two rivers, the one on the confines of Glamorganshire, the other in Cardiganshire,—which gave her occasion prophetically to say, that sure she was to dye of that birth ; yet her hope was, and therein lay her comfort, that out of her loynes one should come, which in those partes should carry a principal sway. Neither erred she in her divination, for, falling into a painful and desperate labour, and being told that either she or her child must perish,—"Well, then," said she, with a masculine courage, "if it must be so, let *me* perish ; but if it be possible, save this poor child of mine, for your future comfort, strength, and countenance : " whereupon her belly, by the desire of the surgeons, was cut open, and so the child was preserved, who, indeed, as she had foretold, grew in time to be a man of great power and authority in his country, and so continued his posterity for four or five descents after him. "The child (now Griffith ap Nicholas) growing in years, proved to be a man of hot, fiery, and cholerick spirit ; one whose counsels were all *in turbido*, and, therefore, naturally fitly composed and framed for the times. Very wise he was, and infinitely subtle and crafty, ambitious beyond measure, of a busy, stirring brain, which made many to conjecture (as Themistocles his schoolmaster did of him) that sure some great matter hanged over his head."

A person of Griffith's consequence was not long an object of disregard to the opposing factions in England. Each was anxious to obtain his alliance ; but he cunningly remained neuter. He had, however, his own private quarrels to contend with, and with men, too, of the first rank in England. "Richard, Duke of York, quarrelled with him, for detaining from him one half of two ploughlands and a half of land, with the

appurtenances, lying, and being in the marches of Wales; for which the said Duke brought a *præcipe quod reddat* against him; to which he refused to appear, being often called upon and warned by the Sheriff's summonitors thereunto. Griffith ap Nicholas was captain of the strong castle of Cilgeran, in Pembrokeshire, and held the same by letters patent from the King; which captainship, Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, taking a liking to, wrought so by his power at court, that the said letters patent were torn, cancelled, and damned, and a new grant thereof made to the said Earl; and this was the cause of a perpetual heart-burning in them to each other. The quarrel between the Duke of Buckingham and him was the quarrel of old between great one's neighbourhood, and jealousy of each other's power and commanding; and that ceased not between their posterity till Richard the Third's time, when the Duke of Buckingham and Rice ap Thomas were wrought to lay aside private spleen, for the public good."

But notwithstanding the high rank and power of his enemies, Griffith entertained no fears of their vengeance, but remained unshaken and unmoved, among the mountain-fastnesses of the country. "The more they bestirred themselves, the more fixed and immoveable was he; not unlike a tree subject to wind and weather, *quæ ipsa vexatione constringitur, et radices certius figit.*" Although these great noblemen could not excite him into open hostility, the sedulous exertions of his own countrymen compelled him, sooner than he originally intended, to make one of the actors in the busy scene. Griffith, like most of the Welsh chieftains at that time, hated the English generally, and his countrymen took advantage of this, "persuading him that times were now fit and seasonable for revenge. Whereupon, divers of them building upon his countenance and protection, made somewhat bold with those of the marches, (a usual thing between the Scotch and English in the borders, upon the like disturbances,) robbing and stealing from them their cattle, and what else they could lay hands

on, to the great detriment, loss, and endamage, of those neighbouring counties, which Griffith ap Nicholas, from time to time, passed over, and noticed not." But these enormities grew more extensive; and complaints were at length made to the English Government, who deputed a commission to enquire into the circumstances, the chief of which was Lord Whitney. Our amusing Biographer shall relate the reception of the commissioners, and the result of their visit:

"Coming to Llanandifry, a town twenty miles distant from Carmarthen, Griffith ap Nicholas, (for so goes the tale, which I the rather set down, because I have heard the same sweetened in the relation by that great light and ornament of our church, Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, at his own table—a man much given to the study of the British tongue in his latter days, and so, (perchance,) by way of discourse with some of that country, might catch up this tradition,) Griffith ap Nicholas, I say, having notice thereof, met them a mile or two beyond, upon the top of a hill, having four or five in his company raggedly attired, and poorerlied horsed, leaving the rest of his train at distance, to follow him, and to be ever ready at his beck and call upon occasion. In the mean while, he salutes the commissioners, makes himself known unto them, and withal desires to attend them, for their better guidance and conduction, to the end of their journey. The Lord Whitney hearing his name, and glad (as he thought) to have him in his toyl, whom he thought would play least in sight, yet observing the poorness of his condition, and how beggarly he was attended, it would not sink into the Lord Whitney's head that this was the great Nicholas, so much famed at court for the extraordinary power and authority he had in his own country, but rather some excursor or boor-hailer, in those unquiet times, flying abroad for prey; or, at the best, but some scout, or espial, sent out to discover his approach, and so to give notice to malefactors to stand aloof. Well, on they go till they come to Abermarlais Castle, and there all these doubts and fears were dispelled,

and the true Griffith ap Nicholas discovered, for Thomas ap Griffith, the younger, a stout and hardy gentleman, meeting his father in that place, with a hundred tall men, bravely mounted, descended there from his horse, and kissed his father's stirrup, and desired to receive his commands, which the Lord Whitney perceiving, new doubts and jealousies began to tumble in his brains ; for, thought he, if Griffith ap Nicholas appears thus in a hostile manner unto us, with multitudes of men prepared and fitted as for the field, it is not likely he will obey our commission, or stand at all to the trial of justice, unless he be innocent. They had not gone above five miles further, in their way to a house of his called Newton, but Owen ap Griffith, the second son, saluted them in a far braver equipage, having two hundred horse attending, well mounted and armed. This Owen had much of his father's craft and subtlety in him ; he was bold, besides, and active ; he could, like the Camelcon, or Proteus-like, take all shapes, turn himself into all colours ; an excellent artisan he was in discovering men's secrets, and observing their dispositions. The commissioners had not rested themselves above an hour or two, but he had dived so far into their counsels, as gave him assurance that his father was the chief man shot at in their commission, a thing he and his friends were ignorant of before. Whereupon consultation was taken for to steale away his commission, which this Owen undertook, and performed accordingly. To Carmarthen at last they came, where, in their way, at Abergwilly, a small village, some mile this side the toune, Thomas ap Griffith, the elder, a man of a sweete, mild, and gentle disposition, presents his services, first to his father, then to the commissioners. He had five hundred tall men following him, and they were well disciplined, whom before, in good order, on foot he leads, even till they come to the commissioners' lodging, and there Griffith left them for that night, commanding his three sons to attend them at supper, and to see them fairly entreated."

With this injunction these dutiful sons complied to the very letter.

The commissioners were " so well liquored, that, for that night, they forgot quite the errand they came for," and Owen ap Griffith succeeded in gaining possession of the commission, " of which he gave his father present notice." The next morning Griffith ap Nicholas was formally summoned to appear before the commissioner, the mayor, and sheriffs, and he was arrested in the King's name, to answer certain accusations preferred against him. The old chieftain submitted with a show of much obedient humility, at the same time declaring that he held himself not bound to stand to the arrest, or to make any answer to the charge, " unless the commission was publicly read, and every thing managed in a fair and legal manner." " Reason good," quoth the Lord Whitney, " and you shall both see it and hear it read ;" and so, putting his hand up the sleeve of his cloak for the commission, he found that " there it was not," neither did any of his fellows or followers know what was become of it, or know whom they might charge with its removal. It was now Griffith's turn to enact the great man, and accordingly he " starts up in a fury, clapping his hat upon his head, and looking about upon his sons and friends, ' What,' says he, ' have we cozeners and cheaters come hither to abuse the King's power, and to disquiet his true-hearted subjects ?' then, turning about to the commissioners, he raps out a great oath, and says, ' ere the next day were at an end, he would hang them all up for traitors and impostors,' and so commands hands to be laid upon them, and to carry them to prison." By this manœuvre the Welshman made his own terms, and my Lord Whitney and his colleagues were fain to make their exit out of the country, " tarrying no further question," and with no inclination to insist upon a compliance with the contents of the commission. " What was the issue of this great affront," observes our author, " or how digested by the State, I could never learn ; only it is to be imagined that it was hushed up and smothered, as fearing, in those wavering and tottering times, to proceed in a rough and harsh way with one so potent among the Welsh

as this man was." One consequence, however, of this adventure, was the termination of the cautious neutrality which the Welsh chieftain had hitherto maintained with regard to the "rival roses," and he "directly and resolutely thrust himself into the Yorkish cause," to the great satisfaction of the adherents of that party. The hostility which had existed between Griffith and the Duke of York was speedily ended, and the new ally entered, with heart and hand, into the plans and operations of the Duke's party. But the time was now approaching, when the valorous Griffith was to be gathered to those fathers whose honour he had so highly magnified. After the battle of Wakefield, where the Duke of York was slain, the Earl of March, his eldest son, collected all the force in his power, to revenge his father's death. "Among the many that resorted to him, Griffith ap Nicholas was of most eminent note, having seven or eight hundred men following of him, well armed, well ordered, goodly of stature, and hearts answerable thereunto. The Earl of March's design was to have met and encountered with the Queen and his father's murderers in the field; but Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, stood as a block in his way, who, for his honour's sake, at that time had been better employed elsewhere: although he proved somewhat cross to the Earl of March's purposes, yet Griffith ap Nicholas was much joyed thereat, hoping now to be fully revenged of the Earl of Pembroke for old displeasure. To be brief, both armies met on a plain, near Mortimer's Cross. After large demonstrations of prowess and magnanimity on either side, Griffith ap Nicholas receives a mortal wound. Owen ap Griffith, his second son; (the eldest being left at home, to secure his own fortunes,) stands at the head of his father's troops, maintains the fight, and pursues the Earl of Pembroke even to flight; so the day fell to the Yorkish side. Then Owen ap Griffith, making search for his father, found him lying on the ground, panting and breathing for life, to whom he made a short relation of the Earl of March's good fortune, and his enemies' overthrow. 'Well, then,' said Griffith,

'welcome death, since honour and victory make for us;' and so, shaking off his clog of earth, he soared up in a divine contemplation to heaven, the place of his rest. And this is more than ever came to the knowledge of Hollingshed, Hall, Grafton, and others *ejusdem furfuris*."

Griffith ap Nicholas was succeeded in his title and fortunes by his eldest son Thomas, the father of our hero, Rice. Thomas was of a "mild, meek, and gracious disposition; very much retired, full of thoughts, and ever meditating alone, or canvassing with those who might best inform his conscience." Yet he was a proficient in all the vigorous and manly exercises of the age, being the best horseman in the country, "and for true skill at his weapons, he was inferior to none, being commonly called the *Fair Man at Arms*." But notwithstanding this, "Thomas ap Griffith could, at no hand, away with the fractures and hurtments then in the State; calling it an unnatural sway, where the father fought against the son, the brother against the brother, the servant against his master, and the subject against his sovereign, he being otherwise composed by nature and education, and ever wishing peace." But to "stand as neuter" in such tumultuous times was neither consistent with the Chieftain's reputation, nor indeed with his safety; and so he quitted his native land, and served "for many years in the Burgundian wars." From Burgundy, however, he was compelled to return, in consequence of a love-affair with a near kinswoman of the Duke. "Cupid, it seems," observes his Biographer, "claiming an interest in him as well as Mars;" but he found "no true peace and contentment" at home, being engaged "in feuds, and divers single combats, which he ever performed on horseback—an exercise in those days wherein he was singular, and even victorious." His known skill and dexterity in the "*Maquemaiche*," or single combat, militated very much against the quiet of our Chieftain, for all the turbulent braggarts of the country were anxious to try their fortune with him. After relating several instances of his skill and prowess, our author records the

following amusing adventure, which would make an admirable scene in the hands of our great Novelist.

"At another time there fell out some difference between Thomas ap Griffith and William, the first Earl of Pembroke, of the noble family of the Herberts, but for what cause I cannot learn; and it seems, they were flown to such high terms, that one Turberville must needs combat Thomas ap Griffith, on the Earl's behalf. This Turberville was an arrogant cracker, and a notable swash-buckler, one that would fight on any slight occasion, not much heeding the cause. He, on a time, sends his cartel, or letter of defiance, to the said Thomas, with the rhodomontade, that if he did not suddenly do him reason, he would ferret him out of his cunnie-berry, the castle of Abermarlais. Thomas ap Griffith smiled at the message, and shaping him an answer suitable to his humour, that for his parte, he knew him not, neither had he even cause for quarreling him; and therefore prayed him, that if he had desired to be killed, he would make choice of some other rather than himself; for, at that time, he had neither will nor leisure to undertake so butcherly an office. This scornful return so much incensed and provoked the insufferable pride and haughty stomach of Turberville, that, forthwith, in a headlong fury, he hies him to Abermarlais, and coming in at the gate, the first man he saw was Thomas ap Griffith himself, sitting by the gate in a grey frock gowne, whom he took for the porter, demanding of him whether Thomas ap Griffith were within or no? 'Sir,' said Thomas ap Griffith, 'he is not far off; and if you would aught with him, let me receive your commands.' 'Then, prithee, fellow,' said he, (twirling his mustachoes, and sparkling fury and fire from his eyes,) 'tell him here is one Turberville would speak with him.' Thomas ap Griffith, hearing his name, and observing his deportment, had much ado to hold from laughing outright, yet containing himself, he said he would acquaint his master; and so, going into his parlour, presently sends two or three of his servants, to call him in. Turberville no sooner saw Thomas ap

Griffith, but, without any apology made for his mistake, he tells him of his unmannerliness, and that he was come thither to correct him for his sawsiness towards so great a person as the Earl of Pembroke. 'In good time, Sir,' said Thomas ap Griffith; 'but I pray,' said he, 'is not my lord of courage to undergo that office of correction himself, without the help of others?' 'Yes, certainly, but you, too mean a copesmate for one of his place and dignity, he hath left to my chastisement,' said Turberville. 'Well, then,' said Thomas ap Griffith, (though I might justly except against my tutor,) where is it your pleasure to have me to school?' 'Nay, where thou wilt, or darest,' said Turberville. 'A harsh compliment,' said Thomas ap Griffith; 'I am not ignorant, as I am defendant, that both time, place, and weapons, are in my choice: but, speaking in the person of a school-boy, (for no higher account you seem to make of me,) I woen it is not the fashion for scholars to appoint where their masters shall correct them; yet, seeing you leave it to me, let it be at Arthurstone in Herefordshire, a place indifferent to both, (for in Glamorganshire, perhaps, you may think it is not safe for me, and here, in Carmarthenshire, I am sure it is not for you,) there will I attend, with my sword at my side, and my lance in my rest, on such a day.' 'A match,' cried Turberville; and so abruptly, for the present, they parted. To be short, both these combatants met, according to appointment, where, at the very first encounter, it was Thomas ap Griffith's fortune to break the other's back, and then leave him. This overthrow caused a notable heart-burning (for a while) between their houses,—witness that memorable battle at Traampton Field in Glamorganshire, fought between the Matthews's and the Turbervilles, in the quarrel of Sir Rice ap Thomas, wherein the Matthews's got the better of the day, as appears by their pardon, yet extant, for that day's bloody service."

These, in good truth, were not times when a man could ensue to himself a peaceable exit from the world; and however much he himself might be inclined to lead a life

of quiet and tranquillity, the hurly-burly about him was an insurmountable obstacle to such felicity. The strongest arm, and the stoutest heart, carried the supremacy; and even a private quarrel became immediate—the signal of an extensive family feud. There was not a more peaceably-disposed person on the whole hill-side than Thomas ap Griffith, and gladly would he have worn out the remnant of his busy life in inactive tranquillity, and have died in his bed, under the substantial roof of his own ancient castle. But this was denied him. In a combat with one David Gough, a man in disposition somewhat similar to Turberville, he received so many wounds, that although he slew his antagonist, he himself was unable to move from the spot. He was lying on the ground, “flat on his face,” to breathe himself after a tedious and wearisome encounter. In the mean time, (woe worth the while!) there comes behind him some base fellow, and runs him through, whereat, turning him about, and looking upon his murderer, he used these words, “Ah! my friend, had I remembered to have lain upon my back, thou durst not thus cowardly have killed Thomas ap Griffith!” intimating thereby, that with the very sight of his countenance he would have terrified him from so foul a fact;—and so he died. In honour of his memory, there was in the place a cenotaph* of stones and turfs erected, whither the gentlemen of the county, upon a certain day, for many years after, resorted, where they spent the time in jumping, wrestling, running at the quintain, and other manly exercises. And thus have you the story of Thomas ap Griffith, commonly called the Courteous Enemy; his body, being bravely accompanied, was conveyed to the Abbey of Bardsey, in the county of Caernarvon, and there solemnly interred, the beholders all, with a universal conclamation, giving an assured testimony of their heart’s overflowing sorrow.”

We now came to our hero, Rice ap

Thomas, who accompanied his father to Burgundy, and who was educated at that Court, under the especial patronage of Duke Philip, with whom the young Welshman soon became a great favourite. He began at an early age to display the germs of that activity and talent to which his subsequent rise in the honours of the State is to be chiefly attributed. The Court of Duke Philip was composed principally of warriors, and accordingly young Rice was speedily initiated into all the hardy pastimes of a soldier. His Biographer tells us, that, “to be in continual action was his chief delight; for he was ever either practising of arms, or playing at his weapons; running, wrestling, riding, swimming, walking, and undergoing all the military duties imposed upon him, with cheerfulness and alacrity.” When his father quitted Burgundy, Rice accompanied him to Wales, and soon after succeeded to the estates of the family; his father, as we have already seen, being killed after a combat with David Gough, and his two elder brothers, Morgan and David, falling victims to the destructive turbulence of the times. The wealth and influence which our hero’s ancestors had enjoyed were increased in him, for his own natural abilities had been much improved by education. He no sooner, therefore, became possessed of his patrimony, than he turned his chief attention to the amelioration of the manners and conditions of his dependents, and of the wild, untutored people, around him. His marriage with Eva, the daughter of Henry ap Gwilym, extended his powers, and materially contributed to his design of civilizing the people. In the turbulent anarchy with which the whole kingdom was agitated, “Religion,” to use the words of our author, “was forced to fly to some desert place, leaving neither Sanctity, nor Innocence, nor Faith, nor Justice, behind her;” but, with the sedulous assistance of “the good and wise” Bishop of St. David’s, he established “both her and her virtuous companions again, and re-

* In a meadow below the village of Pennel, in Merionethshire, there is at this day to be seen, a Tumulus, which, in all probability, is the very spot here referred to; but no tradition now remains amongst the inhabitants of that neighbourhood to confirm this piece of history.

stored them to their pristine state and glory." He introduced, also, several amusing games and pastimes, appointing certain "festival days" for the meeting together of the people; thereby directing their minds to peaceful occupations, and exciting a laudable and friendly emulation among the little community of which he might be considered as the ruler. By these means, and by mingling courteously with his dependents, he gained their good-will and affection so completely, that they bestowed upon him the cognomen of the Great; and his bard, Rys Naumor, only echoed the opinion of his companions and friends, when he, somewhat hyperbolically, sang—

"Y Brenin biau 'r ynys
Ond ty o'm i Syr Rys."

That is to say,

"All the kingdom is the King's,
Save where Rice doth spread his wings."

But however consonant this mode of life might have been to the ideas and inclination of Rice ap Thomas, he was destined to become a very conspicuous actor in the events which led to the total overthrow of the House of York, and to the establishment of the throne of England under the dynasty of the Tudors. The weak and indolent habits of Edward the Fourth were not unheeded by the young Welshman. He foresaw that they would lead to some alteration in the State; and, without deciding upon the part which he should play, he was assiduous in training up his young tenants to arms, and to strict military discipline. Whether the Duke of Gloucester received intimation of Rice's occupations is not certain; but so soon as his own power began to totter, and he found that the Earl of Richmond was likely to become a formidable enemy, he despatched some Commissioners to Rice ap Thomas at Caermarthen, "there to take of him an oath of fidelity; and further requiring his only son, Griffith Rice, as a gage for the true performance of his future loyalty." The answer which Rice returned is a curious specimen of a compulsory declaration of loyalty and allegiance. Much influence was used to win over the in-

terest of Rice ap Thomas, and we shall presently see how skilfully the Welshman contrived to compromise his conscience on the occasion; but the sentiments expressed in the letter are so decidedly at variance with his subsequent actions, that we must confess a little scepticism as to our hero's sincerity.

Rice ap Thomas his Letter to Richard the Third, penned by the Abbot of Talge.

"SIR,—I have received letters mandatory from your Majesty, wherein I am enjoined to use my best endeavours for the conservation of your Royal authority in these parts, and to apply likewise my soundest forces for the safe-guarding of Milford Haven from all foreign invasion; especially to impeach and stop the passage of the Earl of Richmond, if so, by any treacherous means, he should attempt our coasts; and withall, Sir, an oath of allegiance hath been tendered me in your Majesty's name, by certain Commissioners, deputed, as it seems, for that purpose; requiring, also, my only son, as an hostage and pledge of my fidelity. Touching the first, Sir, now an enemy is declared, I hold myself obliged, without further looking into the cause, faithfully to observe the same, by a necessary relation my obedience hath to your Majesty's command, to which I deem it not unreasonable to annex the voluntary protestation,—*that whoever, ill-affected to the State, shall ware to land in those parts of Wales where I have any employments under your Majesty, must resolve with himself to make his entrance and irruption over my belly.* As for my oath, Sir, in observance to your Majesty's will, which shall ever regulate mine, I have, (though with some heart's grief, I confess, and reluctance of spirit) as were required, taken the same before your Majesty's Commissioners; and if stronger trials than even faith or oath might be laid upon me, to confirm my most legal affection, I should make no delay to enchain and fetter myself in the strictest obligations for your Majesty's better assurance. And here I beseech your Majesty give me leave, without offence, to disbur-

den myself of certain cogitations, whereby I am persuaded, that these pressings of vows and oaths upon subjects no way held in suspect, hath oftentimes wrought, even in those of soundest affections, a sensibility of some injury done to their faith ; a thing which heretofore hath been prejudicial to many great princes, who, while they showed themselves distrustful, and feared subtil dealing, have read, to some of fickle minds and mutable thoughts, evil lessons against themselves. I speak not this, Sir, as repining at what I have done, but to give your Majesty to wit, that I fear some ill offices have been done me, which might make you think yourself unsure of my service, without this manner of proceeding. Whatever, Sir, other men reckon of me, this is my religion, that no vow can lay a stronger obligation on me, in any matter of performance, than my conscience. My conscience binds me to love and serve my King and country, my vow can do no more. He that makes shipwreck of the one, will (I believe) make little account of the other. For my own part, Sir, I am resolutely bent, while I am to spin out my days, in well-doing, and so, God willing, to conclude the last actions of my life. And sure, Sir, could I find myself culpable of one single cogitation repugnant to the allegiance I owe to your Majesty, I should think the life I have already lived overlong. Now, Sir, for the delivery of my son to your Majesty's Commissioners, as a gage for my fealty, I have, as yet, presumed on this short pause, not in way of opposition to your commands, but to fit myself with such reasons as shall, I hope, in no sort seem discordant with your will. The years, Sir, my poor child bears on his back are but few, scarce exceeding the number of four, which I conceived might well privilege him, being more fit, for the present, to be embosomed in a mother's care, than exposed to the world ; Nature as yet not having the leisure to initiate him in that first lecture of feeding himself. Again, Sir, be pleased to consider, he is the only prop and support of my house now in being, and therefore may justly challenge, at my hands, a more tender regard

than I can in any way expect he will find among strangers, and in a place so far remote from his natural parents. And lastly, Sir, I may well call him the one-half of myself ; nay, to speak more truly, the better part of me ; so that if your Majesty should deprive me of this comfort, I were then divided in my strength, which, united, might perhaps serve as most useful, were I called upon to some weighty employment for the good of your service. I humbly beseech your Majesty to reflect upon these necessities with an impartial eye, and in the meanwhile to be fully assured, that without these hard injunctions, I really am, and will, however badly soever I be entreated, still continue,

SIR,

Your most obedient, and most
faithful servant and subject,

RICE AP THOMAS.

*From Carmarthen }
Castle, 1484. }*

Soon after this, Rice ap Thomas was induced, by the unremitting persuasions of the Bishop of St. David's, and the aforesaid Abbot of Talve, to forswear his allegiance to Richard, and to aid them in seating upon the throne of England its true and lawful inheritor, Henry of Richmond. But this was not accomplished hastily, nor without divers knotty scruples on the part of the Chieftain. He had avowed his fidelity too candidly and unequivocally in the letter to Richard, and boasted too much of the strength and integrity of his conscience. But he was in the hands of those who were most fitly calculated to absolve him from the sin and danger which, but for their pious interference, might have resulted from so gross a violation of his moral and political vows. The Bishop, with the ingenuity and eloquence peculiar to churchmen of yore, convinced him, that, to break a rash or unworthy vow was much more commendable than to observe it ; and he concluded a long and skillful speech, by saying, that, as his spiritual and ghostly father, he there and then freed him of all his bonds to Richard, and gave him full and free absolution on all points relating thereto. Still the Welshman was not

perfectly satisfied: there was another obligation, to the performance of which he had so vehemently and solemnly pledged himself—that was, to suffer no ill-affected person to enter those parts of Wales wherein he had any influence, excepting he made such entrance over the Chieftain's prostrate person. The Bishop soon satisfied his disciple of the perfect practicability of this achievement, without any violation of principle, or the subjection to any act derogatory to Rice's dignity. "And," says the churchman, "for that particular branch of your letter where you undertake, by oath, that none (ill-affected) shall enter at Milford, without he make his passage over your belly, my answer is, that the Earl of Richmond can be no ill-affected man to the state, coming, as he doth, in pursuit of his own right, and withall to release us of our heavy bondage: or, if you be further scrupulous herein, I shall never hold it for any disparagement to your humility, to lay yourself prostrate on the ground, for the true and indubitable lord of us all to make an easy entrance over you."

By such arguments as these, enforced, as they must have been, by the clerical rank and abilities of the speakers, the priestly delegates succeeded in securing the interests of Rice ap Thomas; and Richmond was no sooner acquainted with their success, than, by the desire of the Countess, his mother, he wrote to Rice, "seasoning his compliments with large promises of honour, and setting down the true state of the cause:" for they were well aware, that, had Rice determined to oppose them, the Earl's grand scheme of entering England from Brittany, by way of Wales, would have been totally frustrated, and his chance of success in consequence very much weakened. Having succeeded thus far, the Earl resolved to commence operations, and prepared, therefore, to leave Brittany. His approach was duly announced to his new ally, who prepared to receive him in a manner befitting so illustrious a personage.

"Rice ap Thomas musters up all his forces, calls all his friends about him; and where he found any want

among them, either of arms or other necessities for the wars, he supplied with his own store, whereof he had sufficient, as well for ornament as use; so that in a few days he had gathered together to the number of two thousand horse and upwards, of his own followers and retainers, bearing his name and livery. His kinsmen and friends, who came besides, with brave companies, to do him honour, were Sir Thomas Perrott, Sir John Vogan, and John Savage, a man of no less valiantness than activity, and much employed by the Earl when he came to be King, in the wars of France and elsewhere; Arnold Butler, Richard Griffith, John Nugan, and two of his own brothers, David the younger, and John; all of them worthy soldiers, and very expert commanders, with divers others, *Qui omnes urgentur longa nocte quicquid curuere vate sacro.* There came likewise out of North Wales, to this service, many worthy gentlemen, both of name and note, especially of the Salisburys, under the conduct of Robert Salisbury, a fast friend to Rice ap Thomas in the French wars, and who, for his well-deservings there, was knighted in the field by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. These Salisburys were ever firmly united to Rice and his family, whereby they purchased to themselves the name of *Salsbriod y Brain*, friends to the Raven*, which name was given them first at the battle of Pennal, where Thomas ap Griffith, father to Rice ap Thomas, lost his life, and many of this noble family in the said quarrel, to the eternal praise of their true affection. Rice ap Thomas being in this brave equipage, encompassed with most able commanders, and furnished with all things necessary, as well for armour as horse, (whereof a hundred and upwards were out of his own stables,) word was brought him by his *conspicillos*, or spies, who kept continual watch on the coast for that purpose, that they had descried a small fleet of ships making toward the haven's mouth; whereupon he incontinently bate up his drum, put his men in order, and, mounted on a goodly courser, called *Lhydd Bac-seu*, or grey fetter-locks, he set forth,

in most martial manner, towards the Dale, as his prophet whilom had advised him, a place not far from his castle of Carew, from whence at that time he led his army, and there meeting with the Earl of Richmond ready to take land, he received him ashore, to whom he made humble tender of his service, both in his own and in all their names who were there present; and *laying him down on the ground, suffered the Earl to pass over him**, so to make good his promise to King Richard, that none should enter in at Milford, unless he came first over his belly."

After such a reception many flocked to the standard of Richmond, who forthwith prepared to march on towards England. At this interval of time it is interesting to record even the most trivial occurrences of so important an expedition; and accordingly tradition has preserved, with tolerable accuracy, the course pursued by Richmond and his friends, with the names of those persons by whom he was received and entertained on his march. David ap Evan, of Llwyn Dufydd, in Cardiganshire, entertained him for a night, and the Earl acknowledged the kindness by several presents, particularly a drinking-horn, richly mounted on a silver stand: this was subsequently presented to Richard Earl of Carberry, and is now in the possession of a branch of the family—the Vaughans, namely, of Golden Grove, in Carmarthenshire. The following night, Einion ap David Llwyd, of Wernnewydd, in the same county, received the Earl in a style of hospitality suited to the high rank of his guest; and after this David Llwyd, of Ma-

thafarn, in Montgomeryshire, was honoured in a similar manner. David had been one of the earliest of the Earl's adherents, and in his capacity of Bard had used his utmost skill to influence the people in Richmond's behalf. A curious and characteristic occurrence took place on the occasion of the Earl's visit. In his anxiety for the issue of his hazardous enterprise, Richmond privately requested the opinion of his host, who was esteemed by his contemporaries a most distinguished prophet. The seer cautiously replied, that a question of such importance could not be immediately answered, and that he would deliver his reply in the morning. He was greatly perplexed by the question, and his wife observed an unusual and inexplicable gravity in his manner during the remainder of the evening. She enquired the cause, of which, when she was informed, she exclaimed with much astonishment, "How can you possibly have any difficulty about the matter? Tell him that the issue of his enterprise will certainly be most successful and glorious. If your prediction be verified, you will receive honours and rewards; but if he fail, depend upon it he will never come here to reward you." Hence originated the Welsh proverb, "*Cynghor guraig heb ri ofyn*:" that is, A wife's advice, without asking for it.

Richard being duly apprised of his rival's approach, promptly prepared to meet him. He began now "to think it high time to look about him; therefore, in all haste, he sends for his most trusty friends, Norfolk, Northumberland, and others. And

* There is a tradition in that part of the country, which seems to contradict this fact as here stated, and which records, that Rice ap Thomas did not literally suffer the Earl to pass over his belly; but that, in consequence of the declaration he had made in his letter to Richard, as a salvo to his conscience, he went under the arch of a small bridge, called Mollech Bridge, near the Dale, over which the Earl's passage lay, and there remained till Richmond crossed it. But we have something, far more satisfactory than traditions, to prove that the Welshman did actually lie down, as mentioned in the context. In the collection of Mr Gwennapp, of Suffolk-Street, Haymarket, there is a very rare and beautiful portrait of Henry VII., painted by Jean Mabuse, soon after the Earl's accession to the throne. The portrait is valuable in every respect; but we will confess, that it is rendered more so, in our estimation, by the button on the hat, on which is represented, of course very minutely, but at the same time very exquisitely, the actual prostration of the Cambrian Chief, and the passage of Richmond over his body. This proves, not only that this occurrence took place, but that Rice ap Thomas occupied a very prominent station in the King's esteem.

so raising a puissant army, like an expert commander, (as indeed in feats of arms and matters of chivalry, to give the devil his due, he was nothing inferior to the best,) falls, forthwith, to dispose them with a great deal of judgment. Then, calling for his horse, a goodly white charger*, with as much speed as the down-pressing plummets of his villainies would give leave, attended by his footmen, and guarded with wings of horse, with a meagre and dreadful countenance he comes to Leicester." The battle of Bosworth Field ensues, where, according to our Biographer, his hero, Rice, is the chief actor.

"And now the time was come appointed by God, in his secret judgment, to determine for the garland; so that, without any further delay, these two Royal combatants, by their prayers, recommended themselves to the protection of the Highest, whetting the valorous spirits of their followers with cheerful orations, large promises, and their own personal bravery. And so, upon summons from the death-menacing trumpet, they encounter and fall to blows.

Pede pes, et cuspidē cuspis,
Arma sonant armis, vir petiturque viro."

"While the avant-guards were in this hot chase the one after the other, King Richard held not his hands in his pockets; but, grinding and gnashing his teeth, up and down he goes in quest of Richmond, whom, no sooner espying, than he makes at him, and, by the way, in his fury, manfully overthrew Sir William Brandon, the Earl's standard-bearer, as also Sir John Cheney, both men of mighty force, and known valiancy. In Wales, we say, that Rice ap Thomas, who, from the beginning, closely followed the Earl, and ever had an eye to his person, seeing his party begin to quail, and the King's to gain ground, took this occasion to send unto Sir William Stanley, giving him to understand the danger they were in, and entreating him to join his forces, for the disengaging of the Earl, who was not only in despair of victory, but almost of his life. Whereupon (for it seems he under-

stood not the danger before,) Sir William Stanley made up to Rice ap Thomas, and, joining both together, rushed in upon their adversaries and routed them, by which means the glory of the day fell on the Earl's side, King Richard, as a just guerdon for all his fascinous actions, and horrible murders, being slain in the field. *Our Welsh tradition says, that Rice ap Thomas slew Richard, manfully fighting with him hand to hand; and we have one strong argument in defence of our tradition, to prove that he was the man who, in all likelihood, had done the deed, for from that time forward the Earl of Richmond, as long as he lived, did ever honour him with the title of FATHER RICE. And seldom or never shall we read that our Kings have given these honorifica gratulationis cognomina to their subjects, but for some singular and transcendent merit; and therefore we may probably conjecture, that either Rice ap Thomas (as the speech goes) slew Richard, or else, without doubt, he performed some meritorious piece of service in that place, which made the Earl give so honourable an addition to his name. I will not here minister occasion of discourse, though it hath been a question often argued, and the case put home on both sides by some of the wisest statists of our times, whether Stanley or Rice, in this service, merited most from Richmond. 'Tis true, Sir William Stanley set the crown upon the Earl his head, but the keys hung at Rice ap Thomas his girdle, which let him in, and could have shut him out. Stanley, I say, put the crown upon his head; yet, in the Earl's own conceit, though he came in time enough so to do, he staid so long as to endanger it; but Rice ap Thomas followed him *per saxa per ignes*, through thick and thin, from first to last, to his infinite charge. The truth is, they were both men of high deserving, therefore let them divide the honour between them, as they did the spoils of King Richard's tent; of which, though Stanley had the greatest share (a thing Richmond rather winked at than liked,) yet the *portion which Rice ap Thomas had*

* "Saddle White Surrey for the field to-morrow."—*Shakespeare*.

was delivered him by the Earl's own appointment.

"Well: now the tragedy being ended, and the tyrant slain, I shall fit him with an epitaph out of Doctor Case, in his Prolegomenon on Aristotle's Politics, who notes him for one, '*Qui vulpis caput, et caudam leonis habuit; sanguine suorum petiit sceptrum, sanguine suo amisit regnum*, and there I leave him. Being thus rid of Richard, the most pestilent disease this land was ever infested withal, we are now fallen into the hands of a more careful shepherd, Henry Earl of Richmond, henceforth styled Henry the Seventh, who hath, by the help of God, laid a firm foundation, both of our present and future peace, in this our kingdom, to all posterity; though, afterwards, now and then certain flushings and whelkes appeared in the face of our State, which argued an ill-affected liver, not yet sound. After *Te Deum* sung, the Earl being saluted King, he resolved to lay some especial marks of his favour upon certain gentlemen, who that day had well deserved, for their fidelity and courage; whereupon he began with Rice ap Thomas, and there knighted him in the place. The like honour he did to some few others, who were of prime note and noble blood*. After which he sets forward for London."

Our hero, now Sir Rice ap Thomas, became speedily invested with those honours which his beneficial services merited; and he became also an actor in all the busy scenes of his patron's reign. In the disturbances caused by the Rebellion of "the Lord Lovell and the two Staffords," he was actively engaged by the King; as he was also in the anarchy occasioned by the arrogant pretensions of the impudent impostors, Lambert Simnell and Perkin Warbeck. He assisted the King in his wars with France, and was of considerable service in the Cabinet at home; and it was only during the latter part of Henry's reign that the

knight found any repose from the toil and peril of the war. He then retired into Wales, where he lived among his dependants in a style of magnificence every way worthy of so eminent a personage. We regret that our limits—already, we fear, by far exceeded—will not permit us to show in detail the princely manner in which "Sir Rice feasted divers of his friends and kinsmen at his castle of Carew in Pembrokeshire, where was held solemn justs and tournaments, with other warlike pastimes, to the honour of St. George, chief patron of men of warre." We know of nothing comparable to this splendid and chivalrous display of the wealth and hospitality of the Welsh Chieftain, excepting Leicester's festivities in honour of his august mistress at the Castle of Kenilworth. "This festival and time of jollity continued for the space of five days. On St. George's eve's eve, which was the first day of their meeting, Sir Rice took a view of all the company, chusing out five hundred of the tallest and ablest among them; those he divided into five troops, a hundred to each troop, over whom he appointed captains, David the younger, and John (two of his brothers,) Arnold Butler, Richard Griffith, and John Morgan, all tried men, and ready in their profession.

"The next day, being the eve, these five captains drew forth their forces into the field, exercising them, in all points, as if he had been bid suddenly to go upon some notable piece of service, in which delightful shew that whole day's allowance was spent, with the full contentation of all those noble gentlemen there present. The third day, St. George's day, early in the morning, the drums beat up, and trumpets sounded, every man with the summons betaking himself to his charge. First, the captains led forth their companies in a military array, well armed at all points; then followed Sir Rice himself, upon a goodly courser, having two pages and a herald on horseback before

* Another Welsh Chieftain, an ancestor of the present Sir Edward Lloyd, Bart. of Pengwern, in Flintshire, came with a thousand men to Bosworth Field, and signalized himself with much bravery. When Henry was securely seated on the throne, he graciously invited the Knight of Pengwern to Court; but he desired no such distinction, and meekly replied, "Sire, I love to dwell among mine own people."

him, richly clad ; after whom the rest of the gentlemen followed, being all bravely mounted in a most decent and seemly manner ; and so, in a silent and grave manner, they passed on to the Bishop's palace at Lamphoy, a mile, or thereabout, distant from Carew Castle." After performing certain ceremonies here, the dinner took place, and a very important portion of the day's solemnities it was, too. The company was ushered into the great hall, " which hall was a goodly, spacious room, richly hung with cloth of arras and tapestry." At the upper end, under a canopy of crimson velvet, was placed a table for the King, which, although not graced with his Majesty's presence, was duly revered by the company : the table for the guests occupied the sides and middle of the hall. At the sound of the trumpet the King's service was brought in by persons properly appointed, Sir Rice's son, Griffith, acting as sewer, Sir William Herbert of Colebrook as carver, and " young Griffith of Penthyn, as poc-cilator, or cup-bearer." The King's meat being laid on the table, the Bishop of St. David's stood on the right of the King's chair, and Sir Rice ap Thomas on the left, " and all the while the meat was a-laying down, the cornets, hautboys, and other wind instruments, were not silent." After the other tables were served, the Bishop made his humble obeisance to the King's chair, and then descended to say grace, returning again to his situation near the throne. " When the tables were voided, and the meats removed from the side-board for the waiters, then the King's chair was turned, and every man at liberty to put on his hat."

The next day came the tournament, which corresponded in style and spirit with all the preceding pastimes. " The next morning, by sound of trumpet, Sir Rice was summoned to play the Judge's part, which accordingly he did. He had on that day a fair gilt armour, two pages well provided on horseback before him, with a herald and two trumpeters ; himself mounted on a goodly steed, richly barbed and trapped, with four footmen, two on each side, attending him ; two hundred tall

men in blue coats, some before and some behind him. In this manner he went into the park, where a tilt was made ready for the purpose ; riding about the same twice or thrice, for the well-accommodation of the enterprise then in hand. At one end of the tilt there was a tent for the appellants to rest them, as the other for the defendants. Sir Rice, perceiving all things well ordered, he presently took him to the judgment-seat, about the middle of the tilt, over-against the breaking place ; his servants standing round about him, every one having a halbert in his hand, and a good basket-hilt sword by his side. When time served, the trumpets sounded, and then the appellants came in sight. The first that appeared was Sir William Herbert, having a trumpeter before him, and a page carrying his shield, without any device, the motto *Et quæ non fecimus ipsi*. The next was Robert Salisbury, who had for an impress on his shield a giant running at a pigmy, with this motto, *Pudet congrédi cum homine vinci parato*. Then came Jenkyn Mansell, the valiant, whose sentence was *Perit sine adversario virtus*. After followed Vaughan of Trelower, who took this for his dictum, *Ingens gloria calorem habet*. After these, the inceptors or enterprisers follow the no less brave defendants or propugnators. Their manner was the same. Sir Griffith Rice had written on his scutcheon, *Et vinci et vincere quleharum*. Sir Thomas Perrott, in a more lofty language, made choice of this for his motto, *Si non invenio singulos pares, pluribus simul objicier*. Sir William Wogan, meaning to do honour to his noble adversaries, took a more humble motto, which was this, *Profruit hoc vincente capi* ; and Sir Griffith Dunn, a man of an active spirit, used these words, to express his inclination, *Industrioso otium pone*. These gallant gentlemen, in good order, rode twice or thrice about the tilt ; and as they passed along, they, by their pages, presented their shields to the Judge ; which done, both parties severed, and took their stand, the one at the one end, and the other at the other end of the tilt. Then the trumpeters sounded, whereupon the two first

combatants put their lances into their rests, and so ran each their six courses."

While the Magnates were thus employed, their friends and followers were by no means idle:—"Some were wrestling, some hurling of the bar, some tossing of the pike, some running at the quintaine, every man striving, in a friendly emulation, to perform some act or other worthy the name of soldier. With these, and the like delights, the day vanished."

But we must conclude. After a long life of labour and renown, our knight was peaceably gathered to his fathers. An exemplary temperance, a regular distribution of his time, and a discreet husbanding of his vital powers, had secured to him a serenity of mind, and its constant concomitant, the blessing of health. "Nor do I learn," observes his attentive annalist, "that his last glass was hurried by any violent or painful disease, but was, by the favour of Heaven, suffered to run out gra-

dually and smoothly, after a course of seventy and six years." He was buried with all becoming pomp, first in the monastery of the Friars at Carmarthen; but his remains were afterwards removed, and re-interred in the Eastern Aisle of St. Peter's Church in that town, where a monument was erected to his memory. This monument is still extant, and bears the effigies of the knight and his lady; but being composed of a soft and crumbling freestone, it has long ceased to exhibit any further marks of the sculptor's art or original design, except such as are barely sufficient to distinguish the recumbent figures. In conclusion, we would add, that a publication of the curious and entertaining manuscript, from which we have derived the foregoing particulars, would furnish a great treat to the admirers of our national history, and to those who delight to inform themselves of the manners of an interesting and bustling era.

EXTRACTS FROM AN UNPUBLISHED POETICAL TOUR ON THE CONTINENT

The Lake of Geneva at Sunset.

DAYLIGHT still linger'd on the quiet lake.
But, where the ev'ning breeze play'd wantonly,
A parting smile each ripple seem'd to take,
From the full moonbeam's silver dancing ray,
Then rose and fell, slow and alternately.
The murmur of the water's peaceful swell,
Advancing darkly to the shore, and aye
Soothing the silence it could not dispel.
As on the pebbled beach, a shower of pearls it fell.

The struggle o'er, sunset now yields to night;
Yet as day's farewell billows flow away,
The distant Alps they leave in living light,
That lofty shore, which bounds the tide of day,
Till all their ice-clad vallies smile as gay
As summer bowers; and now a deeper blue,
The richest purple of a rainbow's ray,
And deep'ning still, till on the frigid view
Their snow-white masses rise in cold and deadly hue.

Fond Memory welcomes, in each form it meets,
Resemblance to that form Sense cannot see;
'Mid Autumn's softness, or 'mid Summer's sweets,
Still, still as present seems that form to be,
So then those Alps of sunset brought to me
A face, which, like them, shone in rapture's ray;
But, for a moment, there, its spirit free,
Fled as a twilight-beam to join the day,
And nought of it remain'd but a cold mass of clay.

On a Tower near Ber, in Switzerland.

By Lemnan's Lake there stands a ruin'd tow'r,
 Bearing no record whose or what it was ;
 A lonely relict of some long-fled hour,
 At which each passing moment seems to pause,
 And from its aspect sad the lesson draws
 Of Time's mortality ; for where are they,
 Those countless hours, which here have been ? And was
 All their existence, as a moment 'stay,
 Passing, as soon as come, like April's snows away ?

One lovely flow'r is springing on its walls,
 And smiles 'mid wild decay's sepulchral gloom ;
 One summer ray sleeps in its silent halls,
 In all the bright intensity of June ;
 Yet warms it not that cold, deserted room ;
 As did the faggot's blaze, so breaks a beam
 Of gladness o'er his countenance, on whom
 Sits heavy grief ; he smiles, and yet we deem
 It is a meteor glare—a false, uncertain gleam.

It looks like that fair flow'r, which loves to dwell
 In desolation's cold and cheerless ray ;
 And there it stands, with lovely grace, to tell
 It yet can smile, though all be fled away :
 That lovely, modest flow'r is Piety,
 Which rears its head when all is lowly laid ;
 Peaceful and chaste, in youthful prime and age,
 Decks with a smile each gap that grief has made,
 And casts on all around its calm, refreshing shade.

Above, the Alps, in wildest fantasy,
 Uprear their giant forms, and look sedate
 Down from their cloudless palace in the sky,
 On all that feeble man esteemeth great—
 On all the changes of his changing state,
 Mocking war's loudest thunder ; or when, lo !
 Bursts forth the Avalanche's crushing weight,
 Or when the boiling waters far below
 Dash from their cradling rocks, in wild, inconstant flow.

And yet, with man compar'd, these nothing are—
 Nothing their vast duration—nothing though
 Their clefts have seen a thousand storms, and there
 Lies undissolv'd the earth's primeval snow ;
 The mind that measures them is doom'd to know
 Existence, such as time can never span ;
 Yea, an eternity of bliss or woe,
 When that this world, as chaff before the fan
 Passes away, then waits that seeming moment—man.

Umbru M. S. W.

WEDDELL'S VOYAGE TO THE SOUTH POLE¹

WE are disposed to regard this work as, in every respect, a most interesting and important production. We conceive that it is so, in a national point of view, as well as to almost every class of individuals. To the philosopher, the merchant, and the seaman, its discoveries and details must prove equally interesting and instructive; and the lover of the marvellous will find ample room for the indulgence of his feelings, in contemplating the "hair-breadth escapes" of the daring adventurer.

It is a truth which the experience of ages has taught us, that the most important advances in knowledge and science have invariably been made by the exertion of individual talent. The best-concerted schemes, and most magnificent equipments for the discovery of truth, have frequently fallen short of their purposes, and ended only in disappointment and defeat; while, on the other hand, the single, silent, but able and industrious efforts of the private individual have often succeeded in attaining to results which were equally unexpected and important. These truths derive a very striking illustration from the fate of the Northern expedition, when compared with the progress and results of a similar enterprise in the South. The one was fitted out with all the "means and appliances" which the nature of the expedition seemed to require, and which the energies of Government could command. The vessels, seamen, and provisions, were selected on the most magnificent scale, and on the most scientific principles; and all was done that could be done, by science and prudence, to secure the success of the expedition. Yet all these efforts, however well planned and scientifically pursued, have been hitherto baffled and defeated. The voyage to the South Pole, of which the volume before us contains an account, was of a different description, and

prosecuted under different auspices. The expedition consisted of only two small barks, the property of private merchants, and trading on a mercantile speculation. They were indifferently provisioned, and little calculated to meet the dangers and tempests of such a hazardous voyage. Yet, under all these disabilities and disadvantages, they penetrated to a degree of southern latitude which had never been reached by any former voyager,—exhibiting thus an instance of first-rate seamanship, combined with the most undaunted intrepidity, in the attainment of an important purpose.

The present volume gives a manly, unadorned detail, of the occurrences of the voyage. The author writes as if unconscious of having done any thing meritorious or extraordinary; and this absence of any feeling of display on his part, only serves to heighten the interest and admiration which must be felt by all his readers. We shall proceed to lay before the public a short sketch of the voyage; and, as a proper introduction to the narrative of our author's discoveries, we extract his account of what had been done by former navigators.

Many navigators, in their passage round Cape Horn, had reached the 62d degree of south latitude, but always too far to the westward for falling in with the range of South Shetland, till in the year 1816, Mr William Smith of Blyth, in his passage from Monte Video to Valparaiso, made, apparently by accident, a discovery of the islands which have been thus named. In an after voyage, he had the boldness to approach closely, and ascertained this mass to be land; which discovery he, with the honest feeling of an Englishman, reported to Captain Sheriff, the representative of his king, at Valparaiso.

The only navigators who have, to our knowledge, explored the sea, within the Antarctic Circle, are Captains Cook and Furneaux, in their second voyage, which

* A Voyage towards the South Pole, performed in the years 1822-24, containing an examination of the Antarctic Sea to the 74th degree of Latitude; a visit to Terra del Fuego; useful information on the coasting navigation of Cape Horn and the adjacent lands, with Charts of Harbours, &c. By James Weddell, Esq. Master in the Royal Navy. London: 1825. Longman & Co.

was towards the South Pole, in the years 1773 and 1774. On the 17th January 1773 Captain Cook arrived in the latitude of $67^{\circ} 15'$, in the longitude of 29° east. There he found the ice in fields, firm, and continuing as far as the eye could reach from the mast-head. "We did not think it prudent (says he) to persevere in a southern direction, as that kind of summer which this part of the world affords was now half spent, and it would have taken much time to have gone round the ice, supposing it to be practicable." On the 2d January 1774 Captain Cook again arrived within the Antarctic Sea, and having been beset with ice islands and loose ice in the latitude of 68° and longitude 138° west, he bore up north-west, and recrossed the Antarctic Circle, steering various courses to the north and east, and then to the south. On the 25th of January he arrived for the third time within the Frozen Zone, and on the 30th January had reached the latitude of $71^{\circ} 10'$ south. He again says, "As we could not go any farther to the south, we thought it advisable to tack, and stand back to the north, being at this time in latitude $71^{\circ} 10'$, and longitude $106^{\circ} 51'$ west; happily for us, we had tacked in good time, for we had no sooner done it, than a thick fog came on, which would have been highly dangerous when we fell in with the ice."

Two Russian frigates, employed on a voyage of discovery in the year 1821, penetrated, as it is stated, to the 69th degree of south latitude, but were unable to proceed farther. The particulars of their voyage have not yet been made public in England.

The vessels under the command of Mr Weddell, and Mr Matthew Brisbane, sailed from the Downs on the 17th September 1822. They were the brig *Jane* of Leith, 160 tons and 22 men, commanded by Mr Weddell; and the cutter *Beaufoy* of London, 65 tons and 13 men, by Mr Brisbane, provisioned for two years, and engaged on an adventure for procuring seal-skins. They touched at Madeira and Bonavista, one of the Cape-de-Verd Islands. On December 30th, in latitude $47^{\circ} 54'$, off Penguin Island, Captain Weddell says,

We had now decidedly taken our departure for a voyage of investigation to the southward, and though we were a month later than I had intended, I was happy that we had made the brig comparatively effective; and was determined, should I not be successful at the South Orkneys,

to prosecute a search beyond the tracks of former navigators.

On 12th January the islands of South Orkney were perceived. Captain Weddell was desirous to ascertain the existence of land between the South Orkneys and Sandwich Land, and their first experiment seems rather strange.

At eleven o'clock at night we passed within two ships' length of an object which had the appearance of a rock. The lead was immediately thrown out, but finding no bottom, we continued lying to till the chief mate ascertained it to be a dead whale, very much swollen: such objects seen imperfectly in the night are often alarming.

He then proceeds:

I had offered a gratuity of £.10 to the man who should first discover land. This proved the cause of many a sore disappointment; for many of the seamen, of lively and sanguine imaginations, were never at a loss for an island. In short, fog-banks out of number were reported for land; and many, in fact, had so much that appearance, that nothing short of standing towards them, till they vanished, could satisfy us as to their real nature. In the morning of the 2d (Feb.) the wind freshened W.S.W. to a gale, which obliged us to lie to; snow-squalls were frequent, and having many islands to pass, we had to make various courses and changes in the quantity of sail on the vessels. I carefully avoided the tracts of Captains Cook and Furneaux; and I may here remark, how narrowly Captain Furneaux, in the *Adventure*, in December 1773 and January 1774, escaped seeing South Shetland and the South Orkneys. He passed within forty-five miles of the east end of Shetland, and seventy-five miles of the South Orkneys; hence twenty miles, we may presume, of a more southerly course, would have given us a knowledge of South Shetland fifty years ago.

They reached to within one hundred miles of Sandwich Land; and having thoroughly examined these latitudes, within a proper distance from the track of Captain Cook, he was convinced that no land lay in that direction. He did not rest satisfied merely with having ascertained this fact. He remarks,

Our pursuit of land here, therefore, was now at an end, but I conceived it probable that a large track might be found a little farther south than we had yet been. I accordingly informed Mr Brisbane of

my intention of standing to the southward, and he, with a boldness which greatly enhanced the respect I bore for him, expressed his willingness to push our research in that direction, though we had hitherto been so unsuccessful.

They accordingly stood to the southward, and our extracts will exhibit a view of his progress to the most southern point.

During the 6th and 7th (February), we passed many ice islands, one of which I estimated to be two miles in length, and two hundred and fifty feet high. The wind prevailed between W.S.W. and W.N.W., with foggy and clear weather alternately. At noon, we observed in latitude $64^{\circ} 15'$, and our longitude by chronometers was $30^{\circ} 46'$. The variation by azimuth in the forenoon was $8^{\circ} 19'$ easterly. At ten o'clock at night, the weather being foggy, we narrowly escaped striking an ice island in passing. We hailed our consort, but she was so close to our stern, that she passed also very near to it. The temperature of air at eight o'clock in the evening was 34° , that of water 36° . In the afternoon of the 9th, the fog clearing away, we saw an appearance of land in the N.W.; but after the usual practice of pursuing all such appearances, we discovered it to be one of our delusive attendants—the fog-banks. The wind now shifted to south, and blew strong, accompanied with snowsqualls. At day-light in the morning of the 10th the chief mate reported land within sight in the shape of a sugar loaf; as soon as I saw it I believed it to be a rock, and fully expected to find *terra firma* a short distance to the southward. It was two o'clock in the afternoon before we reached it, and not till then, when passing within three hundred yards, we could satisfy ourselves that it was not land, but black ice. We found an island of clear ice lying close and detached above water, though connected below, which made a contrast of colour, that had favoured, or rather completed the deception. In short, its north side was so thickly incorporated with black earth, that hardly any person at a distance would have hesitated to pronounce it a rock. This was a new disappointment, and seriously felt by several of our crew, whose hopes of having an immediate reward for their patience and perseverance were again frustrated. The wind was at south, and blowing a fresh gale, with which we might have gone rapidly to the northward; but the circumstance of having seen this ice island so loaded with earth, encouraged me to expect that it had disengaged itself from

land possessing a considerable quantity of soil; and that our arrival at that very desirable object might, perhaps, not be very distant. These impressions induced me to keep our wind, and we stood to the S.W. I may here remark, that many of the doubtful rocks laid down in the charts of the North Atlantic have been probably objects similar to what I have described, and still remain unascertained, to the great annoyance of all cautious navigators. Our latitude at noon was, by account, $66^{\circ} 26'$, and our longitude by chronometers $32^{\circ} 32'$. The temperature of air was $35^{\circ} 30'$, that of water 34° .

In pursuing their route, the ice islands were numerous. At one time, in latitude $68^{\circ} 28'$, sixty-six were counted around them, and for about fifty miles to the south they had seldom fewer in sight. They disappeared entirely, however, as they proceeded.

On the 18th the weather was remarkably fine, and the wind in the S.E. Having unfortunately broken my two thermometers, I could not exactly ascertain the temperature, but it was certainly not colder than we had found it in December, (summer,) in the latitude of 61° . With the ship's head S.W. by S. at about 8h 30' in the morning I took a set of azimuths, which gave variation $13^{\circ} 23'$ east. At noon, our latitude by observation was $72^{\circ} 38'$, by account $72^{\circ} 24'$, hence, with chronometer difference of longitude, we had been set in three days south, $62'$ west, distance thirty miles. In the afternoon I took a long set of azimuths, which gave variation $19^{\circ} 58'$. This increase in so short a distance seemed unsatisfactory; on which account I neglected no opportunity of making observations, in order to reconcile these irregularities. I had all the compasses brought upon deck, and I found them to agree, but rather inactive in traversing.

In the evening we had many whales about the ship, and the sea was literally covered with birds of the blue peterel kind. *Not a particle of ice of any description was to be seen.* The evening was mild and serene; and had it not been for the reflection, that probably we should have obstacles to contend with in our passage northward through the ice, our situation might have been envied. The wind was light and easterly during the night, and we carried all sail. The sun's amplitude in the morning of the 19th, when the ship's head was south by east, gave variation $15^{\circ} 10'$ east. The weather being pleasant, our carpenter was employed in repairing a boat; and we were enabled to make several repairs on the

sails and rigging. At noon our latitude by observation was $73^{\circ} 17'$, and longitude by chronometers $35^{\circ} 54' 45''$. In the evening, by several sets of amplitudes, I found the variation to be but $5^{\circ} 35'$ east. About midnight it fell calm; but presently a breeze sprang up from the S.W. by W. and we hauled on a wind S. by E. In the morning of the 20th the wind shifted to S. by W., and blew a fresh breeze, and seeing a clouded horizon, and a great number of birds in the S.E. we stood in that direction. At ten o'clock in the forenoon, when the ship's head was E S E., I took a set of azimuths, which gave variation $11^{\circ} 20'$ east. The atmosphere now became very clear, and nothing like land was to be seen. Three ice islands were in sight from the deck, and one other from the mast-head. On one we perceived a great number of penguins roosted. Our latitude at this time, 20th February 1822, was $74^{\circ} 15'$, and longitude $31^{\circ} 16' 45''$; the wind blowing fresh at south, prevented what I most desired—our making farther progress in that direction. I would willingly have explored the S.W. quarter, but taking into consideration the lateness of the season, and that we had to pass homewards through a thousand miles of sea strewn with ice islands, with long nights, and probably attended with fog, I could not determine otherwise than to take advantage of this favourable wind for returning.

It is thus ascertained, from actual observation, that the South Pole presents a clear, open sea, free from ice. We apprehend the examination of this sea to be of infinite importance, and would humbly suggest to those official gentlemen who have taken such an interest in the exploration of the North Pole, the propriety of fitting out a similar expedition to the South. The discoveries of this enterprising and intelligent seaman have distinctly shown the practicability of pushing our researches farther southward. We have no doubt that these would lead to most important results; and we need not add, that the interests of science and of trade demand that accurate and distinct intelligence should be procured upon the subject.

The remainder of this volume is fraught with interesting information. In latitude $63^{\circ} 21'$ they were in a situation to have seen South Iceland as it is presented on the common charts of the South Atlantic; but it turns out that there is no such place

in existence. The "Aurora Islands" of the Spanish voyagers had also vanished into thin air, or were embosomed in the depths of the sea. Captain Weddell, in 1820, made a fatiguing and fruitless search for these islands. It appears that this imaginary discovery was first made in 1762 by the ship *Aurora*, which gave them her name. In 1794, the *Atrevida*, a Spanish man-of-war, was sent purposely to *situate* them; and an official report was transmitted to the Government upon the subject. The belief in the existence of these islands had since been fully acted upon, and it is productive of considerable inconvenience to seamen in navigating Cape Horn. It is important, therefore, to establish the fact of their non-existence; and Captain Weddell's observations seem to be most satisfactory. In the official account published by the Spaniards, the situation of these islands is particularly laid down. Our author says,

At seven in the evening we had passed over the (laid down) latitude and longitude of these islands, without observing the least appearance of land. We *obtained*, and continued in the parallel of latitude running through the place assigned to them, till we arrived in the longitude of 46° . I considered this allowance for error in longitude to be pretty ample, particularly since the *Atrevida* sailed from Port Soledad, in the Falkland Islands, from which, to the place of our investigation, was about three days sail; hence her common reckoning could not have erred much, and she had chronometers which should have been nearly exact. These considerations produced in my mind a degree of surprise: and I could not at that moment reconcile my experience with the facts which had been asserted. I was resolved, however, not to abandon the object of my pursuit, without being fully satisfied of the truth or falsity of this geographical problem. It was now remarkably clear, and from the mast-head land of common height might have been seen at the distance of eight leagues; but still nothing of the kind was observed. We next steered S.S.E. into the latitude of $53^{\circ} 17'$, and then W. by S. in order to get sight of the southern island, but in vain—not the smallest indication of land appeared. On the 2d it blew a strong gale from the N.N.W., with thick weather, and we hove-to under a close-reefed main-top-sail, sent down the top-gallant yards, and struck the masts. At noon

the weather cleared up, and we got the meridian altitude of the sun, which gave latitude $52^{\circ} 58'$, and our longitude by chronometers was $48^{\circ} 6'$, our latitude by D. R. being $53^{\circ} 20'$. We had experienced a northerly current of twenty-two miles, part of which must be attributed to error of reckoning. The situation for the middle island bore now south 33° east, distant eight miles. We had a clear view of six or seven leagues, but nothing like land was to be seen. The only chance now left us for finding these Auroras, I conceived, was by making various courses between the latitudes of $53^{\circ} 15'$ and $52^{\circ} 37'$, and this we did till we reached the longitude by chronometers of $46^{\circ} 29'$. Having all this time seen nothing resembling land, except fog-banks, which had often given us severe disappointments, we returned westward; and on the 15th our latitude at noon was $52^{\circ} 44'$, and longitude by chronometers $48^{\circ} 33'$. We had thus again passed over the site of these islands to no purpose. On the 6th our latitude by observation was $53^{\circ} 24'$, and longitude by chronometers $49^{\circ} 49'$. We continued to stand to the westward under easy sail, with the wind northerly; and on the 7th our latitude by observation was $53^{\circ} 53'$, and longitude by chro-

nometers $51^{\circ} 5'$. Having thus diligently searched through the supposed situation of the Auroras, I concluded that the discoverers must have been misled by appearances. I therefore considered any further cruise to be an improvident waste of time, and, to the gratification of my officers and crew, directed our course to the Falkland Islands.

We have left ourselves little room to follow Captain Weddell on his visit to the South Shetlands, Terra del Fuego, &c. The details are both instructive and amusing, and present a view of that part of the world and its inhabitants which has hitherto been little known amongst us, and is equally novel and attractive. We would willingly borrow part of it, for the benefit of our readers; but we doubt not they will resort to the volume itself, and they may do so with no apprehension of disappointment. We take our leave of Captain Weddell and his publication for the present, with many thanks for the gratification he has afforded us, and with feelings of deep respect for his character and conduct.

THE LIFE OF A POOR ABERDEEN SCHOLAR.

For, ah! my heart, how very soon
The glittering dreams of youth are past!
And long before it reach its noon,
The sun of life is overcast.—*Moore.*

THE advantages of the accessibility of knowledge and instruction to all orders of the community in Scotland are now so well known, and so generally appreciated, that perhaps nobody would venture altogether to deny them. But while the beneficial influence of this privilege on the national character is apparent, and its particular value to the middling and lower classes, generally speaking, undeniable, it is attended with some drawbacks, which, if not so considerable as to affect the general principle, are yet of sufficient importance to make us pause before we subscribe to it. That it has sometimes tempted the youthful mind from the satisfying pursuits of humble life, to maintain an ineffectual struggle in the world of science and literature, and allured many from comparative distinction in the middle ranks, to ob-

scurity and poverty, and perhaps contempt, in a higher sphere, are facts which are strikingly illustrated in the "simple annals" of our country. The following sketch of a Scholar's life holds up another beacon to the ambitious.

Andrew Malcolm was the son of a respectable tradesman of that class, which, in his country, is enabled, by hard labour, to live decently and comfortably, and even, with good management, to lay up a little for the evening of life. Andrew was born with an unfortunate deformity in his legs, which disqualified him for many of the more laborious employments of life. His frame, however, was in other respects vigorous, his constitution strong, and his countenance indicated, at a very early age, an intelligence which is often considered to belong to those who

suffer from any physical incapacity. To this description of persons there attaches, in some districts of Scotland, a superstitious sentiment of respect, as beings who are endowed with a superiority of understanding, proportioned to their deficiency in bodily symmetry. It was perhaps some idea of this kind, added to his own prepossessions of his more than ordinary acquirements at the parish school, which induced Malcolm's parents to give him the advantage of an Academical education.

At both the Colleges in Aberdeen there is held, at the commencement of the Session, a competition, by the performance of Latin exercises, for a given number of *bursaries*. These are prizes of from five to fifteen pounds, which are paid annually to the successful candidates, during their attendance at College; and although they may appear to many but trifling incentives to literary exertion, they often prove very important aids to the slender finances of the less wealthy Students. At this comparative trial at King's College, Malcolm carried off one of the principal prizes; and his fond parents no doubt saw in his success a favourable omen of his future prosperity. How happy for us it is that we cannot see into futurity! The system of discipline at the Scotch Colleges, and particularly at Aberdeen, does not admit of a very striking exhibition of talents in the Students; but although precluded from any brilliant display of abilities, Malcolm distinguished himself, as well by the stated performance of the exercises prescribed to him, as by the regularity of his attendance, and the propriety of his demeanour in the classes. He left College with the most satisfactory testimonials of his progress and character, from the different Professors whose lectures he had attended. The period had now arrived when it became necessary for him to make choice of a pursuit in which he might reasonably expect to reap the fruits of his Academical labours; and the profession of the law presented itself as the one in which the disadvantages of his physical defect were least likely to be felt. He was accordingly articulated to a respectable practi-

tioner in the city in which he had prosecuted his studies; and during the term of his indenture, and for several years after its expiration, exhibited, in the performance of the duties of his situation, the most exemplary application and fidelity, and even a surprising degree of activity, considering the nature of his bodily infirmity. The anticipation of their son's arrival at the distinguished grade of an *Advocate*, was perhaps equal to the most extravagant dreams of his parents; and, setting aside the title, the opulence and general respectability of the profession, in that place, rendered the hope, in Malcolm's circumstances, sufficiently ambitious.

It was a hope, however, which they were destined never to see realized; and it was well that they did not live to see it frustrated so painfully. During his attendance at College Malcolm had lost his mother, to whom he had been tenderly attached; it was the first real trial which he had met with in the world, and his sensitive and affectionate heart felt it deeply; but he was of a spirit that is not easily depressed, and he was at an age when the very keenness of sorrow takes away from its permanency. He was now fated to follow to the grave his remaining parent; and as he wept tears of natural anguish on the descending coffin, and saw the green sods built over the venerated object of his earliest affections, he felt the fruitlessness of all his labour; since they who would most have valued its success were taken away.

But even the remembrance of this calamity became less poignant, as he felt increasingly the necessity of professional exertion. As his circumstances did not permit him to advance the fees necessary for enabling him to commence business on his own account, he resolved upon a step, common with provincial attorneys, that of proceeding to Edinburgh, to seek employment in a more extensive field, as well with the view of improving their knowledge, as of being enabled, by industry and economy, to raise a small fund for beginning the world.

Among the acquaintances that Malcolm had formed, in the short

intervals of leisure which his avocations had allowed him, there were not many with whom he had been in such habits of intimacy as now to feel particular regret in leaving them. He was naturally diffident; and neither his retired disposition, nor his personal accomplishments, had qualified him for entering into any thing like gay society. It may perhaps be thought that, with the personal deformity to which we have more than once alluded, the subject of our notice was not the most likely of persons to excite the tender passion; but love does not always discriminate; and although it did, there was an expression in Malcolm's countenance which made it not difficult to overlook his other defects. He had found, if not in a very elevated, at least in a respectable sphere of life, one whom he had inspired with a warmer than sisterly affection; and he loved her the more, for the disinterestedness of her attachment. He has often described to me the feelings with which he watched her receding form, and the faithless dream of returning to her and happiness, which occupied his mind as the vessel in which he sailed for Leith bore him from the shore—that shore which he was never to see again.

It had never, I believe, occurred to Malcolm that there was a possibility of his being disappointed in the object of his voyage. He had been furnished with introductory letters to gentlemen likely to be able to promote his views; and he never doubted that the testimonials, which he had to produce of his literary, as well as legal attainments, would speedily recommend him to notice and employment. He was but young in the ways of life, and knew not yet in how small a degree merit is available in promoting fortune. As soon as he had satisfied his curiosity, by viewing all that was most attractive to his imagination in a scene so new, he waited on the different gentlemen of the legal profession to whom he had been recommended. By some he was received with kindness, by many with politeness, and he did not complain of being treated by any with rudeness or incivility; but he began to discover, that the accomplishment of his wishes was a matter

of greater difficulty than he had ever dreamed of. The writing-chambers of most of his friends were already crowded; some of them complained that they could not find employment for their own relations; and others, who had vacancies, looked at Malcolm's figure, and expressed their regret that they had promised them away. Still there was a chance that openings might occur, and, although he was discouraged, he was not altogether disheartened. He waited with patience, and continued to make occasional enquiries at the chambers of his patrons; but he became alarmed to find that their promises grew fainter, and their encouragement less every day, until protracted hope sickened and died, and his flattering prospects languished and withered away.

It was a cruel sacrifice for Malcolm to renounce all his views of advancement in his profession, and to relinquish the hopes which he had so fondly cherished; but his favourite predilections were forced to yield before the stern decree of necessity, and the gradual exhaustion of his resources drove him to seek employment of whatever nature, and wherever it could be found. He applied in vain for a clerkship in a mercantile-office; he was friendless, and without acquaintances, and the nature of his acquirements was not altogether such as to qualify him for the duties of a commercial situation: strange as it may appear to some, his professional habits operated to his disadvantage, and where such prejudices did not exist, his personal deformity was a greater obstruction to him in the active pursuits of commerce, than in the more sedentary occupation in which he had been educated. The few individuals to whom, as natives of the same place, he had made himself known, exerted themselves to forward his object; but the little interest which they possessed was insufficient to overcome the objections which we have mentioned. He sought employment of any kind in which he might be able to earn a pittance, however small, to satisfy his moderate wants, but could find none, and gave way to despondency—almost to despair.

Those who have never known misfortune can form but a faint

conception of the feelings with which Malcolm had seen all his fairest visions pass away; but they are still less able to appreciate the forlornness of his situation, as he found himself at last in his miserable garret, destitute of every necessary of life. No one can tell the thoughts that crowded over his mind on that wretched night; but it is natural to suppose that all the ideas which had formerly yielded him pleasure—even the thought of her whose image had hitherto been associated with nothing but happiness—would now be turned to gloom and bitterness. All but the indispensable articles of his small wardrobe had already gone to satisfy his necessities, and he now saw distinctly before him the miserable alternative of dying from want, or resorting for relief to the supplication of charity. The most fearful step of any in the declivity of fortune is that from want to beggary; and the most revolting of all, the resources to which the children of misfortune are driven—that by which they renounce their independence, and throw themselves on the bounty of their fellow-creatures. There have been some who have felt the measure so repugnant to their feelings, that they have died rather than resort to it; but there is a pertinacity with which even the most wretched cling to existence, which generally leads them, however reluctantly, to embrace it. Malcolm felt, and acted under this influence.

Amid the abandonment in which he found himself, he saw the finger of God in his destiny, and felt it to be his duty to drink to the bottom of the cup of misery which had been filled to him; yet, as he went along, in the darkness of evening, to make his first application for relief, he envied the common mendicant, who was free from the painful delicacy of feeling which he could not pluck from his bosom.

It was honourable to the friends who had failed in yielding him more effectual assistance, that they did not now refuse to render him pecuniary aid, as well as occasional supplies of other necessary articles, and that in the manner least calculated to offend his feelings; but these resources could not last for ever; the most be-

nevolent become weary with continual appeals to their humanity; and Malcolm could not be an importunate beggar. His situation threatened to become, if possible, more unhappy than ever, when an expedient presented itself, by means of which he might yet contrive to prolong existence, and a ray of hope again descended to visit him.

The obscure quarter of the town in which his humble lodgings were situated was inhabited exclusively by people in the lowest ranks of life, who were prevented by their circumstances, or by their distance from the schools, from bestowing on their children any kind of education; and it occurred to him that he might pick up a scanty subsistence by giving instructions in the elementary branches of learning, at reduced fees. His project was favoured by the prepossession which the gentleness of his disposition had created among the neighbourhood, and he soon found himself at the head of a little seminary. By this means he was enabled again to support life, without that consciousness of dependence so uncongenial to his feelings. But although his few, small, and ill-paid fees, afforded him some of the necessities, they precluded him entirely from any of the comforts of life; and his health, which had some time before begun to decline, now sunk rapidly under the confinement and laborious nature of his employment. His eyes became hollow and haggard, his countenance put on the squalid hue of disease, and his whole appearance exhibited the indications of a broken heart. To fill up the measure of his wretchedness, a fever, generated probably by unwholesome air and scanty diet, crept over his emaciated frame, and threw him on a sick-bed. In this situation of utter loneliness and desertion—destitute of every comfort that could allay the burning heat of fever—without a friend, a sister, or a fond mother, to minister to his helplessness, to soften his pillow, or bind up his throbbing temples—deserted by all but the God who, amid the mysteriousness of his dispensations, he felt would never desert him, Malcolm languished, until first reason, and then life forsook him. The hands of strangers

shut his dying eyes, and the arm of charity laid him in the cold grave, to which the sorrows of the world could not follow him.

It may appear singular that he had never written any thing of his situation to the person who, next to himself, was most deeply interested in it. It had been agreed betwixt them, that he should not write until his establishment in a permanent situation should enable him to speak with certainty of his prospects. He could not bring himself to tell her that his hopes had been so cruelly blasted; and she knew not of his fate until his misfortunes were at an end.

I had been absent for some time, and was unacquainted with the nature of the difficulties with which he had more lately struggled. I had long known the goodness of his heart, and respected the many virtues which adorned him. As soon as my official engagements permitted me, I sought his humble dwelling, at least to sympathise with, if I could not essentially relieve him; but I found that he needed not now the sympathy of friendship, nor the cold charity of the stranger. I visited the obscure and untrophied spot where the parochial and unfriended poor are interred; but among the undistinguished graves which crowd the spot, I could not, even with the assistance of the sexton, discover his resting-place. I found that every trace of him had disappeared from the page of Nature; and he who, under more genial circumstances, would at least have left a

name in the world, was now, as it were, blotted from the record of existence.

I have told a simple tale, and there be many who may see in it few of the elements which give interest to the pages of fictitious narrative; but I have had recourse to the detail of no artificial sorrows to awaken their sympathy,—I have invented no tale of imaginary woes, and borrowed no unreal and extravagant incidents to minister to the sickly appetite. The story which I have told is substantially true, and, excepting the suppression of names, presents, literally, the unvarnished history of a real life.

It is not related to discourage those who, with reasonable hopes of success, are desirous to soar above the less intellectual pursuits of life; still less is it intended to repress the generous aspirations of youthful genius. But it may serve as a profitable warning to those who, without any rational expectations of advantage, are bartering away the secure benefits which are within their grasp, for distant objects of uncertain attainment. The subject of the preceding sketch possessed qualities which would have raised him to respectability and happiness in the humble, but useful sphere of his forefathers; but, in the more exalted career which he courted, could procure him nothing but an obscure and untimely grave.

"He pass'd—nor of his name and race
Hath left a token or a trace."

S.

ANNALS OF SCOTTISH LITERATURE.

No. III.

As several of the pieces which remain to be noticed, in the Miscellany of Chepman and Myllar, were written by Dunbar, one of the brightest ornaments of Scottish poetry, it may not be improper to introduce a brief sketch of his life and character.

William Dunbar was probably born about 1465. In the prologue to the Papingo, a poem which is supposed to have been written about 1530, he is spoken of as dead; and, as he is understood to have died in old age, his birth may be set down at 1465—a date with which many

passages in his poems seem to correspond.

Lord Hailes and Mr Pinkerton assign the honour of being his birth-place to Salton in East Lothian. The passage upon which this opinion is founded occurs in the Flyting of Kennedy and Dunbar, where the former is represented as saying,

"Thy geit and substance is a widdy
teuch,
On Saltone Mount, about thy craig to rax;
And yet Mount Saltone gallows is our fair
For to be fleyt with sic a frontless
face," &c.

But in the Miscellany of Chepman and Myllar, where the flying occurs, it is called *Falconn Mount*; and Dr Irving conjectures that it may have been *Falkland Mount*; and that Dunbar may have been a native of Fife. At the same time, it must be admitted, that, in this same piece, Dunbar seems to represent himself as a native of Lothian:

"I haif on me a pair of Lothian hipps,
Sall fairer Inglis mak and mair perfyte,
Than thou can bleber with thy Carrick
lipps."

It seems to be in reference to this passage that Lord Hailes remarks that Dunbar, being a native of Lothian, and consequently an Anglo-Saxon by birth, was too apt to despise those who were born without the English pale. As to the assertion of Kennedy,* that he was of the family of the Earls of March, it may have been made from the correspondence of the name, and in order to involve his antagonist in the disgrace of being descended from a rebellious stock. At the same time, it should be mentioned, in support of the opinion that he was born in Fife, that lands in that district continued to be held by the family of the Earl of March long after their forfeiture in 1434.

It is plain, from several of his poems, that Dunbar was educated for the church; and there is some ground for supposing that he studied at Oxford. The colophon of one of his pieces is, "*Quod Dunbar at Oxenfurde.*" This, however, is by no means conclusive; for, as Dr Irving remarks, "he might visit Oxford in some other capacity than that of a student." It may even be questioned whether the University of Oxford be the place mentioned in the colophon quoted above. There can be no doubt that Oxford was formerly written *Oxenfurde*. This orthography is to be met with in the *Polychronicon*, and in the old editions of Chaucer. At the same time, there is another place which is still written *Oxenford*; and as Dunbar seems to have been a travelling novice of the order of St. Francis, he may, in the course of his peregrinations, have

been there, as well as at Oxford. He tells us himself, that, in this capacity, he had not only travelled through England, but had also visited the continent.

"Gif evir my fortoun wes to be a frier,
The dait thairof is past full mony a yair;
For into every lusty toun and place,
Of all Yngland, from Berwie to Calice,
I haif into thy habeit made gud cheir*."

"In freiris weid, full fairly haif I
fleichit,
In it haif I In pulpet gone and preichit;
In Derntoun kirk, and eik in Canterbury,
In it I past at Dover our the ferry;
Throw Piccardy, and thair the peple
teichit."

The pious frauds which, in this profession, he was obliged to practise, were but ill suited to the honesty of Dunbar's mind; and he abandoned it. Pinkerton supposes that he returned to Scotland about 1490. It is probable, at least, that he was in his native land in 1503, when James the IV. was married to Margaret Tudor. On this auspicious event, he composed "*The Thistle and the Rose*," a poem of great originality and beauty.

"In nervous strains Dunbar's bold music
flows,
And time yet spares the Thistle and the
Rose."

The other great poem of Dunbar is that which occurs in this Miscellany, and which is entitled, "*The Golden Targe.*" The object of the poem is to shew the ascendancy of love over reason; the golden targe, or shield of reason, being insufficient to protect against the arrows of Venus and her court. The poem is allegorical. The author having fallen asleep by a murmuring stream, and amidst the music and odours of May, fancies that he sees a golden vessel sailing through the crystal sky. Having reached the grassy earth, there come out from this golden ship a hundred nymphs, whose beauty neither the fancy of Homer nor the eloquence of Tully could conceive or depict. In looking from his leafy retreat on the salutations and ceremonies of this court of beauty, the poet is detected by the Goddess Ve-

* He is addressing St. Francis in a vision.

nus, who sends her archers to assail him. He holds up the shield of reason to defend himself; but is at length defeated, and taken captive to Lady Beauty. After rejoicing for a while in his golden chains, he begins to find them heavy and galling; the leafy beauty of the scene is scattered by a whirlwind, and the celestial nymphs re-ascend in their golden barge. The poet awakes; and the poem concludes with an elegant eulogium on Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, the beauties of whose compositions he could so well appreciate. The Golden Targe is full of poetical fancy and splendid description. The richness of the imagery and language seems very forcibly to have struck one who was himself barren of neither; and Sir David Lindsay says, in speaking of Dunbar,

—“who language had at large,
As may be seen intil his Golden Terge.”

Another kindred spirit thus alludes to the poem—

“Where now Dunbar? The bard has
run his race;
But glitters still the Golden Terge on
high;
Nor shall the thunder-storm, that
sweeps the sky,
’Mid its wide waste the glorious orb de-
face.”

The other pieces by Dunbar, which occur in this Miscellany, are very different in kind from the one which has now been noticed, and shew that his genius was as various as it was powerful.

The Flyting between Dunbar and Kennedy comes next in order. From the affectionate manner in which Dunbar commemorates Kennedy, in his “Lament for the Deth of the Makkaris,” Lord Hailes is disposed to believe that no real quarrel existed between the two poets. This opinion is countenanced by the history of the altercation which took place between Luigo Pulci and Matteo Franco. (See Roscoe’s *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, Vol. I. p. 252.) But even on the supposition that the quarrel between Dunbar and Kennedy was fictitious, it was but a poor employment for two men of talent and learning to waste their time in putting together such disgusting Bil-

lingsgate. The Flyting, as it occurs in the Miscellany of Chepman and Myllar, is imperfect; but it may be found in Ramsay’s *Evergreen*.

His “Lament for the Deth of the Makkaris,” or Poets, is much more honourable to the memory of Dunbar. It was written in sickness and old age; and although it may want the spirit of some of his gayer and earlier compositions, it is valuable, as shewing the moral bent of his muse, and as containing his opinion of the character and talents of his predecessors and contemporaries. The Lament is also to be found in the *Evergreen*. In the Miscellany of Chepman and Myllar, it is followed by a short piece of which the admirers of Dunbar will hope that he was not the author. It shews the gross and daring profanity with which religious subjects were treated before the Reformation. “Kynd Kittok” was a dame who never ate, “bot drank our mesure.” At her death, which was of thirst, she eluded the vigilance of Saint Peter, and stole privily into heaven. “God lukit, and saw hir lattin in, and leuch his hert sair.” For seven years, this dame is represented as living a good life, and as discharging the duties of “our lady’s hen-wife.” In an evil hour she ventured beyond the gates, “to get hir ane fresche drink, as the yill of hevin wes sour.” On her returning for admittance, Saint Peter, with whom she had all along been at variance, “hat hir with a club, till a great clour raise in hir heid.” Being thus repulsed, Dame Kittok returned to the occupations of the ale-house; and the poet concludes with requesting,

“Gif ye be thristy or dry,
Drink with my gud dame, as ye ga by,
Anys for my saik.”

The religion of the country must have been at a very low ebb, when a piece like this could find its way into a popular Miscellany.

The piece which follows next is acknowledged to be by Dunbar, viz. The Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy. It presents us with the character of a drunken, graceless scholar, and is written somewhat in the style which has been called Macaronic; as

the alternate lines are composed of scraps from the breviary, mixed up with dog-Latin. The liberties which are taken with the ceremonies of the Romish church are not so bold, however, as in his *Derge*. Indeed it is difficult to conceive how a piece so profane as the latter could have proceeded from a son of the church: and it is not improbable that the want of preferment, of which Dunbar, in several of his pieces, complains so bitterly, may be ascribed to the freedom of his opinions, and the boldness with which he declared them. It would be uncharitable, in the absence of all positive proof, to ascribe his want of promotion to immoral or licentious conduct; although it must be admitted that several of his pieces are not very decent in sentiment and language. The tale of the "Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo," which occurs in this Miscellany, is graphic and humorous; but many passages are gross and immodest. The same thing may be said of the Priars of Berwick; but some allowance should be made for the manners of the age; and it must be admitted that, in general, the muse of Dunbar is chaste and correct. Indeed the moral tendency of many of his pieces is obvious and powerful. In this respect, he will bear comparison with any of his contemporaries or pred-

cessors. His religious poems have been called inferior to his other pieces; but if they do not display the same brilliant fancy, and powerful description, it is owing to the nature of the subjects. The reflections of the poet are judicious and solemn; and the verse, in many pieces, is remarkably harmonious and smooth. A tone of querulous disappointment sometimes mars their impressiveness and beauty; but this should be subject of regret rather than of censure; and it is painful to think that the powerful talents and splendid accomplishments of Dunbar should not have been suitably acknowledged and rewarded. He seems to have entered the church with high hopes of preferment, but they were completely disappointed.

"I wes in youth on nureis kné,
Dandely, Bischop, dandely;
And quhen that ege now dois me greif,
Ane semple vicar I can nocht be;
Excess of thoct dois me mischief."

While ignorant priests were burdened with more cures than they could serve, and licentious nobles were gorged with benefices in commendam, the highly-gifted Dunbar lived in neglect and poverty. It "dois one mischief" to think of this. It makes our "heart wax hot within us."

SKETCHES FROM NATURE.

(Continuation.)

DID I ever imagine I should have written to inform you that I had nearly forgotten you? Most certainly, I never conceived the possibility of such a strange wandering of mind. But so it has been, almost *is*, even while I write. Let me endeavour to explain this unexpected occurrence. If you have forgot my last letter, I cannot help it; I can easily excuse you, as I am sure I have nearly forgotten it myself. I only know that I had been very lonely, very melancholy, and in no very pleased humour, and that I was doing my best to tell why. The very same feeling continued the master-one in my heart for a considerable time after I wrote you last; nay, it continued increasing, and rendering me more and

more miserable. But—but—upon my word I cannot tell how to explain to you the change which has taken place in my whole heart and mind. You will—you must not—yet I am sure, quite sure, you will laugh at me. If I had not promised to write you a history of all my adventures, intentions, and pursuits, and if I did not still feel the want of some person to talk with, and communicate my mind to, I would really destroy this letter, and keep my own counsel. I am determined, however,—so now for it.

One beautiful mild evening, just as the sun was leaning over the western hills, shedding his brightening smiles upon this fair green world, like the retiring glances of paternal

love, I had, as usual, walked out all alone to enjoy the calm gladness of the gentle hour. In the midst of my reverie, as I was sauntering heedlessly along, I was accosted by a sweet, silvery voice, and asked the way to —. I started, looked up, and beheld a vision, as it seemed to me, and a vision more lovely than aught but a poet's dream. A young, beautiful female was beside me—her eyes were fixed enquiringly on me, and her voice was directed to me. Had I the pen of a poet, I would attempt to describe her; but even then I am sure I could neither please myself nor give you a satisfactory description. I might say that she was rather tall, most elegantly formed, and light and buoyant in her air; I might proceed to give you a catalogue of her features, one by one, and tell you what each was like, in foolish, misty metaphors; and, after all, your own fancy would be obliged to make out the representation. Fancy, therefore, without any needless and unavailing description, and fancy as beautiful a creature as you can, and believe me you will have done her no more than justice.

When she spoke to me, I suppose I looked foolish enough, and scarcely knew what to answer. I rallied my spirits as soon as possible, and proceeded to give her the information she required, accompanying my words with a proffer to shew her the house, as I was myself going that way. She would not permit me to take that trouble, and thanking me, left me to pursue the train of thought which she had interrupted. The same train of thought had vanished—in vain did I gaze upon the blushing skies, the coming greyness of twilight growing over the eastern hills, the deepening and lengthening shadows of the woods—I was not—I could not again grow melancholy. Every thing seemed to be pervaded with a viewless power of soothing happiness, and I felt and yielded to its influence. Hours, not a few, passed unheeded on, and I felt reluctant to return to the society of common earthly beings; though really I cannot tell how I spent those dreamy hours of new and strange delight. I did return, and resigned myself to sleep; but my sleep was broken by

dreams of dark, undefined, and fearful import. I did not recollect any of them, though I felt very anxious to do so; but they left upon my mind a heavy, boding gloom; and I could not, for a considerable time, throw aside a certain superstitious terror which hung sadly over me. It seemed as if some presentiment of coming unhappiness was upon me, and yet I could see no reason why. Day, with its bustle, its splendour, and its variety of sensations, scattered their fancies, and left me in some measure the same, yet in much how different! I cannot in the least account for, or describe, the tide of thoughts and imaginings which crowded upon my soul; they had a character of their own, and were so powerfully engrossing, that I felt no leisure for pensive gloom, and my former habitual melancholy. The chance rencounter of the preceding evening was ever before me, and I saw the young lady a thousand times, when I should have seen something very different; the sound of her voice was in my ears, and mingled with every thing which I heard, giving sweetness and harmony to sounds and voices otherwise any thing but agreeable.

Not many days elapsed till I saw her, and in a short time had the felicity to hear her voice, and behold her soft smile, as she bent on me a look of recognition. Without appearing interested in it, I made inquiries concerning her, and learnt that she was a young lady of Scottish birth, but English education, come to—in order to pass a few months with the —s, who are distantly related to her. This information was very agreeable to me, as it held forth a prospect of seeing her occasionally, and thus contemplating, though at a distance, one of the fairest works of creation. I have, since then, several times seen her, and once spoken to her,—only once, and then only three or four words; but the seeing and speaking to her has had some influence upon me, whether beneficial or otherwise I do not know.

Such is a simple outline of what has occupied my mind for some time past, and I wish to have your free and friendly thoughts upon the subject. Before you set about writing

to me, however, I wish to assure you that I have not certainly felt the least of what I have heard designated *love*. No, no; I hope I have more sense and respectful humility than to fall in love with a young lady whose rank might justly entitle her to regard my love as an insult. Instead of that, I only look upon her as something angelic,—a being sent by Providence to enlighten my path, though she can only shine upon it from an unapproachable distance. The sight of her has supplied me with something which I could not imagine before,—it has given a tenderness, and at the same time a delicate purity to my thoughts,—it has given me a better conception of human nature, at least I think so. Before I saw her, I never had seen any one for whom I could have esteemed it an honour and a pleasure to suffer, and even to endanger life. I have felt friendship, not often, nor varied, indeed, since I can scarcely say that I have, or ever had a friend except yourself; but even for *you*, my friendship was such, that though I would at any time most freely have sacrificed my own interest for yours, yet had you wronged me, if you *could* have wronged me,—had you heaped disgrace or unmerited insult upon me, I could have resented it,—I could have defended myself,—perhaps I could have resorted to violent and personal measures; but the feelings which I experienced towards her are very different. To be of advantage to her in any manner would give me the greatest pleasure, but whatever conduct she should use to me I could never resent it in any manner. I could even, I think, patiently bear insults and injustice, were she to behave so to me; but to repel them fiercely—to retaliate—it would be quite impossible. If I should happen to meet with a young man of a mind similar to my own, and of an engaging disposition and manner, I would doubtless desire to obtain intimacy with him,—I would open to him my mind, and expect a return of confidence from him,—I would engage him, if possible, in pursuits, and amusements, and habits, congenial to my own; I would read, talk, or walk in his company, mention my chance thoughts, and springing de-

lights, and anticipated pleasures, to him; in short, I would enjoy his company and conversation as much as I could; but I feel no such forward and confident wish with regard to the young lady in question. I am more pleased to admire her at a distance than I could be, or would dare to be, in her more immediate company.

There is a certain charm in the contemplation of a being of a nature something similar to my own; but how much superior is the beautiful and graceful expression of purity and innocence, which encircles her like a halo of light! I would not dare to approach nearer, to penetrate that radiant veil, to give my admiration any thing of a less elevated and imaginative character. I would not for worlds lessen her to my own standard. I would not dare to think of her as a being composed of as gross materials as I am. It would, in me, be sacrilege to think of her as one whom I might love. Love *her*! I would as soon think of loving the beautiful Moon, as she glides along her peerless path in the bright and starry heavens. I would think it a piece of very great presumption ever to indulge such an idea. She is, in every respect, far, far beyond me. And indeed I am satisfied, quite satisfied that it should be so. Though she is so very beautiful, so very good, so very every thing enchanting, while I only contemplate her at a due distance, there is a secret whisperer tells me occasionally, that some of her attractions might appear not altogether so heavenly upon a nearer examination, and a more intimate acquaintance. I would be very far from wishing to spoil the beauty of my vision, by instituting an analysis of its nature, and thus even prudence is on the side of fancy.

Now that I have shewn you that I do not love this young lady, and will not cannot love her; let me ask your opinion concerning my conduct in cherishing the admiration which I feel for her. It is true, that when I think of her, see her, or hear her voice, there is a sudden and strange glow rushes upon my heart, and in some instances mounts to my cheek and brow. It is true, that she is often present, involuntarily, to my mind, and comes into all my pictures and

reveries, though I know not why. In every landscape which fancy represents, she is there to brighten and to gladden it; and not a thought of Heaven can I form without imagining her amidst the seraphic choir, scarcely less pure, less lovely, than they. But what harm have I to fear from feelings and thoughts like these? Their only tendency, so far as I can see, is to make make my heart more pure, more susceptible of tender and amiable impressions, and more alive to the beauties of Nature. And in so far as such is their tendency, they scarcely are conducive to my happiness. It has also greatly done away with my growing melancholy; for how can I be discontented with a world which contains beings so beautiful, so pure? My kindness for mankind in general is also very considerably increased, and upon very just grounds; can I help loving and wishing to advantage, as far as my limited power will go, a race honoured by sharing the nature of such beauty and goodness?

Can you, with truth, assure me that I am right in cherishing such thoughts? Or does your experience in the world, and your knowledge of the human heart, enable you to see any thing wrong or dangerous in them? It would give me great pleasure to receive your sanction to my present feelings and their bearing; but should they, after mature examination, meet your disapprobation, whatever I might feel, and however reluctant I might be, I would at once lay them aside.

Do you yet pardon me for having forgotten you for a while? or is my fault unpardonable? I could frame many correlative excuses, but when you have examined the one I have sent you, I am almost convinced that you will sustain it individually. Surely I might be allowed to give reception to a whole legion of thoughts and feelings, so new, so strange, so unexpected, and so engrossing, without being very culpable. If you think quite otherwise, tell me so freely; for there is so much of incomprehensible dreaminess about my present mood, that I do not know what to think of it.

If I find an opportunity, I shall send you this letter immediately; if

not, I shall keep it a while longer, and send you a packet of considerable size, in order to make some amends for the fault of neglect, of which I confess that I have been guilty.

I have been re-perusing my former letter, or rather part of a letter, and seriously deliberating whether to destroy it. I think, however, that I may as well let it fulfil its destination; you will in it receive a true representation of the state of my mind at the time when it was written, and what has been the consequence I now proceed to relate.

Perhaps you are surprised at the calmness with which I at present write; if so, your surprise will cease when you learn that it is only the calmness of despair. My misery has subdued me, or at least left me now without the power to complain. The heart which lately exulted in the loveliness of surrounding Nature, and felt as if all things ministered to its enjoyment of happiness, that heart has no longer any pulse responsive to pleasure,—it has now no relish for sweet sounds or beautiful prospects; hope, the soul's last, firmest friend, has forsaken me, and I am a thing of utter wretchedness. I do not ask you to pity my misery,—your pity could not avail me; and I yet have so much pride of heart as to despise the thought of begging and whining, in a mean, whimpering manner, for commiseration. To the fate which has crushed me I must submit, and shall do so as well as I can; but I ask no one's condolence, no, not even yours; and there is none from whom I would so easily receive, or so confidently expect comfort, if comfort could reach me. You are perhaps wondering what is the meaning of all this; it will cost me no little pain to explain myself; but in return for your kindness to me, and on account of my promise, I feel it my duty to give you a true account of what I have suffered, do suffer, and must expect to suffer. My only request is, that you would maintain the most rigorous silence on this subject. My confession in this letter is for your own private eye; and until my death release you from all obligations of that nature to me, I adjure you to permit the eye of none

to glance upon what I am about to tell you. If I, at any future time, change my mind, I can let you know; and, at any rate, when I am dead, you may use your pleasure with my letters.

That lovely woman has been the cause of all my grief, yet she is not to blame in any respect. She, unknown to herself, awakened a new life in my heart, called forth a tide of new feelings, and gave existence to a capability of joy or misery of which I myself was previously unconscious. Every time that I saw her, every time that I thought of her, gave power and intensity to the stream which for a time flowed in secret within my bosom, calm as a summer rivulet, but soon to burst forth wild and wasteful as the winter torrent. I felt its growing strength, but I dreaded it not. Fool that I was, like a moth, I fluttered heedlessly around the flame, till it scorched me; and now, if I escape, it will be but in a mutilated and miserable condition. Alas! I find I am writing any thing but a plain statement of my sorrows and their cause. Any thing—oh! any thing rather than again awaken the torture, now in some measure stilled by despair and gloomy determination. Yet it must be; since I have begun, I *will* proceed.

Some time passed, while I continued absorbed in the delicious dreamy state which I have mentioned above, and I thought that I now had found the true secret of happiness. Meantime, the singing of the birds ceased, the leaves grew pale and died, the streams were often choked with their eddying and thickening mass; the fields began to look bare and cold, and winter was evidently approaching with rapid strides. But winter, with all its melancholy precursors, did not awaken in me the gloom and sadness which it used to do. I saw in it but a gentle decay, predictive of a speedy and glad revival. I could contemplate all the tokens of lifelessness which were gathering and increasing around me without pain, for my heart had found a spring of hope and joy, youthful and buoyant, within itself. I wished for nothing to make me happy, come what might, but the pleasure of occasionally seeing —, and of think-

ing of her as often as I chose. My feelings became more refined, more elevated, more romantic, more impersonal; I felt more and more inclined to be beneficial to my fellow-creatures, and I thought it was commendable to cherish such sentiments; and I am still of opinion, that, could I have stopped there, I would have been right, and my happiness might have increased, or at least remained uninterrupted.

I was in the habit of making my evening walk extend to the house where — at that time resided, in the expectation of seeing her. When the evening was fine, I seldom failed, in my hope; and if I saw her not, I at least saw where I knew she was, and so retired, if not quite satisfied, yet nearly so. I always took sufficient care to conceal myself; for though I did not feel in the least afraid of what people might say on my own account, I did not choose to give any opportunity to censorious tongues to busy themselves concerning my conduct, especially since they could not do so without, in some respects, involving that name, of all others to me the most sacred. There is a slight belt of underwood which skirts the road leading from the river edge to the house. I used to make it a cover to my approaches, and under its protection advance pretty near the house, where I often remained a short time, till I either was gratified with a sight of the goddess whose attractions drew me there, or till I was convinced that I would not see her at that time. One evening—I shall never forget that evening—I had lain under the covert of a short, bushy American pine, and was just on the point of making my retreat, when I saw her coming along in another direction, as if returning from a walk, accompanied by a young man whom I had never seen before. He was tall, remarkably handsome, and rather elegantly dressed. She leant on his arm with the easy familiarity of one who is well acquainted with the person so honoured, and can place the most ample confidence in him. She looked on him occasionally with a half-stolen glance, in which there was much love, much life, and blessedness, and joy for him; but death, and torture, and misery,

for me; and he—he seemed all buoyant with delight; every step, every motion, the tone of his voice, for I could hear it, every glance of his eye, fond and frequent, displayed the happiness, the triumph of his soul. I gazed upon them from my secret stand as they passed. They were indeed a beautiful pair, and I involuntarily implored a blessing on them, while my heart swelled, and my bosom heaved, and something like tears rushed unbidden to my eyes. I saw another enjoying the pleasure which my soul had never presumed to hope for, but which I now found could alone satisfy its longings. The consciousness that I loved, and that my love was utterly hopeless, came upon me at once, and I felt the misery of my condition fully, and with overwhelming power. I stood in helpless wretchedness, as if petrified,—my heart sickened within my breast,—the blood seemed to distil drop by drop through my veins, scarcely with sufficient motion to maintain animation,—my eyes grew dim, and I shuddered through every limb, as if the grasp of death had been upon me. In this agonized condition I remained, till the fond, the lovely, the pure, and constant couple, went past my hiding-place, talking tenderly and affectionately in the guileless simplicity and innocence of their hearts; little thinking, that every kind and gentle word, every tender look, was a dagger to me, was worse than death to the heart of one who, even then, would have sacrificed his life to advantage the fair female form which glided so softly, so gracefully along. They passed—they entered the house, and left me—utterly wretched—withered in heart as an old thorn-tree riven by the thunder, and hanging its seared and bare branches over its scarcely-vegetating shattered stem.

Slowly, painfully, and after a very considerable interval, did I arise, and bending back many a lingering look upon that house which contained the dear cause of my affliction, I turned my weary steps homeward. A heavy stupor came upon me. I know not what I did for some time. Morning arose and shone forth,—day passed over in sunshine or in gloom,—night came with its darkness and its

silence,—it was the same to me. There was a continued sense of weight and oppression at my heart, a feeling of giddy sickness in my head, and yet I scarcely knew that I was unwell, but went about my usual occupations as a mere matter of course. This unnatural calm, however, came to a close, and its termination was a storm indeed,—a tempest, a whirlwind of passionate misery.

While in this moping, insensible mood, I chanced to hear the name of — mentioned; the sound passed like electricity through my frame;—I listened with eager attention, and received a confirmation of my conjectures; those conjectures, I mean, which had at once rushed upon me, when in the young man formerly mentioned I assured myself that I saw a favoured lover. It was confidently reported, that, after having received the sanction of their mutual friends, he had come for the purpose of getting her to appoint a time for their union. This relation, though merely the country rumour, seemed to agree so well with what I had observed, that it commanded my unhesitating belief, and at once called all the dormant faculties of my mind from the deathlike lethargy in which they had lain, into active and agonized exertion. Why should I endeavour to describe to you the state of my mind upon hearing this intelligence? I will not, cannot venture upon the particulars of what I felt for some time, immediately after my heart was thus rudely roused from its still and drowsy listlessness. If you cannot conceive what it was, no words of mine could convey to you any idea of it. Suffice it to say, that I was now completely aware of the pernicious power of the dream which I had allowed so long to reign undisturbed over my heart. Pernicious in its tendency I call it, because it gave me some glimpses of pleasure which I might have enjoyed; and then immediately snatched and hid them for ever from me, leaving me more feelingly sensible of my loneliness than before. I now knew that love had indeed obtained the complete dominion over me;—love, too powerful for me to expel, yet doomed to utter despair. By day I brooded over my

grief whenever it happened to be in my power to be alone ; and by night, after appearing, to join in the amusements of those around me, when no longer able to endure this struggle against my woe, I went out in the dark grimmess of night, and wandered through the woods alone, or hung over the melancholy bubbling of my little favourite stream, mingling my groans with its low murmurings. Often, when the cold winds of the deepening winter had brought a driving tempest of snow, I turned my face to its blast, and smiled to see it heap its cold flakes on my bosom, bidding them lie there and melt ; they could not extinguish the fire that burnt within. Often did I lie for hours, stretched at length upon a snow-wreath, insensible to the bitterness of the cold which laid its rigid grasp upon my frame, till I could with difficulty arise and drag my chilled body away, leaving behind me a distinct impression upon the spot where I had lain. Many a time, at deep midnight, I wandered like a ghost around the house where my treasure lay ; but I never approached it during day, or at any time when there was any hazard of my being discovered : for though I was conscious that there was nothing of real guilt in my conduct, I was determined upon no account to give the least room to people of the most censorious disposition to say one word against the prudence of her whom I nevertheless would have given worlds to see.

Thus passed the long dreary months of winter, and I found that all my endeavours, either to subdue my passion, or to endure it calmly, were fruitless, and now, after sufferings which I shudder to contemplate, and to which I see no appearance of a termination, I am on the very point of putting into effect a resolution which appears to me the only one sanctioned by prudence. I can no longer endure this miserable condition. Any thing, any change whatever, would be for the better. I must leave this place. Ah ! could I but leave it as I came to it ! But that is impossible. My heart has suffered enough to give to it an enduring heaviness, a tendency to melancholy and gloom, which nothing will ever be able to eradicate. I must depart ;

and the sooner I do so it will be the better for me ; as I find that madness, or something perhaps worse, would soon be my fate, were I to remain here. I shall determine, and when I take my departure, I will send this letter to you.

The die is cast. I have left —, and send you this from —, where I have arrived this first night of my journey, I do not know whither. I shall finish this sheet by a short detail of the circumstances immediately previous to this last step. I was for some time convinced that I ought to hasten away ; but I hesitated in making a determination which way to bend my course. Home often arose, with all its sweet and fondly-remembered charms before me ; but I could not think to appear in the presence of my dear parents such as I now am. Little do they know what I have suffered for some months past, and they are little prepared to witness the change which has taken place in my appearance. I am but the shadow of what I was. Besides, I am now come to that time of life, that it is necessary for me to maintain myself, and to brave the shocks and perils of life, whatever they may be. In all the various bearings of the case I could not think that I ought to return home. Where, then, should I go ? Farthest from the scene of my grief is best ; I shall therefore bend my steps southward ; and London, or its vicinity, shall be my destination. Such were my thoughts ; and upon this decision I have acted.

Immediately upon forming this resolution, I spent a whole night in wandering over all my haunts, by the banks of my little rivulet ; and again and again I traced all the steps which I had so often taken around —, lingering with strongest interest upon every spot where I had ever seen her. From this lonely roaming I was only driven by the undesired appearance of the morning light, tinging the summit of Glaramara, and warning me to depart, like the other restless night-phantoms. I could not see her without the risk of exposing myself to be seen where I had no occasion to be, but I knew that she would be at church the following Sunday. Thither I went, and saw her enter, accompanied

by the same young man whom I formerly mentioned, to whom she was on the point of being married. My mind was, however, wrought up to a sufficient pitch of determination to conduct myself properly, though certainly with no slight effort. Once or twice, indeed, I was on the brink of discovering my emotion.

The clergyman pronounced his text in a slow, impressive manner; and as he spoke, I thought his voice, and occasionally his eye, was directed towards me. The words were, "All these things are against me;" and my heart, with a deep and struggling sigh, felt that all things were indeed against me, till it was with the utmost difficulty that I could restrain the burst of bitter grief which agitated my breast. One of the hymn tunes, also, smote on my ear with such a low, melancholy, plaintive cadence, that it seemed to me the very wailings of sorrow, deep, tender, and overpowering. Then, indeed, I did for a moment yield to the workings of my soul, and bending over the seat, hid the tears which gushed forth, and would not be restrained; nor was it in my power to recover my self-command, till the hymn was finished. It rings now in my ears. It is become part of my memory, and is laid up among those records which cannot be obliterated. Part of my way home was the same as her's; and I overtook her just a few yards before reaching the place where we took different directions. She still recollected me, though I had not been in the habit of speaking to her for a very considerable time; indeed I had shunned her presence. She accosted me kindly, inquired after my health, and expressed her concern to see me looking worse than I had formerly done. I made some attempt at answering her in a tone as subdued and regulated as possible, and even contrived to inform her that I was upon the point of leaving that part of the country. By this time we were come where our roads separated. She stopped, and wishing me better health and success in all my undertakings, took me gently by the hand, and bade me farewell. My heart throbbed violently, and rose within my breast, till I felt as if at the brink of suffocation. I could

scarcely breathe out an inarticulate answer, a murmured expression of thanks for her kind wishes; and the word *farewell!* was gasped rather than spoken. I turned and walked, or staggered slowly away a few paces, then, in the bitterness of my anguish, burst off into running with my utmost speed.

That night passed over in a kind of dim insensibility, and next morning, I may say this morning, saw me commence my journey. I took leave of my few acquaintances with a smile on my cheek, and in a steady, and apparently cheerful voice; though Heaven knows there was little gladness at my heart. From a height, a short way forward, I had a view of the greater part of the surrounding country. I stopped, and cast my eyes around for one last look. In the distance I could see Criffel towering over the bed of the Solway in unrivalled majesty, like some giant placed to guard the shore; and while I gazed upon it, I could easily in fancy behold my own native, forsaken home at no great distance; nor was your habitation forgotten. Nearer me, and quite within my view, were the scenes of my latter days,—those scenes where I first learned what love and despair meant;—those scenes imprinted upon my memory, perhaps even more vividly than those of my childhood,—those scenes which my spirit will assuredly haunt, if spirits are really permitted to revisit this earth. I gazed upon them till my brain grew giddy, and every object seemed to swim around me in one undistinguished mass,—one confusedly-floating vision of blended cloud, and hill, and tree, and stream. I turned again, and for a considerable time held blindly on my way, stunned and stupified with my weight of sorrow.

I have made this little town the termination of my first stage, and I am employing the interval between supper and bed-time in writing to you, that you may have a fair statement of my whole mis-adventure before you at once. I also send a letter to my parents at the same time; but as I have not told them the half—nay, almost none of my story, I beg you, when you see them, to tell them nothing of all this. They

will be grieved enough at my wild ramble, as they will deem it, without knowing the extent of my sufferings; and though my present conduct may seem wanting in due filial respect and affection, I assure you that my heart feels as deeply the sentiments of love and reverence for my parents as the heart of a son can. My conduct may be thought extravagant, but had it not been checked by my sense of duty and love to them, it would have been incalculably more so. I may have given pain, but I have endeavoured to give the least that I could.

I long, greatly long, to have a letter from you; but in my present circumstances that is impossible, nor can I tell when I may hope for that pleasure. I ask myself what is likely to be your opinion concerning my conduct,—I accuse myself for not having written to you sooner, so that I might have had your advice. But perhaps it is as well as it is. I believe advice from any one would have been lost upon me; and I would have had the additional grief of the consciousness that I was both acting wrong, and slighting good counsel. I have borne my grief, and acted with more prudence than you, perhaps, would have thought me capable of. In all my sorrows, and in all my wavering purposes, I never entrusted the least thought to a single individual; so that whatever opinion the people in the neighbourhood may have formed of me, they have it not in their power to distress the unconscious cause of my grief by their idle tattlings. To my romantic predilections I am indebted for the greater part of this affliction, which has cast an enduring gloom upon my life. Could I have felt like the common herd around me, I would have escaped much, or all of it: but had my heart not been animated with a more elevated and romantic principle of self-denial, and respectful, distant admiration for her who had inspired the affection, I must, very likely, have made myself, and what would have been much worse, I must have made her also ridiculous, and an object of country talk. She never knew,—she never shall know my love. She will soon forget me; but I will act in such a manner, that if

it were possible that in some future day she could learn all the particulars of my story, she might pity, but not despise me.

I have now nearly finished my gloomy narrative. I am launched upon the world, friendless, hopeless, comfortless; without one wish, one expectation to cheer my lonely progress through life. My days have been yet but few; but they have been tried with afflictions almost beyond my strength to bear; and now, upon my present undertaking, the only thing that enables me to go forth with fearless confidence, undismayed by the wild tales which have been told me of general society, is, that I have no reason to fear its perils, as I can fall no lower in grief than I already am. I have never been subject to personal fear, and now less than ever. Why should I shrink from violence threatened against my life—as if life were to me crowned with blessings and pleasures? No! he that should threaten me with death, would be holding forth to me the prospect of a speedy release from sickness of soul, and the dark gloom of hopelessness. I trust I shall never be so mad as to seek death; but at present I would not go a dozen yards out of my way to avoid it. Do not accuse me of impious despondency; at present I cannot help it, and as little can I listen to cool reasoning upon my conduct. Indeed it is not worth it, nor would it avail in the least. I have been, and am, the creature of my feelings, and sudden feelings defy arguments.

In order to fill up this sheet, I shall transcribe a fragment which I wrote a few days ago.

A Reverie.

My soul is dark, my heart is sick,
And in my bosom, faint and weak,
Flutters its throb of weariness;
A dimness gathers o'er mine eye,
As when thick clouds invade the sky,
And the sun sets in darkness;
It seems, so fast the darkness grows,
As if my term of life would close.

Now o'er each scene of varied hue,
An anxious retrospective view
My soul casts from its growing night;

And gloomy griefs, and pleasures vain,
Start from the wrecks of Time again,
And glimmering glide before my sight :
While all the passing figures seem
The changeful fictions of a dream.

And as along its visions sweep,
Oh ! many are the woes and deep,
That lower, like phantoms of despair ;
While each dark interval between,
A feeble gleam of joy is seen,
Faint wavering in the darkness there :
Bright are its rays, but cannot last ;
They come—they dazzle—they are past.

What vision through the closing night,
Array'd in robes of heavenly light,
Cheers and irradiates my mind ?
As shines Heaven's glorious bow on high,
Still brightest in the darkest sky,

While roll the clouds all black behind,
The splendour of its lovely form
Spreading a beauty o'er the storm.

But, Ah ! the bow of brightest hue,
That o'er its radiant circle threw
Across the darkly-curtain'd sky,
Would have appear'd but dim and dull
Beside that form so beautiful

That beams on my delighted eye.
Her smile is morn, all bright and calm,
Her robe is peace, her breath is balm.

She moves across the silent ground ;
Her footsteps light, emit no sound ;
Slowly before mine eyes she glides :
Her form so fair and slender, seems
The being of a poet's dreams,

Where nought of sin and earth resides.
As bend her eyes their light on me,
My soul shrinks from their purity.

Her auburn tresses floating fair,
Play gently waving on the air,
As light streams o'er the morning
skies :

The glancing sun-beam's ruddy blaze
Amidst their glowing ringlets plays,
And flings their lustre on mine eyes ;
Tinging her forehead's blushing glow,
Like dawn-tipt wreathes of virgin snow.

She smiles upon me, and the pains
That wrapp'd my sickening soul in chains
Melt like the morning mist away ;
The heavy clouds of woe depart,
And hovering round my wondering heart,
Pure joys and soothing pleasures play.

As on the beautiful Vision move,
My soul admiring, fearing, loves—

Here I stopped, for I had not the heart to continue the picture. What it should have alluded to was too fresh, and too strongly in my heart, to admit of being lightly or fancifully treated. I could not trifle with a wound still bleeding.

Now, my dear, my only friend, after having so fully unbosomed myself to you, I do feel something of ease and calm stealing over my heart. I am glad that I have had resolution enough to act the part I have done, and I have no fears as to its result. Young as I am, I fear not to come into contact with the world in any situation. I hope to be able to conduct myself as becomes a man and a Christian ; and with an approving conscience, and hope in the favour of the Almighty, I can have nought to dread. Something, nay much of recklessness may be in me at present ; but it will make me all the more able to meet the buffets of the unfriendly world. My heart is nearly subdued to a quiet resignation to my fate ; but though I may not share in the pleasures of mankind, I shall make it my amusement to observe them closely, and in particular at present, during my aimless wandering, I shall bend my attention upon every thing which may meet my notice, in order to aid me in forgetting the keenness of my grief. When I make any permanent halt, I will write you some account of my adventures. I find I must leave off writing to you at present, though I feel very unwilling to do so. This letter is the only thing like friendly communication that I have had for many a day, and when may I hope to have it renewed ? But this too I must endure.

Adieu, my only friend,

M.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH LITERATURE.

Le Dernier Chant du Pèlerinage de Childe Harold, par Alph. De Lamartine. Paris. Doudey—Dupré, Pere et Fils, Rue Richelieu, No. 67.

THERE are no two nations of Europe who appear to be so utterly incapable of understanding and appreciating their respective literatures as the French and English. In France, the opinions of Voltaire and La Harpe will, in all probability, continue for a long series of years to regulate the public taste; and though in England (as in the rest of Europe) the French language has been for ages considered an indispensable branch of liberal education, yet the influence of French literature has never borne any proportion to the universality of its diffusion. And if the productions of French genius have never enjoyed, amongst us, any great or general popularity, our literature has always obtained, from our rival neighbours, an equally indifferent reception: indeed, previous to the time of Voltaire, it was utterly unknown in France; and though he did introduce (in a superficial manner) to the acquaintance of his countrymen, some of our most celebrated writers, particularly Shakespeare, Rochester, Pope, Butler, and Waller, yet these authors, at the present day, are but little studied, and still less appreciated in France, though their names are too famous to have sunk into oblivion; and as to their successors, with one or two exceptions, to which we shall afterwards allude, they have shared nearly the same fate with those who have gone before them. Now, as in the days of Voltaire, Shakespeare is in France an uneducated barbarian, who introduced grave-diggers and buffoons within the pale of "gorgeous tragedy;" Milton stands, perhaps, as high in Epic poetry as Le Trissin or Alonzo d'Erulla; and the glorious allegories of Spenser are pronounced to be only a little less mystical and dull than those of their own early Romances of Chivalry. Perhaps of all our great poets (and it seems rather singular) the most popular in France is Young; it may be that he owes something of this to the merits of his

translator, who has carved and operated on him without much ceremony, abridging some of his longest (and finest) descriptions, and tricking him out in Parisian finery, to accommodate (as he says in the Preface) our melancholy poet "au gout Français."

On our part, we are at least equally intolerant and absurd;—the most bigotted votaries of Corneille and Racine on this side the "*Pas de Calais*" will hardly venture to compare either of them with Otway; and Voltaire is only admitted to be an Epic poet by the admirers of — La Pucelle. Molière we have praised and pillaged, which is handsomer treatment, however, than Shakespeare met with from Voltaire; and we have done *à peu près la même chose* by the Devil on Two Sticks of La Sage: as to his fifty-two "*Pièces de Théâtre*," which he either composed himself, or in conjunction with Dorneval and Fuzelier, they are chiefly known to the foragers of the stage, who rummage amongst them occasionally for an act or two, but "hold it not honesty to have it so set down." La Fontaine is one of the few French authors who have been well treated on all hands, for Gay imitated him, but not clandestinely, and all agreed that the imitator had fallen far short of his illustrious model. With regard to *Telemaque* and *Gil Blas*, (like Don Quixote) they belong rather to the literature of Europe than to that of any particular country.

In more modern times, though occasionally some half-fledged idler, who has mis-spent a year or two abroad, returns amongst us, jabbering of Jofiy, De Lamartine, Beranger, and Pigault Le Brun; and though we find, now and then, the prosing old Corypheus of some blue-stocking coterie unbosoming flatulent sentences touching Benjamin Constant or Talleyrand; or a maiden lady of five-and-twenty, "deeply, brightly, beautifully blue," rising in raptures from the "schorl verdâtre," and "molecules métalliques" of the Vi-

compte D'Arlineourt ; yet, after all, the great body of our reading and well-informed population know really less of the literature of our powerful rival than of that of any other nation which possesses any thing worthy of that name. To take one instance from among many ;—of the thousands who have owed so many delightful hours to the rogueries and expedients of the inimitable Figaro, how few have even heard of the name of Beaumarchais ! And here the violin has been too powerful for the lyre ; for perhaps there is hardly a milliner's apprentice, who pays her three shillings on a Saturday's evening, to display her new Leghorn bonnet and carnation ribbons, in the eyes of some musical haberdasher, who is not perfectly familiar with the name of Rossini. Indeed this national insensibility, or rather antipathy, to the literary productions of French genius, seems to have wandered into places—and high places—where we should hardly have expected to find it. For example, Lord Byron, though there can be no doubt, in spite of all his political and misanthropical raving, that he ever felt and strongly,

That he was born where men are proud
to be—not without cause ;—

yet if Medwin's account of his opinions, with regard to Shakespeare, be correct, his literary creed must have been sufficiently liberal : even Lord Byron was accustomed to declare, that he never could understand what was meant by the harmony of Racine ; nor was this in the mere idle tittle tattle of conversation, for he has thought fit to consign his judgment on French poetry to immortality in *Childe Harold* :—

And Boileau, whose rash envy could allow
No strain that shamed his country's
creaking lyre,—
That whetstone of the teeth,—monotony
on wire.

Stanza XXXVII. Canto IV.

And not contented with having thus recorded his opinions in the text, he has followed up the charge in a note to this very passage. "Perhaps," says he, "the couplet in which Boileau depreciates Tasso, may serve

as well as any other specimen to justify the opinion given of the harmony of French verse.

A Malerbe, à Racine, préférer Theophile,
Et le cinquante du Tasse, à tout l'or de
Virgile.

Sat. IX. vers. 176.

Two indifferent lines, to prove that all the poetry of a great nation is destitute of harmony ! What would we think in this country of the candour of a French author, who should assert that the poetry of England was a whetstone of the teeth, and quote from Crabbe—

"Something one day occur'd about a
bill,
Which was not drawn with true mercantile
skill,

in support of the allegation ? Did Lord Byron himself ever write a stanza more harmonious than the concluding verses of the "*Chant Second*" of the "*Lutrin*," written by this very Boileau, whose creaking lyre he so unmercifully reprobates ;

— "La Mollesse oppressée
Dans sa bouche à ce mot sent sa langue
glacée ;
Et, lasse de parler, succombant sous l'ef-
fort,
S'opire, étend les bras, ferme l'oeil, et
s'endort."

These lines are perhaps the very acmé of what the French denominate "*Harmonic Imitative*." Equally harmonious, though in a perfectly different style, are the celebrated lines of Voltaire, so often quoted, beginning,

"Hé quoi, vous êtes étonnée
Qu'au bout de quatre vingts hivers,
Ma muse faible et surannée
Puisse encor s'adresser des vers ?

Un oiseau peut se faire entendre
Après la saison des beaux jours ;
Mais sa voix n'a plus rien de tendre,
Il ne chante plus ses amours."

As to the grace and elegance of these lines there can be no difference of opinion ; and it appears to us that the ear must be strangely constituted which does not find them harmonious. Such, however, was not the opinion of the illustrious Author of *Childe Harold* ; and to

those who have listened, in delighted admiration, to the powerful declamation of Corneille,—to the splendid lyrics of Racine,—the choruses in *Athalie* and *Esther*;—to those who have revelled in the elegance and grace of the lighter pieces of Voltaire, or been thrilled by the lofty inspiration of his Tragic Muse;—to those who are capable of appreciating the classic austerity of Boileau, the fancy and delicacy of J. B. Rousseau, or the graphic description and occasional tenderness and pathos of La Fontaine, it will indeed appear a most astonishing fact, that such a mind as Lord Byron's could have been so utterly dead to the beauty, and sensibility, and power, and splendour, of French poetry. In this, however, his Lordship was by no means singular; and we have no hesitation in asserting, that his opinion and feelings upon this subject were in perfect accordance with those of the great majority of his countrymen: that such is the *fact*, we can have no doubt; it would far exceed our limits to enquire into the *cause*; “une musique composée pour un instrument,” says Madame De Staël, “n’est point exécutée avec succès sur un instrument d’un autre genre;” but we leave it to those who account for every thing, by recurring to natural and inherent differences between what they are pleased to term Latin and German nations, to explain it as they best may.

We consider it no contradiction to these remarks, that, in our own day, certain important changes have taken place, and that certain French authors have been, at different periods, eminently popular in England. The Abbé Delile's name, for example, was once a great one in England, but it was so at a time when no man of high poetical genius occupied the ground at home, unless Beattie and Dr Darwin are to be considered such. Bernardin de St. Pierre and Madame Cottin have been always popular; but they are essentially of what Madame de Staël would have called *l'école Germanique*, and have few or none of the characteristic peculiarities of the French School. Madame de Staël herself, and Chateaubriand, (who, whatever the Edinburgh Review may say to the contrary, is a

man of splendid genius and uncommon eloquence,) have, and ever must have, many votaries, and enthusiastic ones; and Madame de Genlis (whom a vile and bigotted faction in France have, since the posthumous publication of the “*Dix ans d'Exile*,” attempted to prop up as a rival to the fame of Madame de Staël) occasionally occupies a place on the dressing-table of blue-stocking mothers, that might be as profitably filled by Mrs Trimmer and Mrs Barbauld. It would be easy to add many other modern names to these exceptions, for they are nothing more, but we are only making a few cursory remarks, and not writing a Treatise on the subject;—

Besides, exceptions only prove the rule.

But, generally speaking, French Literature has never been popular in England; it has never made any powerful or permanent impression upon the public mind; it has never, like that of Italy and Germany, taken a firm and energetic grasp of the heart and intellect of the educated classes of British society. Petrarch, Tasso, Ariosto, and Alfieri, Goëthe, Schiller, Gesner, and Klopstock, are almost naturalized amongst us; and we talk of the Jerusalem Delivered, the Orlando Furioso, the Death of Abel, the Robbers, and the Sorrows of Werter, with almost as much fervour, enthusiasm, and prejudice, as if they were the productions of our own land. But general as a knowledge of the French language is, in this country—and it is so much the language of polite society in London, that a foreigner of rank who speaks it fluently may saye himself the trouble of learning English—though it be, in some degree, the language of our diplomacy, and is spoken correctly and almost universally by our nobility, the literature of France, from the Conquest to the present day, has never enjoyed with us even an ephemeral popularity; with the exception of two periods—the reign of Charles the II. and the years immediately preceding and following the commencement of the French Revolution; which may be sufficiently accounted for, by the peculiar circumstances of these respective eras.

Rut how different has it been with the rest of Europe ! In Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and even in Italy*, the French literature has contested, and still continues to contest the palm of precedence with the works of the native authors. In Russia, it is without a rival ; and though more lately in Germany, the immense phalanx of native talent, which has shed such lustre over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Goëthe, Schiller, Klopstock, Müller, Herder, the Schlegels, &c. &c., has arrested, in some degree, the progress of French writings ; we have only to make a very short retrospect to the reign of the great Frederick, to find them as firmly installed at Berlin as they are now at St. Petersburg ; while even, at the present moment, the French language is as generally spoken by all the higher, and even by the middling classes of society in Germany, as their own tongue.

We have already said, that *our* literature has, in general, received an equally indifferent reception in France. There have been, no doubt, many exceptions to this, particularly of late years ; but although Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron have enjoyed, among our Gallic neighbours, a popularity altogether unprecedented, we have no hesitation in asserting, that even these two authors, (and they are *but two*, for as to Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, Crabbe, or even Moore, though he be a *Parisian*, they are absolutely unknown in France, though their works are to be found on Galignani's bookshelves,) that even Scott and Byron are less known, less read, less appreciated, less understood, and less felt by the eight hundred thousand inhabitants of Paris, than by the circumscribed circles of the comparatively insignificant town of Weimar. The popularity which Lord

Byron enjoys in France is very great, unquestionably, but perfectly different from that which he enjoys in Germany and Italy. In Germany, Manfred is only inferior to the Faust von Goëthe ; in France, it is utterly unintelligible and mystic ; and in Italy, the Doge of Venice and Sardanapalus may take their station ; aye, "and unbonnetted," beside the noblest productions of Alfieri and Monti.

Of the mutual ignorance of their respective literatures, which so remarkably characterises the French and English, Voltaire (in his *Mélanges de Littérature et d'Histoire*,) relates a remarkable example : "No one imagined," says he, "in France, that *Prior*, who was sent by Queen Anne to give peace to Louis the Fourteenth, before Lord Bolingbroke arrived to sign the treaty ; no one imagined, I say, that this plenipotentiary was a *poet*. France has since paid England in the same coin ; for the Cardinal du Bois sent our Des Touches to London, and he passed no more for a poet among the English than Prior among the French." Matters are not much altered since : had Mr Canning, in 1813, been sent Ambassador to Paris, instead of to Lisbon, the French would hardly have detected the unrivalled satirist of the anti-jacobin.

We have thrown out these cursory observations on the remarkable differences of national taste that still continue to subsist between the French and English ; not with any intention of attempting to solve the riddle, but in the hope of inducing some one to investigate so interesting a subject. For when we consider that these great rival powers—so near in geographical position, and decidedly the most advanced in moral and intellectual cultivation of all the nations of the world—have, for a thousand years, been more in immediate

* A singular illustration of the truth of these remarks, so far at least as they regard Italy, may be found in Alfieri's life, written by himself. At the age of six-and-twenty he confesses himself to have been altogether unable either to speak or write Italian with even tolerable correctness, from his previous reading and conversation having been almost entirely French. Of his two first Tragedies (*Il Polinice*, and *Il Filippo*), he thus speaks : *Ma per mia somma disgrazia, quali che si fossero quelle due tragedie, elle si trovavano concepite e nate in prosa Francese, onde rimaneva loro lunga e difficile via da calcarsi, prima ch'elle si tramutassero in poesia Italiana.* See also the work itself, *passim*.—*Vita di Vittorio Alfieri, scritta da Esso*, p. 212.

contact with each other, and more intimately connected by the interchange of mutual offices (good or evil as they might be) than any other two European States; when we consider their descent from the same mixed races—their mutual invasions and conquests, and the amalgamation of character and customs that naturally resulted from these,—the similarity in their modes of life and education, and the constant intercourse which they have maintained with each other during so long a period,—it will certainly appear a problem not easy of solution, that their feelings and opinions on literature and taste should remain the most widely dissimilar of them all.

We have already allowed these remarks to extend to such a length, that we must confine ourselves to a very rapid sketch of the work, whose title we have placed at the head of this article.

“*Le Dernier Chant du Pèlerinage de Childe Harold*” is not, as the name might naturally lead one to imagine, a translation into French of the Fourth Canto, but the original work of a young Frenchman of genius, who, recommencing the story of the wanderings of Harold at the point where Lord Byron had brought them to a conclusion, and identifying, completely, the real with the fictitious hero, proceeds with the pilgrimage of the poet from Italy to Greece, “to the last scene of all, which

ended the sad eventful history” of our lamented countryman. The work of M. de Lamartine is evidently the production of a person who has made the poetry of Lord Byron a favourite and peculiar study; and in spite of many grave and glaring blemishes, some of which are sufficiently startling to an English reader, we have no hesitation in asserting, that it is by far the most poetical, and by far the most eloquent tribute which has yet been offered to his memory. Like *Childe Harold*, of which it is in some degree the continuation and conclusion, it contains no plot whatever, but is merely the history of Lord Byron’s departure from Italy, and of his arrival and death in Greece. We are first introduced to the hero at his country palace on the shore of the Mediterranean, the evening of his departure; the vessel that is to bear him away is already in the bay,—his suite already embarked—a page and two horses alone await him in the avenue. His last visit is to the apartment of his mistress, whom he leaves asleep, without bidding her farewell. We think there is a great deal of beauty in the following description, and something of the eastern voluptuousness of Moore in the painting of the decorations of the chamber. The entrance of Harold bears also a resemblance, perhaps intentional, to the scene—the last scene in the *Corsair*—when Conrad enters the dwelling of Medora.

VI.

Mais non, tout ne dort pas ; de fenêtre
en fenêtre,
Voyez ce seul flambeau briller et disparaître ;
Il avance, il recule, il revient tour-à-tour.
Éclaire-t-il les pas du crime ou de l’amour ?
Aux douteuses clartés qu’il jette sur le sable,
On croit le voir trembler dans une main coupable.
Il descend ; il s’arrête à l’angle du palais ;
Et l’œil, à la faveur de ses brillans reflets,
S’insinue, et parcourt un réduit solitaire
Dont les rideaux légers trahissent le mystère.
Sur le pavé couvert des plus riches tapis,
Du pied le plus léger les pas sont assoupis ;

VI.

But no—all sleeps not—mark from pane
to pane
A flambeau glimmers—all is dark again ;
It comes, recedes, by turns is seen and hid,
Lights it the lover’s, or the murderer’s lid ?
The wav’ring beam it casts along the sand
Would speak a guilty and a trembling hand ;
It comes, descends, and now its red rays fall
On yonder angle of the palace wall,
While the eye wanders, marking by the glare
Curtains of silk, and Eastern carpets, where
The foot awakes no echo ;—on the wall,
The Painter’s hand hath richly lavish’d all

Les murs en sont ornés d'opulentes ten-
tures ;
Sous les lambris dorés, d'élégantes pein-
tures,
De tout voile jaloux dépouillant la beauté,
Enchaînent le regard ivre de volupté,
Et sur trois pieds d'albâtre, une lampe
nocturne
Y répand un jour doux, du sein voilé
d'une urne ;
Là, sous l'alcove sombre où le pâle flam-
beau,
Semblable au feu mourant qui luit sur un
tombeau,
Mêlé d'ombre et de jour un teinte incer-
taine,
Un jeune beauté dort sur un lit d'ébène :
Son front est découvert ; le sommeil, en
ses jeux,
Semble avoir dispersé l'or de ses blonds
cheveux,
Qui, flottant sur son sein qui leur voile
caresse,
Jusqu'au pied de son lit roulent en longué
tresse :
Près d'elle, on voit encor, confusement
jetés,
Les ornemens d'hier qu'à peine elle a
quittés ;
Ses anneaux, ses colliers, ses parures
chéries,
Mêlés avec les fleurs que la veille a
flétries
Jonchent le seuil du lit, d'amber, de
perle et d'or,
Qu'un de ses bras pendans, semble y
chercher encor !

VII.

La porte s'ouvre ; un homme, à pas
comptés, s'avance.
Une lampe à la main il s'arrête en si-
lence ;
Est-ce Harold ?—c'est bien lui ! Que le
tems l'a changé !
Que son front, jeune encor, de jours
semble chargé !
L'éclat dont son génie éclairait son vi-
sage,
Luit toujours ; mais, hélas ! c'est l'éclair
dans l'orage ;
Et, plus que ce flambeau qui tremble dans
sa main,
On croit voir vaciller son âme dans son
sein :
Dans l'amère douceur d'un sourire fa-
rouche
L'amour et le mépris se mêlent sur sa
bouche.
L'oeil n'y peut du remords discerner la
douleur ;
Mais on dirait, à voir sa mortelle pâleur,
Qu'une apparition vengeresse, éternelle,
Le glace à chaque instant d'une terreur
nouvelle.

That his art knows of beautiful and fair,
Without a veil to check the gazer there.
How softly yon penumbra lamp of night,
From marble tripod, flings its snowy
light !
And the dim flambeau, with its glare of
gloom,
Shews like a torch expiring o'er a tomb.
While in that light of mingled night and
day,
A youthful fair, unconscious, dreams
away :
Bare is her brow, dishevelled streams her
hair,
As sleep in sport had warpt her ringlets
fair,
That kiss her snowy neck, and brightly
shed
Their golden tresses o'er her ebony bed ;
While near her couch, in gay confusion
thrown,
Lie the bright dresses that the eve had
known—
The rings, the necklace, and the rich bro-
cade,
And flow'rs whose bloom hath scarce be-
gun to fade ;
While one fair arm, uncover'd, hanging
o'er,
Still seems to seek the bracelets worn be-
fore.

VII.

Ha ! the door opens ! say what footsteps
rude
Disturbs so late that beauty's solitude ?
'Tis he—'tis Harold ! and how changed
by time,
That thus his cheek hath furrow'd ere
his prime !
Yet genius still lights up that haughty eye,
Alas ! as light'ning lights a wintry sky !
Wildly the tresses of that red torch play,
But Harold's thoughts are wilder far
than they :
There is a bitter calmness in his smile,
As if contempt and love were mix'd the
while ;
His cheek is deadly pale, but deem not
thence
That his heart owns remorse or peni-
tence.
And now he stands all motionless, beside
The couch of beauty, dreaming in the
pride
Of youth, and grace, and loveliness, and
all
That Heav'n hath giv'n to woman, since
the Fall.

Immobile, il contempte, au chevel de ce
lit
Cette femme qui dort, et qu'en songe
embellit.
Encore dans la fleur de son adolescence ;
Ses traits ont tout d'un ange,—excepté
l'innocence
Ses yeux sont ombragés du voile de ses
cils ;
Mais un pli qui se cache entre ses deux
sourcils,
Trace que le sommeil n'a pas même ef-
facée,
Montre que sur ce front quelque peine est
passé
Sa lèvre, où le sourire erre encore au
hasard,
Glace le sentiment en charmant le re-
gard ;
Plus encor que l'amour la volupté s'y
joue ;
La peine en fait fléchir l'arc mobile ; et
au joue
Ressemble au lys penché vers le midi du
jour
Qu'ont déjà respiré le Zéphire au l'amour.

But sleep her eyes' voluptuous charm
hath hid,
With silken lash and alabaster lid ;
And a slight trace upon that snowy brow,
Speaks of some sorrow scarce forgotten
now ;—
Yet still a smile is on her lip—the eye
May gaze in rapture, but the breast must
sigh,
For in that smile there is no love,
howe'er
Voluptuous passion rule and revel there ;
And a slight quiver of the lip doth tell
Of sorrow ev'n in sleep remember'd well ;
And that white cheek so softly pillow'd
there,
Droops like a lily in the sultry air—
Of the noon-sun, or in the western gale—
For love will blanch the fairest face as
pale.

These verses are sufficiently Byronian, but the whole poem abounds with close and successful imitations ; indeed many passages are literal translations from the English ; we say *successful imitations*, because M. de Lamartine's genius evidently requires no "*foreign aid of ornament* ;" and we have therefore no doubt, that in copying so closely the manner and expression of Lord Byron, he has done so with the intention of giving to his poem, as much as possible, the character of the *Last Canto of Childe Harold*. The following verses (which are the only other long quotation for which we can find room) are strongly marked with this character ; the opening lines are exactly a translation of—

Once more upon the waters ! yet once more !
And the waves bound beneath me as a steed
That knows his rider.

XV.

Que ce vent dans ma voile avec grâce
souple !
On dirait que le flot reconnaît mon navire,
Comme le fier coursier, par son maître
flatté,
Hennit en revoyant celui qu'il a porté !
Oui, vous m'avez déjà bercé sur vos
rivages,
O vagues ! de mon cœur orageuses
images !
Plaintives, sans repos, terribles comme lui,
Vous savez qui j'étais ; mais qui suis-je
aujourd'hui ?
Ce que j'étais alors : un mystère, un pro-
blème ;
Un orage éternel qui roule sur lui-même ;
Un rêve douloureux qui change, sans finir ;
Un débris du passé qui souille l'avenir ;
Un flot comme ces flots errant à l'aven-
ture,
Portant de plage en plage une écume un
murmure,

XV.

How the glad wind salutes my sail ! and
hark,
How the wave sings its welcome to my
bark,
Even as a steed that knows his rider
well,
Neighs at his voice, and bounding, spurns
the fell !
And thou, dark Ocean ! whose tempe-
stuous breast
Is like mine own, a stranger still to rest ;
Oft have thy billows swept around my
prow ;
Thou know'st what once I was,—what
am I now ?—
That which I have been ; still a mystery,
A storm that ever murmurs wild and
high ;
A dreadful dream, that changes,—but in
vain ;
A wreck and remnant of the past,—a
stain

Et qui, semblable en tout au mobile élément,
 Sans avancer jamais flotte éternellement.
 Qu' ai-je fait de mes jours ? ou sont ils ?
 quel usage,
 Aux autres, à moi-même, atteste leur passage ?
 Quelle borne éternelle a marque mon chemin ?
 Quel fruit ai-je cueilli qui n'ait trompé ma main ?
 Tentant mille sentiers, sans savoir lequel suivre,
 Où n'ai-je pas erré ? mais errer, est-ce vivre ?
 N'est il pas, dans le ciel, en nous même, ici bas
 Quelque but élatant pour diriger nos pas,
 Et vers qui l'espérance, en marchant, puisse dire ;
 S'il m'échappe, du moins je sais à quoi j'aspire.
 L'hirondelle, en suivant les saisons dans les airs,
 Voit, des bords qu'elle fuit, l'autre rive des mers ;
 Le pilote, que l'ombre entoure de ses voiles,
 Suit un phare immobile au milieu des étoiles ;
 L'aigle vole au soleil, la colombe à son nid ;
 Sur l'abîme orageux que sa proue applaît,
 Sous des cieux inconnus guidé par sa boussole,
 A travers l'horizon le vaisseau voit le pôle ;
 L'homme seul ne voit rien pour marquer son chemin,
 Qu'hier et qu'aujourd'hui, semblables à demain,
 Et changeant à toute heure et de but et de route,
 Marche, recule, avance, et se perd dans son doute !

The noble bard pursues his moralizing, in the same strain, for a page or two farther, when on a sudden a sail is descried in the distance,

"Flinging its dusky shadow o'er the deep ;"

and on a nearer approach, they discover the standard of the Crescent, floating from the mainmast of a Turkish three-decker. Prudence would have counselled flight ;—Harold, however, and his "leger brick," make nothing of the Mussulman ; and after an obstinate contest, he is on the point of walking off with the Turk and all her crew, when her Captain (following the example of

Upon the future,—restless as the waves
 That ceaseless murmur through their coral-
 eaves,
 And hear from shore to shore their wail-
 ings hoarse,
 And float, but yet advance not in their course.

What have my days been ? and what are they ? when

Blest to myself, or to my fellow men ?
 To what point have I tended ? or what fruit

Gather'd that paid the labour of pursuit ?
 Yet every various path my madness tried,
 Alas ! without an object or a guide !

And is there then no lofty end,—no goal,
 Worthy the high aspirings of the soul,
 Which hope may seek, exulting to ex-
 claim—

"My strength may fail, but yonder lie
 my aim ?"

The swallow, changing with the chan-
 ging year,

Flits o'er the deep another nest to rear ;
 The pilot, spite the elemental wars,
 Seeks his fix'd pharos 'mid surrounding stars ;

The audacious eagle, with his towering
 crest,

Wings to the sun ;—the stock-dove to
 her nest ;

In unknown seas, though wild the tem-
 pest sweep,

The compass guides the vessel o'er the
 deep ;

But man alone sees nought to mark his
 way,

To-day, to-morrow, still like yesterday,
 For ever changing, end or aim without,
 Recedes, advances, and is lost in doubt.

Minotti in the Siege of Corinth) pre-
 vents this last disgrace, by setting
 fire to a train : before, however, the
 powder-magazine explodes, Harold
 avails himself of the "notice to
 quit," and

— "du navire en feu détachant son
 navire,
 Hors du vent enflammé lentement se re-
 tire ;"

and then, to those who have read the
 Siege of Corinth, the description of
 the catastrophe will require no trans-
 lation,—

"Mais le sapêtré en feu lance un dernier
 éclair :

L'air fremit, le coup part, le vaisseau
 vole en l'air.

Ses décrets retombant de distance en distance,
Sement d'un son lugubre un lugubre silence :
L'onde éteint les débris, l'air emporte le bruit,
Et l'océan n'est plus que silence et que nuit.

In the middle of this horrid night and silence, Harold (like Don Juan at the Siege of Ismail) hears the cry of a child, and instead of waiting for the long-boat, springs over-board, though it was as dark as the devil, "nage au bruit," and returns triumphant with an infant in his arms, who, wonderful to tell, he discovers to be an illegitimate scion of the noble house of Byron,—his own child by a Grecian lady: Harold is, of course, rather astonished, "il n'en croit pas ses yeux;" however, he determines to act "en bon pere," and takes the little unfortunate to his arms:

"C'est assez! dit Harold; va! je serai ton père!"

After a prosperous voyage, and a splendid invocation to Homer, (but too long to quote or translate,) Harold arrives in Greece. On landing, he finds an immense concourse of the inhabitants employed in celebrating the funeral rites of sixty matrons, who had precipitated themselves, with their children, from the summit of a crag, down a tremendous ravine, to avoid falling into the hands of the Turks. This episode is finely managed, and contains some of the most spirited lines of the poem, but it is long and "lugubre," and has nothing to do with Lord Byron.

War is raging in the Morea; and Child Harold of course immediately joins the armies of Insurgent Greece. After performing prodigies of valour, at the conclusion of a brilliant campaign, he retires from the rejoicings of the victors, to a deserted monastery, in which he shuts himself up in the society of his daughter Adda,

(the child whom he had saved,) and the only remaining father of the dispersed Order. Here, though unafflicted by any decided malady, he finds that his days are fast ebbing from him; and becoming gradually weaker and weaker, he breathes his last sigh in the arms of his daughter.—The poem concludes nearly in the words of the last stanza of the Fourth Canto:—

Et vous qui jusqu' ici, de climats en climats,
Enchaînés à sa lyre, avez suivi ses pas,
Si ses chants quelquefois ont élevé votre ame,
Donnez lui, &c. &c.

Ye who have traced the pilgrim to the scene
Which is his last, if on your memories dwell
A thought which once was his, if on ye swell
A single recollection, &c. &c.

Such is a rapid and imperfect sketch of the "Dernier Chant du Pèlerinage d' Harold." The few selections which we have made have not been taken from the finest parts of the poem; indeed they were chosen rather with a view of illustrating the Byronian train of thought and expression which M. de Lamartine has managed to infuse into his own compositions; and we are inclined to think, that where he has been most original, he has been also most successful. The finer passages we have left untouched;—the Farewell to Italy; the Verses to Homer; the Episode of the Grecian Matrons; the Last Days of Harold in the Monastery; and his Dream the night before his Death,—all of these are strictly original, and full of poetry.

It would have been easy to have pointed out the faults of this production, but it is a task which we have no desire to perform; and our observations have been already spun out to such a length, that, both for its beauties and blemishes, we must now refer our readers to the work itself.

Address spoken at the Annual Examination of the High School, 1825.

[We give admission to the following Verses, more on account of the interesting occasion for which they were composed, than for the value of the poetry. Some of the couplets, however, are by no means undeserving of praise.—ED.]

IMAGINATION'S penetrating eye

The future in the present can descry—

Can range o'er every scene, and space, and clime—

Pierce through the misty veil of future time—

Swift as the fitful meteors of the night—

Swift as the winged lightning's rapid flight.

To Fancy's eye a beauteous fane appears,

Rich with the classic spoils of other years,—

The Temple of the Muses, where is heard

The thrilling song of Greek and Roman bard ;

And Scotia's listening youth admire the lays

Which rouse to glory, and to deeds of praise,

The Legislator, Patriot, Hero, Sage ;

Which break the chains, and quell the impious rage

Of the fallen tyrant, and his abject slave ;—

Life to the free—but creeping slavery's grave !

Resistless Eloquence, thy voice we hear,

Such as it was when Græcia's anxious ear

Drunk in *his* words, who fulminated over Greece

The thunders of his wrath,—her own Demosthenes ;

Or his—the martyred Roman, 'mong the last

Worthy the name—when Roman glory pass'd

Like a fair dream away—his voice we hear,

That voice which struck his country's foes with fear—

That voice whose dearest, tenderest accents flow

For his Republic's weal—the mighty Cicero.

Meek-eyed Philosophy, with sober mien

And intellectual brow, is also seen :

See how fair Scotia's youth in crowds draw near,

Ardent, the spirit of Plato to unsphere ;

Smit with the love of song and sacred lore,

Eager the depths of science to explore ;

Lovers of learning, and with learning fraught,

The sons of science, and by science taught ;

Like vigorous plants, their powerful minds explore

The future guardians of their native lore.

Far lovelier climes the Eastern suns behold,

Richer in wealth, and all-corrupting gold,

Than rugged Scotia, with her gloomy woods ;

Land of the rocks, the mountains, and the floods,

Though fairer, lovelier, wealthier they be,

They are not happy—for they are not free !

Ours are the lion-heart and eagle-eye,

The daring soul of glorious Liberty,

For which our fathers fought, and fought again,

And died—and which their children still maintain,

Nursing the lovely plant with heavenly dews

Which drop salubrious from the Aonian Muse,

Fanning that fire into a brilliant flame

Which erst began when mighty Luther came ;

Fraught with the Word of Truth and classic lore,

He cried, " Ye sons of men, be slaves no more !

Tyrants no more *your* minds in chains shall keep—

Wake from your long, lethargic, iron sleep !"

"Edina ! Scotia's darling seat, all hail
 'Thy palaces and tow'rs !"—may every gale,
 From every point of heaven, convey to thee
 A blessing from on high ! Of things that be,
 To every Scot thou art the loveliest, best !
 In science, knowledge,—oh, supremely blest !
 Long may the proud pre-eminence be thine,
 The orb of truth and literature to shine ;
 May truth and public spirit ever rule
 Thy Royal College—and thy Royal School !

D.

KELLY'S REMINISCENCES*.

THERE is a proverb about wading through bushels of chaff to obtain some few grains of wheat, which, though now "somewhat musty," its truth is abundantly realised in the perusal of Mr Kelly's two octavos of *Reminiscences*. In other words, we have seldom read any work of its size and description, in which, with certainly a good deal of interesting and amusing anecdote, there is also such a mass of silly, conceited, and uninteresting personal details. Had its author followed the sage advice, "Keep your piece nine years," we question if even he might not have blushed at the late unblushing effrontery in puffing which preceded its appearance. The publisher of Mr Kelly's work is admitted over all the island to be the very prince of puffers ; and when Sir Henry Humbog of Burlington has bargained for a book of doubtful celebrity, the grand plan is immediately put in operation ; puff, embodying all this is really good in the volume, are instantly manufactured wholesale, and douceurs awarded to newspapers for their insertion ; thus at once deceiving the public, and rendering periodical criticism contemptible. Such was the case with "*Medwin's Conversations*," and such, more recently, with "*Mr Kelly's Reminiscences*." We opine, however, that this contemptible mode of deception is fast carrying with it the seeds of its own destruction. The public are not always to be deceived. It is only works of equivocal merit that require such meretricious aids to excite pub-

lic attention—the mark of the beast must soon become stationary upon its legitimate forehead.

We confess it is somewhat painful to imply in our strictures any thing harsh towards Mr Kelly, who has spent a long period of his life in contributing towards public enjoyment, and that, too, in one of its most rational and delightful sources. His professional talents, his private virtues, his kindly and social disposition, command our most unequivocal applause, and are not now to be affected by either the praise or censure of periodical criticism. But when the actor falls into the author, and must deliberately sit down to have his "nothings monstered,"—and when, as in the case before us, he tacitly acquiesces in the trick of attempting to blindfold the public, by weighing his volumes in the same scales with Moore's inimitable biography of Sheridan,—we are not to be blamed if we look on the whole, and see them "found wanting." It is rare indeed that the actor improves by saying more than is set down for him, and that those who have long given utterance to the wit, and the harmony, and passion of others, have succeeded in "setting up on their own account."

The first volume is exceedingly uninteresting, with the exception of about a dozen, or so, of anecdotes. All else it contains, extending to above 350 pages, might, with perfect safety, and in better taste, have been compressed in as many lines. Nearly the whole of it is occupied in per-

* *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King's Theatre, and Theatre-Royal Drury-Lane, including a period of nearly half a century ; with original Anecdotes of many distinguished persons, political, literary, and musical.* 2 vols. 8vo., with Portrait. Colburn, London.

sonal and professional details during the author's residence in Italy, France, and Austria; to the former of which he was sent in early life, to study music, in its practice and composition. His narrative exhibits too much of a straight line, incidents being introduced for no good purpose but that of prolonging it. It exhibits an enormous profusion of names ending in *ella, ini, zino, etti*, &c. &c., in which the reader finds no interest beyond that of Mr Kelly having studied under one,—heard another sing in some Opera,—met the third in the company of some Don,—or passed some place, the residence of a fourth; there is but little display of any thing like critical acumen, and still less of diverging into or generalizing upon the then condition and state of morals of society in the places he visited. So desultory and isolated are many of his sketches, that they seem either the composition of his minority *in statu quo*, or as partially re-illuminated on oblivion's brink, by some lingering rays of reminiscence. Where, for instance, is there any interest to be derived from such isolated paragraphs as this?

While I staid at Florence, I had the honour of being intimate with a rich Jew, of the name of Jacobs; he had two beautiful daughters, fine musicians, and lived amongst his tribe with splendid hospitality. The Jews enjoy more privileges in Florence than in any other Catholic country I ever was in.

And when something like enthusiasm is excited, the bathos is requisite; thus,

Venice! dear, beautiful Venice! never shall I forget the sensations of surprise and delight which I experienced when first I caught sight of thee! thy noble palaces! thy magnificent churches, with their cloud-capt spires! appearing as if just arisen from the sea, and floating on its surface! Years and years have passed away, yet I still call thee dear, beautiful Venice!

Next to our Author's intimacy with the Emperor of Austria, his greatest acquisition on the continent appears to have been the friendship of the famous Soprano singer, Signor Giuseppe Aprile, who was allowed to be the greatest musician

of the day. He was called by the Italians, "*Il padre de' tatti cantanti*," (the father of all singers). This gentleman met Mr Kelly in Naples, and kindly proffered to convey him to his domicile at Palermo, and there, without remuneration, to instruct him in his professional studies. Mr Kelly accompanied, and experienced at Palermo, from Aprile, an ardour of disinterested friendship and attachment beyond what he has since met with either in courts or baronial residences. In Mr Kelly's admission, Aprile was a man of the most honourable and independent mind he ever met, and considered an excellent scholar. He took great pains, besides instructing him in his professional avocation, to explain Metastasio, and other Italian poets, to Kelly, and particularly inculcated *a love of truth!* and a horror of committing a mean action.

It is now time, however, to let Mr Kelly speak in his own person. The reader is allowed to exercise his credulity on the following extract. A theatrical proprietor in Brescia, meets Mr Kelly in Venice, and engages his professional services at the former place.

The proprietor, who was, in fact, our ostensible manager, was a most celebrated personage, *Il Cavaliere Manuel*, surnamed, "*Il Cavaliere Prepotente*;" a man of inordinately bad character, and implacable in his revenge, wherever he took offence. He was enormously rich, but never would pay any evitable debt, which, in some degree, accounted for his wealth; indeed, it was at the risk of life that any body pressed him for money; he had in his pay a set of Sicari, (assassins,) who wore his livery, and when commanded by him, would shoot any person in the streets at noon-day; woe to the man marked for his vengeance. The dress of these assassins, who were mostly mountaineers from his own estates, consisted of scarlet breeches and waistcoats, and green jackets,—their long hair was tied up in nets; they wore enormous whiskers, and large cocked hats with gold buttons and loops; in their belts were pistols, carbines at their backs, and large rapiers by their sides; and yet those ruffians walked the streets at liberty, and though known by all classes, none dare molest or take notice of them. The Venetian Senate, whose subjects they were, never could subdue them, though they used every means in their power to

do so; and such was the state of society at the period of which I speak, that there was scarcely a noble Brescian who had not a set of them in his service, and rarely a week passed without an assassination.

While I was there, one of these fellows walked up to a coffee-house, tapped a gentleman on the shoulder, and begged of him to stand aside; he then levelled his carbine at a person who was sitting on a bench at the coffee-house door, and shot him dead on the spot; yet no one had sufficient courage to secure the murderer, who, with the greatest *sang froid*, walked unmolested to the church of the Jesuits, de la Grazia, where he was in perfect security.

Unfortunately for me, this Cavalier Manuel made proposals to the Prima Donna, La Ortabella, which she had the courage to reject. He attributed her coolness to a partiality which he suspected she had for me, and told her, that her refusal of the honour he offered of his protection, was owing to her preference of a vulgar singer, and swore that my interference should be the worst act of my life. She told me this, and felt alarmed for my safety. A foolish frolic increased his hatred towards me.

One day, looking at the frolic and fun going forward in the Fiera, with three or four of the opera singers, I saw a Neapolitan mountebank, mounted on a stage, holding forth to the crowd, telling their fortunes:—"Egad!" said I, to my companions, "I have a mind to ask the mountebank a question which concerns us all;" they entreated me to do so. I accordingly made my way to the rostrum, slipped half a silver ducat into the mountebank's hand, and said to him, "Most potent astrologer, my companions and myself, convinced of your great science, are anxious that you should resolve the question I shall put to you."

The mountebank pocketed the half ducat, and with becoming gravity desired me to state the case.

"The question is," said I, "one which we, performers of the theatre in Brescia, are most anxious to get answered: it is, whether the proprietor will pay us our salaries when they become due?"

The mountebank replied, "Not one sous, if he can help it."

This silly joke having reached the ears of the noble Brescian, Mr Kelly is advised to break off his engagement, and, to save his life, have recourse to "fly by night," which he does accordingly.

Some time afterwards, Mr Kelly

proceeds to Vienna, upon an engagement by the Austrian Ambassador, to perform in the Comic Opera at the Court, upon a salary of £200 per annum. We are favoured with some slight sketches of Vienna, (how meagre, compared with those of our friend Russell!) during his stay there. The Emperor appears to have been as passionately attached to the Opera, as the Reminiscences would persuade us he was to Mr Kelly.

As the theatre was in the palace, the Emperor often honoured the rehearsals with his presence, and discoursed familiarly with the performers. He spoke Italian like a Tuscan, and was affable and condescending. He came almost every night to the opera, accompanied by his nephew, Francis, then a youth. He usually entered his box at the beginning of the piece, but if not there at the precise moment, the curtain was to be drawn up; he had given orders that he was never to be waited for. He was passionately fond of music, and a most excellent and accurate judge of it. His mode of living was quite methodical. He got up every morning, winter and summer, at five o'clock, wrote in his cancellina (study) until nine, then took a cup of chocolate, and transacted business with his Ministers till one. He was very partial to the *jeu de paum*, and a good player. He had a fine racket-court, and when not in it, he usually walked or rode from one till three; punctually at a quarter after three his dinner was served, he almost always dined on one dish—boiled bacon, which the people, from his partiality to it, called "caizer flush," i. e. the Emperor's meat: sometimes he had a dish of Hungarian beef bouillie, with horse-radish and vinegar, but rarely, if ever, any other: his beverage at dinner was water; and after dinner one goblet of Tokay wine. During dinner, he allowed only one servant to be in the room, and was never longer at the meal than half an hour.

At five, he usually walked in the corridor, near his dining-room, and whilst there, was accessible to the complaints of the meanest of his subjects: he heard them with complaisance, and was ever ready to redress their grievances. He generally wore either a green or white uniform, faced with red; nor did I ever see him that he was not continually putting chocolate drops, which he took from his waistcoat pocket, into his mouth. When he walked out, he took a number of golden sovereigns with him, and distributed them personally among the indi-

gent. He was an enemy to pomp and parade, and avoided them as much as possible: indeed, hardly any private gentleman requires so little attendance as he did. He had a seat for his servant behind his carriage, and when he went abroad in it (which was hardly ever the case in the day time) he made him sit there. I was one day passing through one of the corridors of the palace, and came directly in contact with him; he had his great-coat hanging on his arm: he stopped me, and asked me in Italian, if I did not think it was very hot; he told me that he felt the heat so oppressive that he had taken off his great-coat, preferring to carry it on his arm.

To Princesses Lichtenstein, Schwartzenberg, Lokowitz, and the Countess Thoun, he was particularly partial, and often paid them evening visits, but always retired unattended to his carriage, which stood in the street, for he never allowed it to be driven into the court-yards, where other carriages were waiting. His desire was, never to have any fuss made about him, or to give any trouble, which was all mighty amiable; but as there is, and ought to be, in all civilized countries, a marked and decisive distinction between the Sovereign and the subject, did not appear particularly wise, even if it were not particularly affected; and of all prides, that is the most contemptible, which, as Southey says, "apes humility."

The following extract exhibits something of the ludicrous:

Upon my return, my servant informed me that a lady and gentleman had called upon me, who said they came from England, and requested to see me at their hotel. I called the next morning, and saw the gentleman, who said his name was Botterelli,—that he was the Italian poet of the King's Theatre in the Haymarket,—and that his wife was an Englishwoman, and a principal singer at Vauxhall, Ranelagh, the Pantheon, &c. Her object in visiting Vienna was to give a concert, to be heard by the Emperor; and if she gave that satisfaction, (which she had no doubt she would,) to accept of an engagement at the Royal Theatre; and he added, that she had letters for the first nobility in Vienna.

The lady came into the room; she was a very fine woman, and seemed sinking under the conscious load of her own attractions. She really had powerful letters of recommendation. Prince Charles Lichtenstein granted her his protection, and there was such interest made for her, that the Emperor himself signified his

Royal intention of honouring her concert with his presence. Every thing was done for her;—the orchestra and singers were engaged;—the concert began to a crowded house, but, I must premise, we had no rehearsal.

At the end of the first act, the beautiful Syren, led into the orchestra by her *caro sposo*, placed herself just under the Emperor's box, the orchestra being on the stage. She requested me to accompany her song on the piano-forte. I of course consented. Her air and manner spoke "dignity and love." The audience sat in mute and breathless expectation. The doubt was, whether she would melt into their ears in a fine cantabile, or burst upon them with a brilliant bravura. I struck the chords of the sympathy—silence reigned—when, to the dismay and astonishment of the brilliant audience, she bawled out, without feeling or remorse, voice or time, or, indeed, one note in tune, the hunting-song of "Tally-ho!" in all its pure originality. She continued shrieking out Tally-ho! tally ho! in a manner and tone so loud and dissonant, that they were enough to blow off the roof of the house. The audience jumped up terrified; some shrieked with alarm; some hissed; others booed; and many joined in the unknown yell, in order to propitiate her. The Emperor called me to him, and asked me in Italian, What Tally-ho meant? I replied, I did not know, and literally, at that time, I did not.

His Majesty, the Emperor, finding, that even I, a native of Great Britain, either could not, or would not, explain the purport of the mysterious words, retired with great indignation from the theatre, and the major part of the audience, convinced, by His Majesty's sudden retreat, that they contained some horrible meaning, followed the Royal example. The ladies hid their faces with their fans, and mothers were heard in the lobbies cautioning their daughters on the way out, never to repeat the dreadful expression of "Tally-ho," nor venture to ask any of their friends for a translation of it.

The next day, when I saw the husband of "Tally-ho," he abused the taste of the people of Vienna, and said that the song, which they did not know how to appreciate, had been sung by the celebrated Mrs Wrigton at Vauxhall, and was a great favourite all over England. Thus, however, ended the exhibition of English taste; and Signora Tally-ho! with her Italian poet, went *hunting* elsewhere, and never returned to Vienna, at least during my residence.

We have a good deal more about the Emperor, but tending to little purpose, beyond that of exhibiting O'Kelly (his Austrian name) in some bit of "*confab*," with his Highness, or as possessing some "*O'Blarney*" influence with the good monarch.

One day the Emperor rode up to our carriage on horseback, and asked us, if we were amused, and if he could do any thing for us? Storace, with her peculiar characteristic bluntness, said, "Why, Sir, I am very thirsty, will your Majesty be so good as to order me a glass of water?"—The Emperor, with his usual affability, smiled, called to one of his attendants to grant the request, and the glass of water was brought.

I have another instance, to record of the condescension and urbanity of the Emperor. He one day reviewed twenty thousand of his finest troops; it was a glorious sight, and one that I shall never forget. Signora Storace, her mother, Bennet, and myself, were on the ground at six o'clock in our barouche. The Emperor, who had a very military appearance, was surrounded by his staff, and accompanied by his nephew and heir, Grand Marshals Prince De Ligne, Prince Charles-Lichtenstein, Prince Schwartzenberg, Prince Lokelowitz, &c. &c. Marshalls Lacy's and Laudon's regiments were on the ground, as well as some fine Hungarian regiments and the Emperor's Hungarian and Polish Guards, who made a magnificent appearance. To me it was enchantment. Our barouche was within view of the Emperor; and he sent one of his *Aids-du-camp* to us, to order the carriage to be drawn up nearer to himself.

At the close of the review, he rode up to us, and said, "Has not this been a fine sight? this place is my stage; here I am the first actor." And when General O'Kavanagh's regiment passed before him, with their colonel at their head, he condescended to say to me, "Look there, O'Kelly; look, there goes your countryman O'Kavanagh, and a fine old soldier he is!" I never spent a more delightful day than that, which never has been effaced from my recollection.

The second volume, exhibiting our author more at home, is by far the more interesting of the two. It is, however, an odd mixture, as we shall have occasion to exhibit.

We hitherto believed that Dr Arnold first appreciated and recommended the merits of Edmund Kean. This is now disputed. Sheridan,

in want of novelty, applies to Kelly for advice, who recommends the Opera of Cynon, as one that "would bring a mint of money to the house."

After a moment's reflection, he (Sheridan) said he thought it would: that he felt obliged to me for the suggestion, and that he would give directions to have it brought forward with all possible speed. The evening was spent with great good humour; my friend, Jack Bannister, contributed to its hilarity, by giving us excellent imitations of several of the performers of both theatres. At the conclusion, we adjourned to another room to take coffee. As Kemble was walking somewhat majestically towards the door, and Jack Bannister getting up to go after him, I hallooed out, "Bannister, follow that lord, but see you mock him not," as Bannister, a moment before, had been mocking the actors; the quotation was thought rather apt, and produced much laughter.

Mr Sheridan told Storace that night, that he was very much pleased with me, and desired him to bring me the Sunday following to dine with him in Bruton Street; he did so, and, surprising to relate, Mr Sheridan was at home to receive us. I spent a delightful day; and, after that, to the lamented day of that great man's death, I had the happiness to enjoy his confidence and society. Great preparations, were made to prepare Cynon; no expense was spared; and the piece was produced with all splendour and magnificence.

There was some new music introduced by Stephen Storace and others; the scenery was beautiful, and the procession magnificent; generally speaking, it was admirably performed.

The car, in which were Sylvia and Cynon, was drawn by two beautiful horses; and at my feet, as Cynon, lay a beautiful Cupid. Before the piece was brought out, I had a number of children brought to me, that I might choose a cupid. One struck me, with a fine pair of black eyes, who seemed by his looks and little gestures to be most anxious to be chosen as the representative of the God of Love; I chose him, and little then did I imagine that my little Cupid would eventually become a great actor; the then little urchin was neither more nor less than Edmund Kean. He has often told me, that he ever after this period felt a regard for me, from the circumstance of my having preferred him to the other children. I consider my having been the means of introducing this great genius to the stage one of my most pleasurable recollections!

The following is worthy of a place. We think the portion of it which relates to Johnson is, though characteristic, somewhat overcharged and apocryphal.

I had the pleasure also to be introduced to my worthy countryman, the Reverend Father O'Leary, the well-known Roman Catholic Priest,—he was a man of infinite wit, of instructive and amusing conversation. I felt highly honoured by the notice of this pillar of the Roman Church; our tastes were congenial, for his reverence was mighty fond of whisky punch, and so was I; and many a jug of St. Patrick's eye-water, night after night, did his reverence and myself enjoy, chatting over that exhilarating and national beverage. He sometimes favoured me with his company at dinner; when he did, I always had a corned shoulder of mutton for him, for he, like some others of his countrymen, who shall be nameless, was ravenously fond of that dish.

One day, the facetious John Philpot Curran, who was also very partial to the said corned mutton, did me the honour to meet him. To enjoy the society of such men was an intellectual treat. They were great friends, and seemed to have a mutual respect for each other's talents, and, as it may easily be imagined, O'Leary, versus Curran, was no bad match.

One day, after dinner, Curran said to him, "Reverend Father, I wish you were Saint Peter."

"And why, Counsellor, would you wish that I were Saint Peter?" asked O'Leary.

"Because, Reverend Father, in that case," said Curran, "you would have the keys of heaven, and you could let me in."

"By my honour and conscience, Counsellor," replied the divine, "it would be better for *you* that I had the keys of the other place, for then I could let you out."

Curran enjoyed the joke, which he admitted had a good deal of justice in it.

O'Leary told us of the whimsical triumph which he once enjoyed over Dr Johnson. O'Leary was very anxious to be introduced to that learned man, and Mr Murphy took him one morning to the Doctor's lodgings. On his entering the room, the Doctor viewed him from top to toe, without taking any notice of him; at length, darting one of his sourest looks at him, he spoke to him in the Hebrew language, to which O'Leary made no reply. Upon which, the Doctor said to him, "Why do you not answer me, Sir?"

"Faith, Sir," said O'Leary, "I can-

not reply to you, because I do not understand the language in which you are addressing me."

Upon this the Doctor, with a contemptuous sneer, said to Murphy, "Why, Sir, this is a pretty fellow you have brought hither;—Sir, he does not comprehend the primitive language."

O'Leary immediately bowed very low, and complimented the Doctor with a long speech in Irish, of which the Doctor, not understanding a word, made no reply, but looked at Murphy. O'Leary, seeing that the Doctor was puzzled at hearing a language of which he was ignorant, said to Murphy, pointing to the Doctor, "This is a pretty fellow to whom you have brought me;—Sir, he does not understand the language of the sister kingdom." The Reverend Padre then made the Doctor a low bow, and quitted the room.

Our next extract exhibits Sheridan in his inattention to money matters, and in his undefinable ascendancy over the minds and habits of his creditors. Kelly had, in his own person, ordered some upholstery goods for the Opera House.

Previous to going to Dublin, we played a few nights at Liverpool. My benefit was the last night of our engagement. In the morning of that eventful day, crossing Williamson-Square to go to the theatre, a gentleman stopped me, and, accosting me with the most pointed civility, informed me that he had a writ against me for £350; I, at the time, not owing a sixpence to any living creature.

I said he must be mistaken in his man. He shewed me the writ, which was at the suit of a Mr Henderson, an upholsterer in Coventry Street, and the debt, he said, had been incurred for furnishing the Opera-house with covering for the boxes, pit, &c. &c. So, instead of preparing for the custody of Lockit, on the stage, (for "The Beggar's Opera" was the piece to be acted,) I was obliged to go to a spunging-house.

I requested the sheriff's officer, who was extremely civil, to accompany me to Mrs Crouch, to consult what I had best do; she advised me by no means to acknowledge the debt, but to go to the Exchange, and state publicly the cause of my arrest, and to ask any gentleman there to become bail; making over to such bail, as a security, nearly five hundred pounds, which we luckily had paid into Mr Heywood's Bank, in Liverpool, three days before; but Mr Frank Dickinson,

who was then manager, rendered any such arrangement unnecessary, as he very handsomely came forward and bailed me. I was therefore released, and performed Macheath that night to a crowded house.

I sent my servant to London by the mail, with an account of the transaction to Mr Sheridan, who immediately settled the debt his own peculiar way. He sent for Henderson the upholsterer, to his house, and after describing the heinous cruelty he had committed, by arresting a man who had nothing to do with the debt, and who was on a professional engagement in the country, expatiated and remonstrated, explained and extenuated, until he worked so much upon the upholsterer, that in less than half an hour he agreed to exonerate me and my bail; taking, instead of such security, Mr Sheridan's bond; which, I must say, was extremely correct in the upholsterer. But Mr Sheridan never did things by halves; and therefore, before the said upholsterer quitted the room, he contrived to borrow £200 of him, in addition to the original claim, and he departed, thinking himself highly honoured by Mr Sheridan's condescension in accepting the loan.

I have seen many instances of Mr Sheridan's power of raising money when pushed hard; and one among the rest, I confess, even astonished me. He was once £3000 in arrear with the performers of the Italian opera: payment was put off from day to day, and they bore the repeated postponements with Christian patience; but, at last, even their docility revolted, and finding all the tales of Hope flattering, they met, and resolved not to perform any longer until they were paid. As manager, I accordingly received on the Saturday morning their written declaration, that not one of them would appear at night. On getting this I went to Messrs Morlands' banking-house, in Pall Mall, to request some advances, in order to satisfy the performers for the moment; but alas! my appeal was vain, and the bankers were inexorable,—they, like the singers, were worn out, and assured me, with a solemn oath, that they would not advance another shilling either to Mr Sheridan or the concern, for that they were already too deep in arrear themselves.

This was a pözer; and with a heart rather sad, I went to Hertford-Street, Mayfair, to Mr Sheridan, who at that time had not risen. Having sent him up word of the urgency of my business, after keeping me waiting rather more than two hours in the greatest anxiety, he came

out of his bed-room. I told him, unless he could raise £3000 the theatre must be shut up, and he, and all belonging to the establishment, be disgraced.

"Three thousand pounds, Kelly! there is no such sum in nature," said he, with all the coolness imaginable—nay, more than I could have imagined a man, under such circumstances, capable of. "Are you an admirer of Shakespeare?"

"To be sure I am," said I; "but what has Shakespeare to do with £3000, or the Italian singers?"

"There is one passage in Shakespeare," said he, "which I have always admired particularly; and it is that where Falstaff says, 'Master Robert Shallow, I owe you a thousand pounds.'—'Yes, Sir John,' says Shallow, 'which I beg you will let me take home with me.'—'That may not so easy be, Master Robert Shallow,' replies Falstaff; and so say I unto thee, Master Mick Kelly, to get three thousand pounds may not so easy be."

"Then, Sir," said I, "there is no alternative but closing the Opera House;" and not quite pleased with his apparent carelessness, I was leaving the room, when he bade me stop, ring the bell, and order a hackney-coach. He then sat down, and read the newspaper, perfectly at his ease, while I was in an agony of anxiety. When the coach came, he desired me to get into it, and order the coachman to drive to Morland's; and to Morland's we went;—there he got out, and I remained in the carriage in a state of nervous suspense not to be described; but in less than a quarter of an hour, to my joy and surprise, out he came, with £3000 in bank-notes in his hand. By what *hocus-pocus* he got it I never knew, nor can I imagine even at this moment, but certes he brought it to me, out of the very house where, an hour or two before, the firm had sworn that they would not advance him another sixpence.

Mr Kelly's account of his first professional visit to Edinburgh is limited to four pages, from which we gather, that he was pleased with our city and its society. In his reminiscences of hospitality received here, he commits misnomers upon two names. Woods, our "fathers' favourite," is printed *Wood*, and that of the celebrated Dr Cullen is changed to *Cullum*. Of the former, the following abundantly ridiculous story is, for the first time, set down.

There was a Mr Wood in the Company, a very great favourite, who was

esteemed an excellent master of elocution, and a very worthy man, but a great oddity. His great ambition was to do every thing that Garrick used to do; he rose at the same hour, shaved, breakfasted, and dined at the same hour; ate and drank whatever he heard was Garrick's taste; in short, nothing could please him more than to copy Garrick implicitly, and to be thought to do so.

I was walking with him one day; and, knowing his weak point, assured him that King had often told me, that when Garrick was to perform any part to which he wished to give all his strength and energy, he used to prevail upon Mrs Garrick to accompany him to his dressing-room at the theatre, and, for an hour before the play began, rub his head, as hard as she could, with hot napkins, till she produced copious perspiration; and the harder he was rubbed, and the more he was temporarily annoyed by it, the more animation he felt in acting. This (as I thought it) harmless joke of mine, turned out a matter of serious importance to poor Mrs Wood; for, a long time afterwards, whenever he had to act, particularly in any new part, he actually made her go to his dressing-room, as I had suggested, and rub away, till she was ready to drop with fatigue, and he, with the annoyance which, her exertions produced. The effect of the process upon his performance, however, did not, by any means, keep pace with the labour.

The following extract is not a little characteristic of what pervades these volumes pretty freely; namely, their Author's vaunted intimacy with the great,—his own vaunted hospitality,—his kindness,—and his sympathy for suffering humanity.

After some fulsome encomiums on the frequency and the excellence of the Duke of Queensberry's dinners, we have the following:

His Grace asked me one day to dine with him *tête-à-tête*; after dinner, he told me he had formed a resolution never to have more than one guest at a time; the reason he gave was, that he had grown so deaf, that he could scarcely hear. "Had I," said he, "at table more than one person now, they would be talking one to the other, and I sitting by, not able to hear what they were talking about, which would be extremely provoking; now if I have but one to dine with me, that one must either talk to me, or hold his tongue."

This season the Opera House was very active. I was stage manager; Viotti,

the celebrated violin-player, was leader of the orchestra, and a masterly leader he was. He asked me one day to dine with him at the Crown and Anchor, in the Strand, to meet three friends of his, who formed an economical little dinner-club, which they held there once a month. I went, and found his friends three of the greatest revolutionists:—Charles Lambeth, who had been President of the National Assembly; Dupont, the popular orator of that time, also a Member of the National Assembly, and who was the very person whom I had seen offer to hand the poor Queen of France out of her carriage, when brought prisoner back from Varennes, which she indignantly refused; and the Duke D'Aguillon, one of the twelve Peers of France, who, in former days, had an immense fortune, was a great patron of the arts, and so theatrical, that he had a box in every theatre in Paris. He was particularly fond of music, and had been a scholar of Viotti. I passed a pleasant day with these emigrés, who were all men of high endowments, and truly polished manners, nor did they seem at all depressed by change of circumstances; all was vivacity and good humour.

The Duke sat next to me at dinner. I asked him if he had seen Drury Lane Theatre; his reply was, I have seen the outside of it, but I am now too poor to go to theatres; for did I indulge in my favourite amusement, I should not be enabled to have the pleasure of meeting you and my worthy friends at dinner to-day: I cannot afford both.

I told him, that as manager of the Opera House, and musical director of Drury-Lane Theatre, I should have great pleasure in giving him and his friends admissions nightly, for either of those theatres; and that my box at the Opera House was at their service on the following Saturday, and I requested they would do me the honour to dine with me on that day, and afterwards visit it. They favoured me with their company, and much delighted, they were: often and often afterwards did they dine and sup with me. I introduced them to Mr Sheridan and many of my friends. It was certainly, I thought, to be lamented, that men possessing such amiable manners should, from strong republican principles, bring themselves into misfortune; but I had nothing to do with their politics: I only saw the bright side of their characters, and felt a sincere pleasure, as far as lay in my power, in administering, in my little way, comfort to those who were labouring under so sad a reverse of fortune; for in this country, the French noblesse

would not associate with them. Even the Duke D'Aguillon, though one of the highest noblemen of France, was never received by the Duke of Queensberry, nor did he visit any where.

One morning he called on me, and said, he had a favour to beg of me. I requested him to command my services: he said, "My dear Kelly, I am under many obligations for your repeated acts of kindness and hospitality to me and my friends; but still, though under a cloud, and labouring under misfortunes, I cannot forget that I am the Duke D'Aguillon, and cannot stoop to borrow or beg from mortal; but I confess I am nearly reduced to my last shilling, yet still I retain my health and spirits;—formerly, when I was a great amateur, I was particularly partial to copying music—it was then a source of amusement to me. Now, my good friend, the favour I am about to ask is, that, *sub rosa*, you will get me music to copy for your theatres, upon the same terms as you would give to any common copyist who was a stranger to you. I am now used to privations; my wants are few; though accustomed to palaces, I can content myself with a single bed-room, up two pair of stairs; and if you will grant my request, you will enable me to possess the high gratification of earning my morsel by the work of my hands."

I was moved almost to tears, by the application, and was at a loss what to answer, but thought of what Lear says,

"Take physic, pomp!"

and "to what man may be reduced." I told him I thought I could procure him as much copying as he could do, and he appeared quite delighted; and the next day I procured plenty for him. He rose by day-light to accomplish his task—was at work all day—and at night, full dressed, in the Opera House in the pit. While there, he felt himself Duke D'Aguillon; and no one ever suspected him to be a drudge in the morning, copying music for a shilling per sheet: and strange to say, that his spirits never drooped: nine Englishmen out of ten under such circumstances would have destroyed themselves; but the transitory peace of mind he enjoyed was not of long duration; an order came from the Alien Office for him and his friends to leave England in two days; they took an affectionate leave of me: the Duke went to Hamburgh, and there was condemned to be shot. They told me that he died like a hero.

He had a favourite Danish dog, a beautiful animal, which he consigned to my protection, until, as he told me, he had

an opportunity to send for him with safety. I pledged myself to take every care of him, and never shall I forget his parting with this faithful animal; it seemed as if the last link which held him to society was breaking; the dog had been the faithful companion of his prosperity—his adversity; he caressed, and shed a flood of tears on quitting it: the scene was grievous; but I did not then think that I should never see the Duke more. I took every care of his poor dog, who, missing his kind master, after a little, refused all nourishment, and actually *pined, and died*. Yet he survived the being who had fed and cherished him.

The next exhibits more of that silly stuff ever and anon introduced without point, and for no purpose whatever but to let us know that Kelly enjoyed the countenance and society of Princes, Dukes, Earls, Baronets, &c. It contains, also, a somewhat felicitous sketch of the late Richard Cumberland, reminding us not a little of how well *Gil Blas* hits off the Archbishop of Grenada in that truly impassioned absurdity of human vanity and foible, "THE AUTHOR ALL OVER."

It was in this year that Mr Cumberland, the author, promised my friend, Jack Bannister, to write a comedy for his benefit, which was to be interspersed with songs, for Mrs Jordan, which he wished me to compose. He was good enough to give Bannister and myself an invitation to spend a few days with him, at his house at Tonbridge Wells, in order that he might read his comedy to us; and as we were both interested in its success, we accepted his invitation; but fearing that we might not find our residence with him quite so pleasant as we wished, we agreed, previously to leaving town, that Mrs Crouch should write me a letter, stating, that Mr Taylor requested me to return to London immediately, about some Opera concerns; by which measure we could take our departure without giving offence to our host, if we did not like our quarters, or remain with him if we did.

Jack Bannister rode down on horseback, and I mounted the top of the Tonbridge coach. Seated on the roof were two very pretty girls and two livery servants; this party I soon discovered were on the establishment of the Duchess of Leinster, following her Grace to Tonbridge Wells; whither she had gone the day before. While ascending Morant's Court Hill, we overtook Bannister on horseback,

who called out to me ! What, Michael ! who would have expected to see you on the top of the stage ? I hope you have brought your curling-irons with you ; I shall want my hair dressed before dinner ; come to me to the Sussex Hotel. Tonbridge Wells is very full, and I dare say you will get plenty of custom, both as a shaver and dresser."

At the conclusion of this harangue, he bade me good-day, put spurs to his horse, and rode away.

I resolved to follow up the joke ; and when the coach stopped at Seven Oaks, I sat down to dinner (my luncheon) with the servants, in the room allotted to outside passengers. We grew quite familiar ; the lady's maid and the two footmen promised me their protection, and declared that they would do every thing in their power to get me custom ; although they could not invite me to call and see them at the Duchess's house, because nothing but the most rigid stinginess was practised there. " I suppose," said I, " you can give me one glass of ale now and then ?"

" Ale !" said one of the footmen, " bless your heart, we never have ale, never see such a thing,—nothing but small beer, I assure you."

Until we arrived at our journey's end, the abigails and knights of the shoulder-knot kept entertaining me with anecdotes of the family, which were not very flattering, I confess, but which I believe to have been false, having had for many years the pleasure of knowing her Grace, the Duchess, and Mr Ogilvie her husband.

On our parting where the coach set us down, we all vowed eternal friendship, and I got to Mr Cumberland's in time for dinner. The party consisted of myself, Bannister, Mrs Cumberland, an agreeable, well-informed old lady, and our host, who, by the bye, during dinner, called his wife " manima." We passed a pleasant evening enough, but wine was scarce ; however, what we had was excellent, and what was wanting in beverage was amply supplied in converse sweet, and the delights of hearing the reading a five-act comedy.

Five acts of a play, read by its author after tea, are at any time opiates of the most determined nature, even if one has risen late and moved little ; but with such a predisposition to somnolency as I found the drive, the dust, the sun, the air, the dinner, and a little sensible conversation had induced, what was to be expected ? Long before the end of the second act I was fast as a church—a light tendency to snoring rendered this

misfortune more appalling than it otherwise would have been ; and the numberless kicks which I received under the table from Bannister, served only to vary, by fits and starts, the melody with which nature chose to accompany my slumbers.

When it is recollected, that our host and reader had served Sheridan as a model for Sir Fretful, it may be supposed that he was somewhat irritated by my inexcusable surrender of myself : but no ; he closed his proceedings and his manuscript at the end of the second act, and we adjourned to a rational supper upon a cold mutton-bone, and dissipated in two tumblers of weak red wine and water.

When the repast ended, the bard conducted us to our bed-rooms : the apartment in which I was to sleep was his study ; he paid me the compliment to say, he had a little tent-bed put up there, which he always appropriated to his favourite guest. " The bookcase at the side," he added, " was filled with his own writings."

I bowed, and said, " I dare say, Sir, I shall sleep very soundly."

" Ah ! very good," said he ; " I understand you,—a hit, Sir, a palpable hit ; you mean being so close to my writings, they will act as a soporific. You are a good soul. Mr Kelly, but a very drowsy one—God bless you—you are a kind creature, to come into the country to listen to my nonsense—*bonas noches* ! as we say in Spain—good-night. I hope it will be fine weather for you to walk about in the morning ; for I think, with Lord Falkland, who said he pined unlearned gentlemen on a rainy day—umph—good-night, God bless you,—you are so kind."

I could plainly perceive, that the old gentleman was not over-pleased, but I really had no intention of giving him offence. He was allowed, however, to be one of the most sensitive of men, when his own writings were spoken of ; and moreover, reckoned envious in the highest degree.

He had an inveterate dislike to Mr Sheridan, and would not allow him the praise of a good dramatic writer, which, considering the ridicule Sheridan had heaped upon him in " The Critic," is not surprising.—That piece was wormwood to him : he was also very sore at what Sheridan had said of him, before he drew his portrait in that character.

The anecdote Mr Sheridan told me. When the " School for Scandal" came out, Cumberland's children prevailed upon their father to take them to see it ;—they had the stage-box—their father was seated behind them ; and as the story

was told by a gentleman, a friend of Sheridan's, who was close by, every time the children laughed at what was going on on the stage, he pinched them, and said, "What are you laughing at, my dear little folks? you should not laugh, my angels; there is nothing to laugh at;"—and then, in an under tone, "keep still, you little dunces."

Sheridan having been told of this, said "it was very ungrateful in Cumberland to have been displeased with his poor children, for laughing at *my comedy*; for I went the other night to see *his tragedy*, and laughed at it from beginning to end."

But with all the irritability which so frequently belongs to dramatists, Mr Cumberland was a perfect gentleman in his manners, and a good classical scholar. I was walking with him on the pantiles one morning, and took the opportunity of telling him (which was the truth) that his dramatic works were in great request at Vienna; and that his "West Indian," and "Brothers," particularly, were first-rate favourites; this pleased the old man so much, that (I flattered myself) it made him forget my drowsy propensities.

He took me up to the top of Mount Ephraim, where we met the Duchess of Leinster and a lady walking;—she had just got out of her carriage, and the two identical footmen who had been on the stage-coach with me were walking behind her. She stopped to speak to Mr Cumberland; and never shall I forget the countenance of the servants, when her Grace said, "Mr Kelly, I am glad to see you, have you been long here?"

I replied, "No, madam, only two days."

"Did you come down alone?" said the Duchess.

"Not entirely," said I; "I came down on the coach, and I assure you, met with some very pleasant, chatty companions, who amused me very much, by a variety of anecdotes about themselves, and their masters and mistresses." While I was saying this, I kept looking at my two sworn friends, the footmen, who seemed struck with wonder and surprise.

"Well," said the Duchess, "I hope this place will agree with you."

I said, "I fear not, for I am extremely partial to malt liquor," and I am told that it is execrable here; and that in the very first houses, one meets with nothing but bad small beer." I again looked at my friends, and I am sure they wished me at Jericho; for it was evident, by their countenances, that they were afraid I should betray their confidence, and they

seemed quite relieved when they saw me make my bow and walk away.

A letter arrived the next morning, as we had planned, which called me to London: we informed our host, that we were obliged to quit his hospitable roof early the following day. "My children," said he, "I regret that you must leave your old bard, but business must be attended to; and as this is the last day I am to have the pleasure of your company, when you return from your evening's rambles on the pantiles, I will give you what I call a treat."

After dinner, Bannister and myself went to the library. "What," said I to Bannister, "can be the treat Cumberland has promised us to-night? I suppose he took notice of your saying at dinner, that your favourite meal was supper, and he intends, as we are going away to-morrow morning, to give us some little delicacies." Bannister professed entire ignorance, and some doubt; and on our return from our walk, we found Cumberland in his parlour, waiting for us. As I had anticipated, the cloth was laid for supper, and in the middle of the table was a large dish with a cover on it.

When we were seated, with appetites keen, and eyes fixed upon the mysterious dainty, our host, after some preparation, desired a servant to remove the cover, and on the dish lay another manuscript play. "There, my boy," said he, "there is the treat which I promised you; that, Sirs, is my *Tiberius*, in five acts; and after we have had our sandwich and wine and water, I will read you every word of it. I am not vain, but I do think it by far the best play I ever wrote, and I think you'll say so."

The treat itself was horrible; the reading sauce was ill suited to the light supper, and neither popy nor Mandragore, nor even the play of the preceding evening, would have been half so bad as his *Tiberius*; but will the reader believe that it was no joke, but all in earnest, and that he actually fulfilled his horrid promise, and read the three first acts? but seeing violent symptoms of our old complaint coming over us, he proposed that we should go to bed, and, in the morning, that he should treat us, before we started, by reading the fourth and fifth acts; but we saved him the trouble, for we were off before he was out of his bed. Such are the perils and hair-breadth 'scapes which attend the guests of dramatists who live in the country.

But to do Mr Kelly all justice, and, if implicit reliance may be pla-

ced on their fidelity, we hesitate not to state, that his second volume contains a good number of interesting and amusing anecdotes. We wish our limits could admit more, particularly of those relating to Sheridan, that strange anomaly in literature and politics. The following account of the first performance of his *Pizarro* is peculiarly characteristic of the man.

On the 24th of May, 1799, Mr Sheridan's celebrated play of "*Pizarro*," from Kotzebue, was produced; it was admirably acted, and I had the proud distinction of having my name joined with that of Mr Sheridan in its production, having been selected by him to compose the whole of the music.

Expectation was on tip-toe; and strange as it may appear, "*Pizarro*" was advertised, and every box in the house taken, before the fourth act of the play was begun by the author; nor had I one single word of the poetry for which I was to compose the music. Day after day was I attending on Mr Sheridan, representing that time was flying, and that nothing was done for me. His answer uniformly was, "Depend upon it, my dear Mic, you shall have plenty of matter to go on with to-morrow;"—but day after day, that morrow came not, which, as my name was advertised as the composer of the music, drove me half crazy.

One day I was giving a dinner to the Earl of Guilford, the Marquis of Ormond, (then Lord Ormond,) my valued friend Sir Charles Bampfylde, Sir Francis Burdett, George Colman, J. Richardson, M. Lewis, and John Kemble; and, about ten o'clock, when I was in the full enjoyment of this charming society, Mr Sheridan appeared before us, and informed my friends, that he must carry me off with him, that moment, to Drury-Lane; begged they would excuse my absence for one hour, and he would return with me. I saw it would be useless to contradict him, so I went to the theatre, and found the stage and house lighted up, as it would have been for a public performance; not a human being there, except ourselves, the painters, and carpenters; and all this preparation was merely that he might see two scenes, those of *Pizarro's* tent, and the Temple of the Sun.

The great author established himself in the centre of the pit, with a large bowl of negus on the bench before him; nor would he move until it was finished. I expostulated with him upon the cruelty of not letting me have the words which I

had to compose, not to speak of his having taken me away from my friends, to see scenery and machinery, with which, as I was neither painter, nor carpenter, nor machinist, I could have nothing to do: his answer was, that he wished me to see the Temple of the Sun, in which the chorusses and marches were to come over the platform. "To-morrow," said he, "I promise I will come and take a cutlet with you, and tell you all you have to do. My dear Mic, you know you can depend upon *me*; and I know that I can depend upon *you*; but these bunglers of carpenters require looking after."

After this promise, we returned to my house; I found my party waiting; nor did we separate until five o'clock in the morning.

To my utter surprise, the next day, according to his own appointment, Mr Sheridan really came to dinner: after the cloth was removed, he proposed business. I had pen, ink, music-paper, and a small piano-forte, (which the Duke of Queensberry had given me, and which he had been accustomed to take with him in his carriage, when he travelled,) put upon the table with our wine. My aim was, to discover the situations of the different chorusses and the marches, and Mr Sheridan's ideas on the subject; and he gave them in the following manner:—"In the Temple of the Sun," said he, "I want the virgins of the sun, and their high priest, to chaunt a solemn invocation to their deity."—I sang two or three bars of music to him, which I thought corresponded with what he wished, and marked them down. He then made a sort of rumbling noise with his voice, (for he had not the smallest idea of turning a tune,) resembling a deep gruff bow, wow, wow; but though there was not the slightest resemblance of an air in the noise he made, yet so clear were his ideas of effect, that I perfectly understood his meaning though conveyed through the medium of a bow, 'wow, wow. Having done this, and pointed out their several situations, he promised me, faithfully, that I should have the poetry in a couple of days; and, marvellous to say, he actually did send me Cora's song, which Mrs Jordan sang; and the trio, sung by Mrs Crouch, Miss Decamp, and Miss Leek, "Fly away, time,"—which they made very effective. The poetry of the last, however, was written by my good friend, Mr Richardson; the song really by himself. Having extracted these, I saw that it was perfectly ridiculous to expect the poetry of the chorusses from the author of the play; and as I knew a literary gentleman,

whose poverty, if not his will, would consent to assist me, I gave him Mr Sheridan's ideas, as I had caught them from his bow, wow, wows, and got him to write words to them, which he did very well, at least well enough to answer my purpose.

But if this were a puzzling situation for a composer, what will my readers think of that in which the actors were left, when I state the fact, that, at the time the house was overflowing on the first night's performance, all that was written of the play was actually rehearsing, and that, incredible as it may appear, until the end of the fourth act, neither Mrs Siddons, nor Charles Kemble, nor Barrymore, had all their speeches for the fifth? Mr Sheridan was up stairs in the prompter's room, where he was writing the last part of the play, while the earlier parts were acting; and every ten minutes he brought down as much of the dialogue as he had done, piece-meal, into the green-room, abusing himself and his negligence, and making a thousand winning and soothing apologies, for having kept the performers so long in such painful suspense.

One remarkable trait in Sheridan's character was, his penetrating knowledge of the human mind; for no man was more careful in his carelessness; he was quite aware of his power over his performers, and of the veneration in which they held his great talents: had he not been so, he would not have ventured to keep them (Mrs Siddons particularly) in the dreadful anxiety which they were suffering through the whole of the evening. Mrs Siddons told me, that she was in an agony of fright; but Sheridan perfectly knew, that Mrs Siddons, C. Kemble, and Barrymore, were quicker in study than any other performers concerned; and that he could trust them to be perfect in what they had to say, even at half-an-hour's notice. And the event proved that he was right.

The following scene took place at the Opera-House: Mrs Billington, and her daughter, Grassini, were engaged to appear singly, on alternate Tuesdays and Saturdays.

This silly engagement had, one Tuesday night, nearly shut up the house. It was Mrs Billington's turn to perform, but she was taken with so severe a hoarseness that she could not sing a note, nor, indeed, leave her bed. Grassini was entreated by Mr Goold to sing in her stead, but she declared that no power on earth should induce her to do so, as Saturday was her night, and not Tuesday. I did

all in my power, by every argument, to prevail upon her, but the inexorable syren was deaf to my entreaties. I found there was no method to gain any point but by a *ruse de guerre*, and to fib through thick and thin.

Fibbing, as I delicately call it, is a necessary accomplishment for the stage-manager of an Italian Opera House; without it, one of the most difficult and necessary objects could never be attained, (I mean, keeping the ladies quiet.) The art is only to be acquired by practice, aided by a certain proportion of impudence; in neither of which I was altogether deficient. For instance, I said, upon this occasion, "My dear Grassini, as manager, I ought to prevail upon you to perform, but as a performer myself, I enter certainly into your feelings, and think you perfectly right not to sing out of your turn—the Saturday is yours—but what I say to you, I trust you will not repeat to Mr Goold, as it might be of serious injury to me."

"Depend upon it, my dear Kelly," said Grassini, "I will not; I look upon you, by what you have just said, to be my sincere friend."

As I was leaving the room, I said, "To be sure, it is rather unlucky you do not sing to-night, for this morning a message came from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, to announce the Queen's intention to come incog., accompanied by the Princesses, purposely to see you perform, and a *loge grillé* is actually ordered to be prepared for them, where they can perfectly see and hear without being seen by the audience; but, of course, I'll step myself to the Lord Chamberlain's Office, and state that you are confined to your bed, and express your mortification at disappointing the Royal Party."

"Stop, Kelly," said she; "what you now say alters the case; if Her Majesty Queen Charlotte wishes to see 'La Virginie del Sole,' and to hear me, I am bound to obey Her Majesty's commands—go, then, to Goold, and tell him I *will* sing."

She accordingly did perform on the Tuesday. When I went into her dressing-room after the first act, Her Majesty not having arrived, Grassini suspecting that I had made up a story to cajole her, taxed me with the trick, and when I confessed it, she took it very good naturedly, and joined in the laugh at her own credulity. The feeling respect to the wishes of our excellent Queen Charlotte which she evinced, did her infinite credit.

Poor George Frederick Cooke! that strange phenomenon of the stage,—that eccentric and erring genius,—

that anomaly of splendid professional talents, unaided by study; and of devotional excesses in ebriety! Every theatrical biographer has something new to communicate of Cooke's becoming unmanned by his favourite indulgences. We do not think the following is related in the pages of Dunlap or Boaden:

The same season, in conjunction with Attwood, I composed, for Covent Garden, an operatic play, called "*Adrian and Orrilla*." Cooke played the part of the Prince in it, and the very deuce he had like to have played with it, for on the morning of the day on which the piece was to be performed, he came to rehearsal so intoxicated, that he could scarcely stand. Both the author and myself were on the stage, alarmed, as may well be imagined, for the fate of a play, the principal serious character of which was to be performed by a man dead drunk.

We were determined not to let our play be acted. Mr Kemble, on the contrary, (who then was stage manager, as well as co-proprietor with Mr Harris,) insisted that the play should be done, at all risks. Mr Harris was sent for, to decide. In the interim, Cooke was pouring out a volley of abuse against Kemble, calling him, "*Black Jack*," &c., all which Kemble bore with Christian patience, and without any reply. At length Mr Harris, with his faithful ally on all emergencies, the late James Brandon, the box book-keeper, on seeing Cooke's situation, decided that the play should not be performed on that night; but that Kemble should make an apology to the audience, on the plea of Cooke's sudden indisposition; which Kemble refused to do. "When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war."

Harris declared he would have the play changed. Kemble, on the contrary, was as peremptory to have it performed, and vowed, that if it were changed, under the pretence of Cooke's indisposition, he would go forward to the audience, and inform them of the true cause of their disappointment.

Harris said, "Mr Kemble, don't talk to me in this manner. I am chief proprietor here, and will have whatever orders I give, obeyed."

I shall always remember Kemble's countenance, when, with the greatest calmness, he replied:

"Sir, you are a proprietor—so am I. I borrowed a sum of money to come into this property. How am I to repay those who lent me that money, if you, from placed lenity towards an individual,

who is repeatedly, from intoxication, disappointing the public, choose to risk the dilapidation of the theatre, and thereby cause my ruin? By Heavens, I swear the play shall be acted!"

Words were getting to a very high pitch, when Brandon coaxed Cooke into his house, put him to bed, and applied napkins, steeped in cold water, to his head, in the hopes of sobering him. He slept from twelve till five o'clock, when he took some very strong coffee, which brought him to his senses, and he consented to play the part; and considering all circumstances, I was struck with astonishment to see how finely he acted it. To be sure, he had nearly made one trifling omission, namely, cutting out the whole plot of the piece. And had it not been for the promptness and presence of mind of Miss Smith (now Mrs Bartley) who played the character (and finely she did play it,) of Madame Clermont, he would have succeeded in doing so. "Oh! that men should put an enemy into their mouths, to steal away their brains!"

No man, when sober, was better conducted, or possessed more affability of manners, blended with sound sense and good nature, than Cooke; he had a fine memory, and was extremely well informed. I asked him, when he was acting at Brighton one day, to dine with me and Mrs Crouch; and we were delighted with his conversation and gentleman-like deportment. He took his wine cheerfully; and, as he was going away, I urged him to have another bottle; his reply was, "Not one drop more. I have taken as much as I ought to take; I have passed a delightful evening, and should I drink any more wine, I might prove a disagreeable companion, therefore good-night;" and away he went. Nor could I then prevail upon him to stop.

In the memorable time of the O. P. riot, some of the actors belonging to Covent-Garden seemed to enjoy the disagreeable situation in which Kemble, as manager, stood. I was one night in Covent-Garden Theatre, when one of them absolutely and roundly asserted, that Kemble was but an indifferent actor. Cooke was in the green-room at the time, and I said, "What do you think of the assertions of those gentlemen, Mr Cooke; do you think Kemble an indifferent actor?"

"No, Sir," he replied; "I think him a very great one; and those who say the contrary are envious men, and not worthy, as actors, to wipe his shoes." It gave me unspeakable pleasure, to hear him give so liberal an opinion of my esteemed friend, even though the expression of it was somewhat of the coarsest.

Mr Kelly records several instances of those gross inattentions and delays of Sheridan, in matters where his own interest and reputation were specially at stake. Mr Moore's excellent Biography of Sheridan corroborates some of these, particularly Mr Sheridan's abuse of himself in a Newspaper, about the duel with Mathews, and his intention of a reply but which was never made. We can find room only for the following :

Musical pieces were often performed at Drury-Lane : among others, Mr Sheridan's opera of "The Duenna," in which I performed the part of Ferdinand. It was customary with me, when I played at night, to read my part over in the morning, in order to refresh my memory. One morning, after reading the part of Ferdinand, I left the printed play of "The Duenna," as then acted, on the table. On my return home, after having taken my ride, I found Mr Sheridan reading it, and with pen and ink before him correcting it. He said to me, "Do you act the part of Ferdinand from this printed copy?"

I replied in the affirmative, and added, "that I had done so for twenty years."

"Then," said he, "you have been acting great nonsense." He examined every sentence, and corrected it all through before he left me; the corrections I have now, in his own hand-writing. What could prove his negligence more, than correcting an opera in the year 1807, which he had written in 1775, and then for the first time examining it, and abusing the manner in which it was printed?

I know, however, of many instances of his negligence, equally strong, two of which I will adduce as tolerable good specimens of character. I can vouch for their authenticity.

Mr Gotobed, the Duke of Bedford's Attorney, put a distress into Drury-Lane Theatre, for non-payment of the ground-rent; and the chandeliers, wardrobe, scenery, &c. were to be sold to satisfy his Grace's claim. Sheridan, aroused and alarmed at the threat, wrote a letter to the Duke, requesting him to let his claim be put in a state of liquidation, by Mr Gotobed's receiving, out of the pit-door money, £.10 per night, until the debt should be paid; this was agreed upon by his Grace. More than a twelve-month passed, and Sheridan was astonished at receiving no reply to his letter. In an angry mood he went to Mr Gotobed's

house, in Norfolk Street (I was with him at the time), complaining of the transaction; when Mr Gotobed assured him, on his honour, that the Duke had sent an answer to his letter above a year before. On hearing this, Sheridan went home, examined the table on which all his letters were thrown, and amongst them found the Duke's letter, unopened, dated more than twelve months back. To me, this did not appear very surprising, for, when numbers of letters have been brought to him, at my house, I have seen him consign the greatest part of them to the fire, unopened.

The loss I sustained by Mr Sheridan's death I can but faintly depict: he was, as a companion and friend, to me beyond measure invaluable; his readiness and taste were conspicuous; his wit, though luxuriant and unbounded, never intrusive; and during the five-and-twenty years through which I enjoyed his friendship and society, I never heard him say a single word that could wound the feelings of a human being.

His quickness in writing may be judged by the circumstances I have already mentioned, relative to the state in which his "Pizarro" was produced, and he made a similar exertion at the time he brought out "The Critic." Two days previous to the performance, the last scene was not written: Dr Ford, and Mr Linley, the joint proprietors, began to get nervous and fidgety, and the actors were absolutely *au désespoir*, especially King, who was not only stage-manager, but had to play Puff; to him was assigned the duty of hunting down and worrying Sheridan about the last scene; day after day passed, until, as I have just said, the last day but two arrived, and it made not its appearance.

At last, Mr Linley, his father-in-law, who was pretty well aware of his habits, hit upon a stratagem. A night-rehearsal of "The Critic" was ordered, and Sheridan having dined with Linley, was prevailed upon to go: while they were on the stage, King whispered Sheridan that he had something particular to communicate, and begged he would step into the second green-room. Accordingly, Sheridan went, and there found a table, with pens, ink, and paper, a good fire, an armed chair at the table, and two bottles of claret, with a dish of anchovy sandwiches. The moment he got into the room, King stepped out, and locked the door, immediately after which, Linley and Ford came up and told the author, that, until he had written the scene, he would be kept where he was.

Sheridan took this decided measure in good part ; he ate the anchovies, finished the claret, wrote the scene, and laughed heartily at the ingenuity of the contrivance.

After so many unequivocal expressions of unbounded admiration of Sheridan, and of gratitude for his kindness and attachment to the Author, we think what follows is given with a very bad grace indeed on the part of Kelly. It is injurious to the memory of the man he delights to honour, and it exhibits a degree of meanness, which, with all Sheridan's faults, we cannot suppose him to have been capable of.

Another story of him I shall give, because it is very little known, if known at all. Mr Harris, the late proprietor of Covent-Garden, who had a great regard for Sheridan, had at different times frequent occasions to meet him on business, and made appointment after appointment with him, not one of which Sheridan ever kept. At length Mr Harris, wearied out, begged his friend Mr Palmer, of Bath, to see Mr Sheridan, and tell him, that unless he kept the next appointment made for their meeting, all acquaintance between them must end for ever.

Sheridan expressed great sorrow for what had been in fact inevitable, and fixed one o'clock the next day to call upon Mr Harris at the theatre. At about three he actually made his appearance in Hart-Street, where he met Mr Tregent, the celebrated French watchmaker, who was extremely theatrical, and had been the intimate friend of Garrick.

Sheridan told him, that he was on his way to call upon Harris.

"I have just left him," said Tregent, "in a violent passion, having waited for you ever since one o'clock."

"What have you been doing at the theatre?" said Sheridan.

"Why," replied Tregent ; "Harris is going to make Bate Dudley a present of a gold watch, and I have taken him half a dozen, in order that he may choose one for that purpose."

"Indeed," said Sheridan.

They wished each other good-day, and parted.

Mr Sheridan proceeded to Mr Harris's room, and when he addressed him, it was pretty evident that his want of punctuality had produced the effect which Mr Tregent described.

"Well, Sir," said Mr Harris ; "I have waited at least two hours for you in ; I had almost given you up, and

"Stop, my dear Harris," said Sheridan, interrupting him ; "I assure you these things occur more from my misfortunes than my faults ; I declare I thought it was but one o'clock, for it so happens that I have no watch, and to tell you the truth, am too poor to buy one : but when the day comes that I can, you will see I shall be as punctual as any other man."

"Well, then," said the unsuspecting Harris ; "if that be all, you shall not long want a watch, for here—(opening his drawer)—me half a dozen of Tregent's best—choose any one you like, and do me the favour of accepting it."

Sheridan affected the greatest surprise at the appearance of the watches ; but did as he was bid, and selected certainly not the worst for the *cadeau*.

A punster, in return for Sheridan's hatred of puns, would certainly have made a joke of his affection for watches because they go *tick* ; for myself I have too much respect for Mr Sheridan's memory, to give way to such a propensity.

We do not believe one word of this story.

The following is no bad specimen of a bamboozle :

In the midst of all the *éclat* and success of this season I had returned my income to the Commissioners of Income Tax at £.500 per annum, which, it appeared, they did not think a sufficient return, and sent me a summons to appear before them on their next day of meeting. In consequence of receiving this, I consulted a kind friend, who was my counsellor on all occasions, who advised me, if I felt myself justified by the truth, to adhere firmly to the amount which I had at first fixed. He promised to accompany me, which he did, and was witness to the following conversation between the Commissioners and myself.

"So, Mr Kelly," said one of the men of authority, "you have returned your income to us at £.500 per annum :—you must have a very mean opinion of our understandings, Sir, to think that you could induce us to receive such a return, when we are aware that your income, from your various professional engagements, must amount to twice or three times that sum."

"Sir," said I, "I am free to confess I have erred in my return ; but vanity was the cause, and vanity is the badge of all my tribe. I have returned myself as having £.500 per annum, when, in fact, I have not five hundred pence of certain income."

"Pray, Sir," said the commissioner, "are you not stage-manager of the Opera-House?"

"Yes, Sir," said I; "but there is not even a nominal salary attached to that office; I perform its duties to gratify my love of music."

"Well, but Mr Kelly," continued my examiner, "you teach?"

"I do, Sir," answered I; "but I have no pupils."

"I think," observed another gentleman, who had not spoken before, "that you are an oratorio and concert singer?"

"You are quite right," said I to my new antagonist; "but I have no engagement."

"Well, but at all events," observed my first inquisitor, "you have a very good salary at Drury-Lane."

"A very good one, indeed, Sir," answered I; "but then it is never paid."

"But you have always a fine benefit, Sir," said the other, who seemed to know something of theatricals.

"Always, Sir," was my reply; "but the expenses attending it are very great, and whatever profit remains after defraying them, is mortgaged to liquidate debts incurred by building my saloon. The fact is, Sir, I am at present very like St. George's Hospital, supported by voluntary contributions, and have even less certain income, than I felt sufficiently vain to return."

This unaffected exposé made the Commissioners laugh, and the affair ended by their receiving my return. The story is not very dissimilar to one told of the celebrated Horne Tooke, who, having returned to some Commissioners, under the same Act, his income at two hundred pounds per annum, was questioned much in the same manner as myself, till at last one of the inquisitors said,

"Mr Horne Tooke, you are trifling with us sadly; we are aware of the manner in which you live, the servants you keep, the style you maintain; this cannot be done for five times the amount you have returned. What other resources have you?"

"Sir," said Horne Tooke, "I have, as I have said, only two hundred pounds a year; whatever else I get, I beg, borrow, or steal; and it is a perfect matter of indifference to me to which of those three sources you attribute my surplus income."

And thus ended the examination.

Had these Reminiscences obtained "the puff direct" in print before Macklin, our Author's countryman, wrote his celebrated comedy, the chance we think is, that in place of a Scotchman, an Irishman would have had the honour of sitting for

the portrait of Sir Pertinax Macsycophant! Mr Kelly's volumes exhibit throughout so many prostrations to titulars, including the Emperor of Austria, continental Princes, Dukes, Archbishops, Earls, Baronets, &c., that we suspect he is one of those who "can never stand straight in the presence of a great man." If you, Mr Editor of the Scots Magazine, will send us as many sovereigns for this article as we could cite of Mr Kelly's phrases to the following effect, we shall wipe our quill until Christmas, 1826, and then have a remnant on hand for some whisky punch to digest our goose. Here are the unintermitting phrases: "He dined with me,"—"I dined with him,"—"I can boast of having enjoyed his kindness and hospitality ever since," and "I am glad to have this public opportunity of expressing my sense of his kindness, with which I have ever been honoured," &c. &c. It is at the conclusion of the second volume we come to the climax, which, of course, must exhibit no less a potentate than (whom we pray long live!) HIS GRACIOUS MAJESTY KING GEORGE IV!!!

Had His Majesty been pleased to nominate Mr Kelly Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or Governor-General of India, something like that which follows might have been warranted. As it stands here, it is in effect a literal "flourish of trumpets, and enter Tom Thumb."

One superior solace, under my worst visitations, I have indeed possessed, which yet remains untold. With some, perhaps, an avowal of it may draw upon me an imputation of pride or vanity; but, if I know myself, gratitude is paramount with me to either of those passions; and all liberal spirits, I trust, will excuse the apparent boast. Let me therefore declare, without equivocation or disguise, that the chief and dearest comfort remaining to me in this life, is the proud consciousness that I am honoured by the patronage of my beloved Monarch. Even from my earliest arrival in these realms, where George the Fourth now reigns in peace and glory, it was my enviable fortune to be distinguished by the Royal favour; and the humble individual, who, in 1787, was noticed by the Prince of Wales, is still remembered in 1825 by THE KING!

I cannot here refrain from mentioning a circumstance which occurred to me on

the 1st of January, 1822, and I sincerely trust there will not appear any impropriety in my doing so, since it records a trait of gracious goodness and consideration in His Majesty, which, although but one of hundreds, is but little known, and richly deserves to be universally so.

On that evening, the King gave a splendid party at the Pavilion, and His Majesty was graciously pleased to command my attendance to hear a concert performed by his own fine band. His Majesty did me the honour to seat himself beside me, and ask me how I liked the music which I had that day heard in the chapel, amongst which, to my surprise, had been introduced the Chaconne of Jomelli, performed in the "Castle Spectre," but which since has been called the Sanctus of Jomelli, and is now used in all the cathedrals and churches in England and the Continent, under that title. His Majesty was all kindness and condescension in his manner towards me; but his kindness and condescension did not stop there.

I had taken with me to Brighton that year a god-daughter of mine, Julia Walters, whom I have adopted, and whose mother has been, for years, my house-keeper and watchful attendant during my many severe illnesses. This little girl, at five years old, performed the part of the Child, in the opera of "L'Agnès," under the name of Signora Julia. Ambrogetti was so struck with my little protégée, that he begged I would let her play the character, which she did with grace and intelligence far beyond her years. This child asked me to procure her a sight of the King, and fixed upon the evening in question to press her request, when she might behold him in the midst of his Court, surrounded by all that was brilliant in the land, and in a palace whose splendour, when illuminated, rivalled the magnificence described in the "Arabian Nights."

I told my worthy friend Kramer, the excellent master and leader of His Majesty's private band, the earnest desire of little Julia, and prevailed upon him to admit her behind the organ, with a strict injunction not to let herself be seen; but female curiosity, even in one so young, prevailed, and after the first act of the concert, when the performers retired to take some refreshment, Signora Julia crept from her hiding-place behind the organ,

and seated herself between the kettle drums. The King was sitting on a sofa, between the Princess Esterhazy and the Countess Lieven, and though the orchestra was at a distance, His Majesty's quick eye in a moment caught a glimpse of the little intruder.

"Who is that beautiful little child?" said the King. "Who brought her here?" and immediately walked to poor Julia, and asked her who she was.

"I belong to K," said Julia.

"And who the deuce is K?" said His Majesty.

I was seated quite at the further end of the room, conversing with Sir William Keppell, and the moment I saw what was going on, I requested Sir William to go to the King, and say that the child belonged to me, which he with great good nature did.

His Majesty kissed poor little Julia; and taking her into his arms, threw her over his shoulder, and carried her across the room to me, and placed her in a chair by my side, saying, with the greatest condescension, "Why did you leave the child in the cold? Why not bring her into the room? If she be fond of music, bring her here whenever you like."

This act of kindness, consideration, and goodness, was duly appreciated by all who witnessed it, and by me will be ever remembered with the most respectful gratitude. On the following evening, when I again had the honour of a command to the palace, His Majesty was pleased to inquire after my pretty little girl. My friend, Prince Hoare, who was at Brighton at the time, wrote a few lines on the incident.

But the lines are not worthy of place here. This silly anecdote reminds us of a little song, which we have often heard poor Berry, that wayward child of Nature, sing in our theatre. If Kelly composed the music, he has omitted it in his catalogue; but "the burden of the song" is this,—a clown vaunted that a Prince had once spoken to him: being asked what the Prince's words were, in which he was so much honoured, replied, "He smacked his whip at me, and said, You lazy young rascal, get out of my way!"

WORKS PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

LONDON.

The Clarendon Papers, illustrative of the private and political history of Ireland during the years 1675 to 1700, by Henry Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon; and Reports of Debates in the House of Commons during the interregnum, from the year 1656 to 1659, are printing, from the original manuscripts in the possession of William Upcott, of the London Institution; with Explanatory Notes.

A Romance, by Ann Radcliffe, author of the *Mysteries of Udolpho*, is nearly ready for publication.

A New Work, by one of the authors of the *Rejected Addresses*, is in the press.

The author of *To-Day in Ireland* has in the press, *Yesterday in Ireland*, a series of Tales.

Mr Boaden will shortly publish *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs Siddons*, from authentic documents.

The *Free Speaker*, a new series of Essays on Men and Manners, is announced.

Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach, written by herself, are nearly ready.

A Third Series of *Highways and By-Ways*, and a second volume of *Memoirs and Recollections of Count Segur*, are preparing for publication.

There are in the press, *Memoirs illustrative of the History of Europe during the last Twenty-five Years*, by a distinguished political character.

A new work is announced, by the author of *Doblado's Letters from Spain*.

The seventh and eighth volumes of the *Memoirs of the Countess de Genlis*, being the conclusion of that work, will be shortly published.

A Treatise on Education, by Madame Campan, is announced, in one volume small 8vo.

A Greek and English Dictionary on the plan of Schrevelius, and designed chiefly for the use of schools and beginners in that language, is in the press, by the Rev. John Groves.

Mr Murray has in the press the *Conway Papers*, from the collection of the Marquis of Hertford, in 5 vols. 8vo.

A revised edition of the *Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Death of the Regent Duke of Orleans*, by Lord John Russell, is nearly ready.

An Enquiry into the Origin of the Laws and Political Institutions of Modern

Europe, and in particular of those in England, by George Spence, Esq. of Lincoln's-Inn, will speedily be published.

Mr Henry Hallam has in the press, the *Constitutional History of England, from the Accession of Henry VII. to the death of George II.*; in 2 vols. 4to.

A complete Collection of *Memoirs relating to the History of Great Britain, with Notes and Illustrations*, is announced for publication by a Literary Society.

Papers and Collections of Sir Robert Wilmot, Bart., sometime Secretary to the Lords Lieutenant of Ireland, are printing, in 3 vols. 8vo.

A new edition of the *Political History of India*, with an additional chapter on the present state of India, by Sir John Malcolm, is in the press.

A work is in the press, entitled the *Influence of Interest and Prejudice upon Proceedings in Parliament stated, and illustrated by what has been done in matters relative to Education—Religion—the Poor—the Corn Laws—Joint Stock Companies—the Bank of England and Banking Companies—and Taxes*.

Recent Discoveries in Africa, made in the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, extending across the Great Desert, to the tenth degree of northern latitude; and from Kouba in Bornou, to Sockatoo, the capital of the Soudan Empire; by Major Dixon Denham, of his Majesty's seventeenth regiment of foot, Captain Hugh Clapperton, of the Royal Navy (the survivors of the expedition,) and the late Dr Oudney, will speedily be published, in one volume 4to.

Voyages of Discovery, undertaken to complete the survey of the Western Coast of New Holland, between the years 1817 and 1822, are announced for publication, by Philip Parker King, R.N., commander of the expedition.

Travels in the Hedjaz, by the late John Lewis Burckhardt, are preparing for publication.

Proceedings of the Expedition despatched by his Majesty's Government to explore the Northern Coast of Africa, in 1821 and 1822, comprehending an account of the Syrtis and Cyrenaica; of the ancient cities composing the Pentapolis; and other various existing remains; by Captain F. W. Beechey, R.N., and H. W. Beechey, Esq., are nearly ready for the press.

There is announced a work entitled

Modern Discovery, (First Series, Voyages for the Discovery of a North-West Passage,) the object of which is to present the public with a cheap but elegant edition of the accounts of the great discoveries made in consequence of the voyages and travels which have of late years been undertaken, chiefly under the direction of the British Government.—No. I. will contain Captain Ross's Voyage, and Captain Parry's Voyage, Part First; to be continued monthly.

An Appendix to Captain Parry's Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is announced.

The Mission from Bengal to Siam, and to Hue, the capital of Cochin China, never before visited by any European, in the years 1821-22; by George Finlaison, Esq. with an Introduction, and Memoir of the author, by Sir Stamford Raffles, F.R.S., is nearly ready for the press.

Anne Boleyn, a Dramatic Poem, by the Rev. H. H. Milman, is printing uniformly with the Fall of Jerusalem.

The second volume of Southey's History of the late War in Spain and Portugal is in the press.

Mr Charles Butler announces the Life of Erasmus, with Historical Remarks on the State of Literature between the 10th and 16th centuries.

The Life of General Wolfe, from original documents, is printing uniformly with Mr Southey's Life of Nelson.

Excerpta Oratorica, or Selections from the Greek Orators, adapted to the use of Schools and Universities, are in the press.

Scenes and Characters from Froissart, will shortly be published, in 4 vols. fscap. 8vo.

The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri, with an Analytical Comment, by Gabriel Rossetti, is announced, in 6 vols. 8vo. This comment, which may be called an analysis of the spirit of Dante, lays open secrets yet unrevealed respecting the true signification, the origin, and the progress of the poem, so that no material passage of it will longer remain doubtful, either as to the literal or allegorical sense. The first volume will be published in January.

An Italian Grammar, by Ferdinand Cicilioni, is nearly ready.

The fourth volume (Mr W. S. Rose's translation) of the Orlando Furioso of Ariosto will shortly be published.

Essays on some of the Peculiarities of Christianity, by Dr Richard Whateley, are in the press.

Mr H. Lytton Bulwer's work on Greece will appear early in December,

entitled an Autumn in Greece in the year 1824, comprising sketches of the character, customs, and scenery of the country, with a view of its present critical state, in Letters addressed to Charles Binsley Sheridan, Esq.

The New Translation of the Bible from the original Hebrew text only, Part IV., by John Bellamy, will be published in December.

The History of Lymington and its immediate neighbourhood, with a brief account of its animal, vegetable, and mineral productions, &c. &c., by David Garrow, of St. John's College, Cambridge, is nearly ready.

A work of intense interest, in 2 vols. 8vo., under the title of The Reign of Terror, is on the eve of publication. It contains a collection of authentic narratives by eye-witnesses, of the horrors committed by the Revolutionary Government of France, under Marat and Robespierre, and is interspersed with biographical notices of prominent characters and curious anecdotes, illustrative of a period without its parallel in history.

A Translation of La Secchia Rapita, or the Rape of the Bucket; an Heroic-Comical Poem, in Twelve Cantos, from the Italian of Alessandro Tassoni, with Notes, by James Atkinson, Esq., is in the press, in 2 vols. 12mo.

Mrs Bray, late Mrs Charles Stothard, Author of a Tour in Normandy, Brittany, &c. &c., has an Historical Romance in the press, entitled De Foix; or, Sketches of the Manners and Customs of the Fourteenth Century, in 3 vols.

Dr A. T. Thompson has nearly ready for publication, a New and Corrected Edition of the London Dispensatory, in one large volume, 8vo.

Dr Kelly, Mathematical Examiner at the Trinity-House, is engaged in modernizing the Shipmasters' Assistant and Owners' Manual, originally compiled by Daniel Steel, Esq.

The third and fourth volumes of Kirby and Spence's Introduction to Entomology, or Elements of the Natural History of Insects, will appear in the course of December.

Messrs Hurst, Robinson, and Co. announce a New Series of the Monthly Review; to commence on the 1st of January next.

Early in December will be published, Stories for the Christmas Week, in 2 vols.

The son of the late Mr Butler, whose publications for young persons are so well known, has in the press a work entitled the Geography of the Globe, adapted for senior Pupils in Schools, and for the use

of Private Families. Mr Butler is also printing a brief Memoir of his Late Father.

Mr Pugin's Architectural Antiquities of Normandy, engraved by J. and H. Le Keux, will be completed in the ensuing year. The first gentleman has lately returned from that part of France, with a large collection of drawings, memorandas, documents, and casts from various buildings. From such materials the antiquary and architect may fairly calculate on accurate and satisfactory illustrations of history. No. 2. of the work will appear in February next.

The patrons and admirers of historical painting will be gratified to learn that George Jones, R.A., has just returned from a tour through Germany, France, and Switzerland, enriching his portfolio as he passed through each of those interesting countries. The public may, therefore, look forward to many valuable productions from the faithful pencil of this justly-esteemed artist.

Domestic Preacher; or, Short Discourses from the MSS. of some Eminent Ministers. 2 vols. 12mo.

Hints for Ministers and Churches. By the late Rev. Andrew Fuller.

Memoirs of the late Miss Jane Taylor. By her Brother, Mr Isaac Taylor, jun. 2 vols. Crown 8vo.

Selections from the Works of Dr John Owen. By the Rev. W. Wilson, D.D., Author of "Selections from Leighton's Works." 2 vols. 18mo.

Dr Ayre has in the press a Treatise on Dropsy.

Mr Pettigrew, Librarian to the Duke of Sussex, announces for publication an Historical and Descriptive Catalogue of His Royal Highness's Library, with Biographical Notices of the most eminent Printers, Editors, Engravers, &c.

Vol. VI. of Baron de Humboldt's Personal Narrative of Travels in Colombia will speedily be published.

A Verse Translation of Klopstock's Messiah is announced.

A Key to the Italian Language and Conversation, by Marconi, will speedily be published.

The Rev. W. Ellis has in the press a Narrative of a Tour, by a party of Missionaries, in the Sandwich Islands.

A work on Domestic Architecture, entitled "Half-a-dozen Hints on the Picturesque," is announced for publication, to contain nine Designs for Gate, Lodges, Gamekeepers' Cottages, &c.

Madame Mara is said to be preparing her Memoirs for the press.

Views in Stratford-upon-Avon, illus-

trative of the Life of Shakspeare, are announced.

There are nearly ready for publication, the Lives of the Architects, translated by Mrs Edward Cresy, from the Italian of Milizia.

Burke's General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the United Kingdom, for 1826, is nearly ready for publication.

A Collection of German Tales from Hoffman, Richter, Schiller, and Korner, is in the press.

A Translation of Baron Charles Dupin's Lectures on Mathematics, delivered last winter to the Artizans of Paris, is preparing for the press.

A Translation of Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, principally in the hand-writing of Queen Elizabeth, is said to have been recently discovered in the State-Paper Office.

The Rev. C. Anderson will shortly publish a work called "The Constitution of the Human Family."

A School Edition of the History of Scotland will speedily be published, by the Rev. A. Stewart.

A Memoir of the Court of Henry VIII. is preparing for the press.

The Geography of the Globe, adapted for Senior Pupils, Schools, &c. By John Olding Butler, and a Memoir of his Father, are announced for publication.

Etymons of English Words, uniformly printed with Todd's edition of Johnson's Dictionary, will speedily be published.

Mr J. H. Wiffen will shortly publish an illustrated edition of his Translation of Tasso, in 3 vols. demy 8vo. The Engravings will be executed from Designs by Hayter and Corbould, by Thompson and Williams.

Dr Southey has in the press "Dialogues on Various Subjects."

The fourth edition of Mr Hope's Anastasius; or, Memoirs of a Modern Greek, is in the press.

An important work, entitled "Mexican Memoirs," is announced, the purport of which is to afford an authentic History of Mexico, and a circumstantial account of every thing connected with that country.

New editions of Campbell's Specimens of the British Poets, Holland's History of the Middle Ages, and the Works of Lord Byron, are in the press.

The History of the Assassins, from Oriental Authorities, is announced for publication.

A New Annual Work, entitled "The Miscellanies of Literature for 1826;" containing Unique Selections from the

most important works published in 1825, will be ready for publication early in January.

The Naval Sketch-Book; or the Service Afloat and Ashore, by an Officer of rank, is announced as in the press.

Beauties of Claude Lorraine, Part I., containing Twelve Plates. To be completed in Two Parts, consisting of twenty-four Landscapes, by Claude; with a Portrait of Claude Lorraine, and the Life of this great Landscape-painter.

Mr M. T. Sadler is preparing for publication, a Defence of the Principle of the Poor-Laws, in answer to their Impugners, Mr Malthus, Dr Chalmers, and others, together with suggestions for their improvement, as well as for bettering the character and condition of the labouring classes: to which will be added, an Essay on Population, in disproof of the superfecundity of the human race, and establishing, by induction, a contrary theory.

The first, or winter edition, of that very useful publication, Boyle's Court Guide, by means of which the stranger can always find, by alphabetical reference, the residence of any person in the whole circle of rank, fashion, professional respectability, and genteel life, will shortly be ready for delivery.

Mr J. H. Druery has in the press, and will be ready for publication early in January, in a post octavo volume, illustrated with plates, an Historical and Topographical Description of Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk, including the Sixteen Parishes and Hamlets of the Half-hundred of Lothingland, in Suffolk. The Descent of the Stafford Barony, and a complete Pedigree of the Jerninghams, with other Genealogical Notices of Families in the Neighbourhood, will be given; and a correct account of the Churches, Monasteries, Heraldic and Monumental Remains.

The Author of "Warreniana" has in the press a Series of Tales for Winter Evenings, under the title of November Nights.

A Comparative View of the different Institutions for the Assurance of Lives, in which every question that can interest the Assurer is discussed, is preparing for the press, by Charles Babbage, Esq., M.A., F.R.S. London and Edinburgh. It

will contain extensive Tables of the Rates charged at all the Offices, as well as of the Profit made by each at various ages, together with some new Tables of the Rates of Mortality.

A New Edition of the Dramatic Works of Shakspeare, with numerous Engravings, will appear early in January. The Notes, original and selected, are by S. W. Singer, F.S.A.: they confirm all the information of preceding commentators, condensed into a small compass, and a Life of the Poet, with a Critique on his Writings, from the eloquent pen of Dr Symmons, the vindicator of Milton.

EDINBURGH.

On the 25th of January next will be published, in 3 vols. post 8vo. Woodstock, a Tale of the Long Parliament. By the Author of "Waverley," &c.

A new Periodical Work is announced, under the title of the Edinburgh Theological Magazine. No. 1. to appear in January next.

A Second Edition of a Treatise on the Law of Evidence. By George Tat, Esq., Advocate.

Prospectus of a Course of Moral Inquiry. By John Wilson, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. In 1 volume 8vo.

The Expiation; by the Author of "Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life," &c. 1 volume post 8vo.

The Omen; elegantly printed in a pocket volume.

A Sermon preached on the Sunday after the funeral of the Rev. William Gillespie, Minister of Kells. By the Rev. A. Macgowan, Minister of Dalry. 8vo.

Martyouffe, a Tragedy. By Thomas Aird, Esq. 8vo.

Annals of the House of Hanover, collected and arranged by Andrew Halliday, M.D.

A New Edition of the Grave, and other poems, by Robert Blair; as collected by Dr Robert Anderson, to which is prefixed, a life of the Author, is in the press, and will be ready for publication in the course of next month.

The Edinburgh Annual Register, for the Year 1825. 1 volume 8vo.

MONTHLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

LONDON.

AGRICULTURE.

An Encyclopædia of Agriculture; comprising the theory and practice of, the valuation, transfer, laying out, improvement, and management of Landed Property; and the cultivation and economy of the animal and vegetable productions of Agriculture. By J. C. Loudon, F.L.S. 8vo. With 800 Engravings on wood. £2.10s.

ANNUAL WORKS.

Tune's Telescope for 1826. 12mo. 9s.
Forget-Me-Not: a Christmas Present, or New Year's Gift for 1826. 18mo. 12s.

The Annuet; or, Christian and Literary Rembrancer for 1826. 18mo. 12s.

The Sporting Almanack, and Olympic Ephemeris for 1826. 3s.

The Literary Souvenir; or, Cabinet of Poetry and Romance for 1826. 18mo. 12s.

Friendship's Offering for 1826. 18mo. 12s.

Kitchener's Housekeeper's Ledger for 1826. 3s.

Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1826. 7s.

Almanach des Dames pour 1826. 9s.

BIOGRAPHY.

Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King's Theatre, and Theatre-Royal Drury-lane, Abroad and at Home. 2 vols. 8vo. £1.8s.

Memoirs of the Countess de Genlis. Written by herself. Vols. V. and VI. 16s.; French, 14s.

The Life of Paul Jones. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.

DRAMA.

William Tell: a Drama. Translated from the German of Schiller. 8vo. 6s.

The Plays of Clara Guzúl, a Spanish Comedian. 8vo. 9s.

John Balfiol: a Drama. By W. Tennant, Esq. 8vo. 6s.

EDUCATION.

The Universal Preceptor. By the Rev. D. Blair. A new and much improved edition. 5s.

Letters on Entomology: for the use of young persons. 12mo. 5s.

Heberden's Translation of Cicero's Letters to Atticus. 2 vols. 8vo. £1.6s.

Kenrick's Exercises to Zummt's Latin Grammar. 8vo. 5s.

An Introduction to Book-keeping: con-

sisting of Twelve short Rules for keeping Merchants' Accounts by Double Entry. By Richard Roc. 3s. 6d.

Scheveighæuser's Lexicon Herodoteum. 8vo. 14s.

Viger's Treatise on Greek Accents. 12mo. 1s. 6d.

Rowse's Outlines of English History. 12mo. 5s.

A Manual of the System of Instruction pursued at the Infant School, Meadow-Street, Bristol: illustrated by appropriate Engravings. Fourth Edition, considerably enlarged. By D. G. Goyder. 12mo. 5s.

The Analytical part of Principia Hebraica, with introductory Lessons. By T. Keyworth. 8s.

FINE ARTS.

Woolnoth's Ancient Castles. 2 vols. 8vo. £.5; 4to. £.7.8s.

Venus and Cupid: painted by R. Westall, Esq. R.A. Engraved by George Killaway. Prints, 4s; proofs, 7s. 6d.

Gems of Art. Part 6; containing the Duke of Wellington's celebrated Correggio of Christ in the Garden—Jael and Sisera, by James Northcote, R.A. in the Council Room of the Royal Academy—the Milk Girl, by Gainshorough, in the collection of George Philips, Esq. M.P.—Mr Morant's Vendervelde of a Gale at Sea—and a Canal Scene by Moonlight, by Vanderveer; completing the first volume. £.1; proofs, £.1.10s; India-paper proofs, £.1.18s.

The School of Athens, executed in imitation Cameo, as a Companion to the Last Supper. 10s. 6d. plain; £.1.1s. shaded.

Love at First Sight—Married To-morrow—the Glow-worm, and the Frosty Morning. The above painted by W. M. Sharp, Esq., and engraved by Turner, Ward, jun., and Dawes, &c. Prints, 7s. 6d.; proofs, 15s.

HISTORY.

Memoirs of the Court of France, during the residence of the Marquis Dangeau. 2 vols. 8vo. £.1.8s.; and in French, £.1.8s.

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MONTHLY REGISTER.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—*Liberty of the Press*.—The Constitutionnel French paper is loaded with the reports of its trial, which, like most French trials, is insufferably tedious. It will be recollected that the law of libel was altered in France on the advancement of M. de Villele and his friends to the Ministry; that the jury on offences of the periodical press was abolished; that the judges of the Cour Royale were appointed to pronounce on the law and the fact; that this court might suspend or suppress a Journal; and that they were empowered to take into view not only particular articles, but the spirit and tendency of a series of articles, as the foundation of their judgment. The charge against the Constitutionnel is, that thirty-four articles which appeared in that journal, between the 2d May and the 25th of July, have a tendency to injure the religion of the State. The Advocate-General, M. de Broe, in his argument to prove the irreligious tendency of the Constitutionnel, dwells very much on the character given by it to a late publication by the priests, called "Examination of Conscience." This publication was termed, by the Constitutionnel, obscene, and the Advocate-General himself, in some sort, admits the truth of this character, when he refers to the discretion of the priests under whose direction it is disseminated, and maintains that it was intended only for rural communes. "It was originally," says M. de Broe, "confined to the diocese of Lyons, and although it has since extended its circulation, it has always been confined to the country. The only argument in favour of the morality of this work, adduced by the Advocate-General, is, that it has been in circulation twenty-one years without ever having had either its piety or its morality called in question; this, however, is no proof of the innocent character of the work; and one of our contemporaries, in noticing the subject, has quoted a very revolting passage from a work which is put forth by the Roman Catholic priests in this country, and is to be met with on every book-stall, the owner of which is ignorant of, or not disgusted with its obscenity. The Advocate-General concluded his argument by requiring that the court would suspend the publication of the Constitutionnel for a

month; a very modest demand, certainly, and amounting only to annihilation. The court adjourned to Saturday next, when M. Dupin, who is counsel for the editor and proprietors, will make his reply. The trial excites great interest, and no wonder for it is of great importance to France, since, if, as a contemporary journalist observes, "it ends in the condemnation of the Constitutionnel, the Roman Catholic Religion will have gained a memorable triumph over civil and religious liberty. It will complete the edifice of spiritual tyranny, of which the foundation was laid in the law of sacrilege."

It is now evident that the French Government finds it necessary to school Ferdinand in pretty peremptory terms, upon the subject of South America. There is an important article in the *Etoile*, the organ of Villele, which speaks very plainly. It tells Ferdinand that Spain cannot conquer her ancient colonies; that no other power will conquer them for her; that they will never submit to her spontaneously; that their hostility cripples her trade, keeps up revolutionary feelings within her own territory, endangers the colonies still attached to her, and embarrasses all the friends of legitimacy in Europe,—in short, without announcing it in express terms, it conducts us to the conclusion, that the only rational course for Spain to follow, is to bargain with them for some advantages as the price of her recognition of their independence. It is evident that France expects to indemnify herself for the expense of her nefarious crusade into the Peninsula, out of the money which Spain may get from the Americans. In this expectation, it is pretty certain she will be disappointed. The Colonists will not give her one dollar for the relinquishment of pretensions which they hold in utter contempt.

A Paris correspondent assures us (says the *Times*), on what he considers good authority, that the health of the young Duke of Bordeaux has much deteriorated of late—that he suffers from a scrofulous distemper—that one of his legs is in a state which causes great anxiety, and that his immediate relatives do not now rely upon him with so much confidence as formerly to continue their august dynasty. Thus the French have cause to apprehend that the "child of miracles," as M. de

Chateaubriand called him, may not live to prolong the race of St. Louis, and that his premature decay may spoil many a bright anticipation, or falsify many a fine prophecy. But the most curious part of our correspondent's letter remains behind. The whole family of the Bourbons, as might be expected, are thrown into alarm, and the old King, like a man in panic, is said to have adopted the desperate resolution of—(guess, reader)—of—marrying again, and giving France another chance for good government. The illustrious lady who is destined for the honour of his hand is stated to be a Princess of Saxony, and widow of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Though both in the same state with respect to widowhood, the age of the Princess is very different from that of her intended husband; she being, we believe, about 30, and he just 68 on Thursday last. The match would thus resemble, in point of the ages of the parties, and their previous deprivation of connubial bliss, the viceregal nuptials which have lately spread so much hilarity over the sister island; the Viceroy having the advantage of the King, or the King of the Viceroy, by only two years.

The Parisian Company for iron steam-boats launched its first boat on the 5th inst., which was manufactured in the establishment of Messrs Manly and Wilson, at Charenton. A great number of spectators from Charenton, the villages on the Seine and Paris, were attracted by this sight.—*Paris Paper.*

SPAIN.—An idle rumour has been raised, that the Holy Allies mean to supply Spain with money, to enable her to recover her American colonies. Except France, none of the holy fraternity have any spare funds in their coffers: and France finds the domestic broils of Spain a sufficient load upon her finances, without engaging in such chimerical projects as the reconquest of Spanish America. On the contrary, there is strong reason to believe that Vilele's prudence is alive to the commercial importance of the New States, and that Charles X. will probably be the first of the great monarchs of the continent who will acknowledge their independence.

It is confidently stated in Madrid, that the Duke de l'Infantado has found his situation so full of difficulties, that he has resigned the office of Prime Minister. His successor is reported to be Monsieur Labrador, the Ambassador for Spain at the Court of Naples. This Minister has spent a considerable part of his life in the United States, and attended the late Congress of Sovereigns on the part of Spain; he is represented to be a man of talents. So confidently was this rumour circulated,

that it was transmitted to Paris by express. The distress of the treasury had at length given alarm to the French Government, which, it seems, had made a demand for the payment of a large proportion of the 15 millions now due, arising out of previous debts, and the occupation of Spain by the French troops. It is said in the advices, that the demand on the part of the Cabinet of Paris was so imperative as to leave the Spanish ministry no choice, but to compel it to raise money at every disadvantage. The intercourse between Madrid and Paris, up to Monday night, had been very rapid and constant; and it was reported in Paris, that a special Envoy, upon the subject of the claims of France, would be sent to Madrid immediately. We have already learnt, that the ministry of Madrid was in the utmost confusion, and that the King of Spain was dissatisfied with various members of his Council, but that he did not dare, under the present circumstances, to risk any change. We now find that the cause of this disorganization is the peremptory demand made by the French Cabinet. The letters add, that in case a portion of the debt be not paid with as little delay as possible, the King of France had threatened to withdraw his troops from the Peninsula. This part of the story we certainly do not believe.

Mad as the idea seems, of Spain sending more troops to the Havannah, it appears quite certain that an expedition, to consist of two ships, is fitting out at Cadiz for that purpose.

NETHERLANDS.—The *Journal des Debats* contains a most enlightened Address, presented to the King of the Netherlands by the Catholic Clergy of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, in recommendation of those institutions for public instruction which his Majesty has just erected, and which the Archbishop of Mechlin, at the head of the *ultramontane* portion of the Belgic Church, had so publicly denounced and condemned. "The decree of the 11th of June," says this Address, "has fulfilled the hopes of those Catholic Priests who are sincerely attached to the doctrines of their holy religion. Those of the Grand Duchy who present their respectful homage, see in it a new cause of prosperity to the Catholic Church." "In all civilized states," it adds, "instruction spreads with astonishing rapidity,—letters, sciences, and arts, become accessible to all classes;—and shall that which, by its essence, is calculated to diffuse the knowledge most necessary to the human race remain behind? Such an order of things is evidently subversive of the spiritual and

temporal welfare of man." The whole of the Address is written in the same spirit of submission to Government and respect for public instruction. The *Quotidienne* censures it as deficient in respect for Episcopal authority, and submission to the See of Rome.

HUNGARY.—Accounts from Presburg state, "that the Hungarian Diet, in a united sitting of the Chambers, had resolved to present an Address to the Emperor, in order to acquaint his Majesty, that persons high in office, even Hungarians, filling the post of Royal Commissioners, have violated the Constitution, by the employment of the military force, and to petition his Majesty to call these persons to account, and have them punished according to law, and to annul the Ordinances which are at variance with the Constitution."

RUSSIA.—A resolution of the Council of State, confirmed by the Emperor of Russia, allows all merchants who have received orders of knighthood, either for public services or patriotic sacrifices, to enter into the class of Russian nobility, even if they continue their former professions.

GERMANY.—The Frankfort papers to the 19th instant contain a long account of the honours paid to the celebrated German writer, Goethe, on the extraordinary occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his entering the service of the Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar. Political integrity and literary talent has seldom been thus complimented; the Grand Duke wrote Goethe a very flattering letter in his own hand, in which he acknowledged how much he was indebted to his services, and accompanied it with a medal struck for the occasion, on which were busts of the Duke, his consort, and his faithful minister. Other honours were showered on the venerable head of Goethe, and the Municipality have conferred on him, his grandchildren, and their heirs for ever, the freedom of every city and town in the Grand Duchy.

GREECE.—Intelligence has been received from Greece to the beginning of October, and though it comes through the suspicious channel of the *Austrian Observer*, still it supplies a few facts, which, taken apart from the comments that accompany them, are of some importance. It appears that Ibrahim, who has been twenty times stated to be shut in and surrounded, is making, leisurely, expeditions, almost without molestation, to the different parts of the Morea. From Tripolitza he marched south to Mistra, (near the site of Lacedæmon,) thence through Laconia to Trimsi, at the head of the Gulf of Kolythia; and it does not seem that in

this long journey of fifty miles, through a rugged country, he met with any resistance. A stronger proof could not be given of the decided ascendancy he has gained. During his absence, an attempt was made by Colonel Fabvier, with 300 disciplined Greeks, to surprise Tripolitza; but it failed, owing to the negligence or incapacity of Logdon, a Greek chieftain, who was to co-operate. In western Greece, it is said that the Seraskier still continues the siege of Missolonghi, notwithstanding the approach of winter. In this quarter, however, there is little doubt that the Turks will be foiled. It is obvious that the prospects of the Greeks have never been so gloomy as at this moment. We think, however, that the means of salvation are yet in their hands; and we have reason to believe that they are beginning to reap instruction from their misfortunes. The Greeks found little difficulty in discomfiting or destroying the disorderly Turkish hordes which poured in upon them from Thessaly, because these had less zeal than themselves, and were as badly organised. So long, therefore, as they had only such bodies to contend with, they were deaf to the exhortations of their friends in England, as to the necessity of regular discipline, corps of artillery, and more effective ships of war. They beat their enemies, and got spoil by the victory, and desired nothing more. But Ibrahim arrived with an army organised and led by European officers, routed with ease their masses of peasantry, took their towns, and established himself firmly in the very heart of their country. These disasters have impressed the Greeks with such a sense of their inferiority, that resistance has almost ceased, and the Egyptian Prince, with a paltry force of 8000 men, is virtually master of a district containing half a million of inhabitants. The Greeks were in fact too rude and ignorant to be cured of their errors in any other way than by bitter experience of their consequences. We understand that they are now engaged in good earnest in introducing tactics and discipline into their army, and in procuring more effective ships of war. Fortunately the proportion of their last loan, still in the contractor's hands, is so considerable, that if they make a wise use of it, they may yet retrieve their affairs. A French paper says, that the Emperor of Russia has resolved to introduce "the pacific system into Greece." If the report has any foundation, it no doubt means, that Russia intends to make such peace in the Morea as France made in Spain—by sending in an army to crush both parties, and rule the country. But

whatever may be Alexander's intentions, he can do nothing for six months to come.

An Italian paper states, on the authority of letters from Corfu, that the Egyptian fleet, carrying troops to Greece, had been attacked and defeated shortly after it left Alexandria, by the united squadrons of the three Admirals, Miaulis, Canaris, and Sactouris. Some credit is attached to the intelligence in London. If it be correct, it will deprive Ibrahim of all chance of being reinforced during the winter, and probably compel him to quit the Morea as soon as he can find an opportunity. It is reported that one of the steam-boats intended for the Greeks has proceeded to sea.

ITALY.—*Pompeii, Naples, Oct. 21.*—Learned Europe will learn, with great pleasure, that our august Sovereign has given orders to carry on the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii with activity. His Majesty, accompanied by the Queen and the Princess Christina, visited the two subterranean cities, the day before yesterday, and made minute inquiries into the state of the work. Our museum is daily enriched by valuable works of art and antiquities. The unrolling and reading the MSS. continue with success.

AMERICA.

PERU.—It is supposed that the surrender of Callao, and with it the extinction of the Spanish power in Peru, has most probably taken place before this time. On the 27th June, Rodil, the Governor, proposed to capitulate, but on terms which, it is believed, were deemed inadmissible. Bolivar had received intelligence of the independence of Colombia being acknowledged by Great Britain. The elections in Colombia have terminated, and he has been again raised by the public voice to the office of President. A Dr Mendoza has succeeded to Santander as Vice-President.

MEXICO.—Letters from the city of Mexico to the 7th September have been received. The city was suffering from measles, scarlet fever, and dysentery. Public affairs were in a tranquil state. The revenue was improving fast, and the customs, in particular, were much exceeding the estimates presented to Congress, in the Session of January last. Exchange on London 55d. per dollar. The accounts from the Mining districts continued to increase interest in the extent of the operations there with the increase. Iron had been discovered at Guanaxuato, and was about to be worked for the use of the mines. The experiments

of smelting the ores had been successful as far as they had been tried, and it was expected that, in a short time, they would supersede the old process of amalgamation by quick-silver.

BUENOS AYRES.—*Banda Oriental*—We have received Buenos Ayres papers to the 7th of September. An assembly of the House of Representatives of the eastern province of the Rio de la Plata, usually called the Banda Oriental, took place in the city of Florida 26th Aug., when a solemn declaration was made of the independence of that part of South America. The principal clause in this document is expressed in energetic language; it declares to be "void, dissolved, and of no value for ever, all the acts of incorporation, acknowledgment, and oaths of allegiance, wrung from the people of the Banda Oriental by force, combined with treachery, of the usurping states of Portugal and Brazil, who have tyrannized over it, and seized on its inalienable rights, and brought it under the yoke of an absolute despotism from the year 1817 to the present time." No events of moment had occurred relative to the contest in Monte-Video, but some slight advantages in skirmishing had been gained over the Imperialists, and the cause of independence seems to be acquiring stability. On the other hand, letters from Monte-Video to the 14th state, that the army in the Banda Oriental had beaten the Independents under Ribeira; and that it was expected the resistance to the Imperial Government would soon be at an end.

UNITED STATES.—NOVA SCOTIA.—*Conflagration at Miramichi.*—The British Settlements in Nova Scotia have been visited by a most awful and calamitous conflagration. A vast track of natural forest, on the shores of Miramichi, has fallen a prey to the flames, and the town itself has been destroyed. A letter from Halifax, dated 18th October, received in Leith, says, that 500 individuals were then named, as having been either burned alive or suffocated by the fire; and it is feared, that not less than 2000 have fallen victims, in the town or country. A dense fog, which seriously affected the lungs and eyes, and prevented navigation on the rivers, was simultaneously felt at New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington; and so alarming appears to be the extent and power of the conflagration, that the effects about the same date were experienced in the British Provinces, particularly at York, Montreal, and Quebec. The accounts in the Canada papers state, that great fears were entertained, from the dense fog having continued for seven

ral days, that the fire was raging also on the north of the river St. Lawrence.

The following are some of the particulars:—

[From the *Halifax Free Press* of Oct. 18.]

A most painful duty this day devolves on us, that of recording an astonishing and dire calamity, which has befallen the Province of New Brunswick, involved multitudes in death and ruin, and visited a large extent of country with unsparing desolation.

On Thursday last, a verbal account was received of the conflagration which has taken place at Fredericton, by which 30 houses, and 89 barns, were consumed, caused by a fire in the woods adjacent to that town; and a rumour at that time prevailed, that some of the back settlements near Miramichi had experienced a similar fate. But while anxiety was on the stretch for correct information from Fredericton, the intelligence of the disaster at Miramichi arrived, and for a time the calamity that had been experienced at the one place, was lost in the contemplation of that which had befallen the other. It seems that the woods in that part of the country had been for some time on fire, but without exciting any apprehension of the catastrophe which was about to involve in ruin large proportion of the population of the Province. On the 7th instant, however, the flames acquired an ascendancy which rendered flight, in some instances, impracticable, and resistance unavailing. The alarming progress of this destructive element had been concealed, by the state of the atmosphere which it occasioned, until the night of that day, when, aided by a hurricane, which increased its violence and rapidity, it burst with uncontrollable fury upon the heads of its devoted victims.

All the accounts that have been received describe the rapidity of the flames to have been such, as to have precluded the possibility of saving property to any extent. In most cases, the unsuspecting beings, suddenly aroused from their slumbers, were unable to dress themselves; and immediate destruction was the consequence of a moment's delay. So instantaneous were the effects of the fire, that many persons who were saved owed their preservation to the vicinity of the river, into which they threw themselves, and were taken up by boats, or escaped on rafts of timber. In that part of Miramichi called Newcastle, out of 250 houses, but 14 escaped; and, indeed, the circumstance of any property being saved, is considered as a miraculous interference

Were we to give vent to the feelings that actuate us upon this occasion, we might depict a scene at which the heart of the most indifferent would sicken; and even then we probably should fall short in description of the sad reality. It cannot be possible to conceive the picture which the devoted country that has been the scene of this visitation now presents. Near 200 persons in the vicinity of Miramichi alone perished in the flames; and the loss of lives in the interior of the forests, where escape was impossible, must have been immense. What renders the event more afflicting, is the circumstance that the survivors are, many of them, dreadfully mutilated, and the sick, and several of the dying, can no longer obtain the slightest shelter from the severity of the weather.

Upon the receipt of the mail with the intelligence, on Saturday afternoon, gloom and anxiety were every where manifested; and on Sunday morning, at nine o'clock, a meeting of the inhabitants took place, when the following resolutions were passed:—"That provisions and other articles, for the relief of the sufferers, be sent to the store of Messrs Dabois and Mitchell,—that letters be written to different parts of the Province, requesting the aid of their inhabitants,—that a committee be appointed to request that collections may be made in the different places of worship in this town on Sunday next, for this charitable purpose."

A subscription was opened at the meeting, and before it broke up, twelve hundred pounds were subscribed; a committee of management, and a sub-committee to collect subscriptions throughout the town, were also appointed; and notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, during the afternoon of that day, and the forenoon of yesterday, that sum was increased to two thousand pounds. Vessels were dispatched with provisions; others were laden in like manner; and a large supply of clothing, and other necessaries, were shipped on board of the *Orestes* sloop of war, which vessel sailed this forenoon for Miramichi. Where all have acted so generously, it would be wrong to particularize, satisfied, as we are, that the reflection of having performed a benevolent action must afford the highest gratification to every virtuous mind.

Melancholy as this description is, it is to be feared more heart-rending accounts are yet to be received. Numbers must have perished, of whom no account will probably be ever obtained; and many persons who have been mutilated, and otherwise personally injured, will continue

from time to time to be discovered in remote situations, or will perish through want, in distant and remote parts of the country.

The City Gazette, published at St. John, New Brunswick, gives a list of the houses, furniture, and goods, destroyed by fire at Fredericton; from which it appears, that the damage amounts to £32,522. At the seat of Government, on the 7th October, a fire broke out which has destroyed private property to the extent of £35,000, besides the provision-store, straw-store, barrack-store, long-store, and the whole of the fuel-yard, and the provisions belonging to Government. To the westward, the fire is said to have raged to the extent of nearly 20 miles on the St. Andrew's Road. The number of sufferers at Miramichi is such, as to make it extremely desirable that the subscription for them should be liberal.

Extract of a letter, dated United States, Hallowell Maine, October 10, 1825:—Our whole country is on fire, more or less, for above one hundred miles. We have lost 150 acres of wood in Riply and three neighbouring towns; 21 houses and 25 barns are burnt; Exeter almost destroyed; in Monmouth 14 hay-stacks (300 tons) are burnt. I rode last week 30 miles through the devastation. The most awful sight of the kind I ever beheld; the fire advanced a mile in four hours, and, for 15 minutes, nearly two roads per minute.

The great American Canal is at length finished. It is 360 miles in length, four feet in depth, cost seven millions of dollars, and has been executed in eight years. The Americans may call it, without boasting, the greatest work of the kind in the world. Its completion was to be celebrated on the 26th of October.

WEST-INDIES.—*St. Domingo*.—The Haytians have obtained a signal triumph in the conditions of their loan in Paris. They have raised money on better terms than France herself could do a year or two ago. The testimony thus indirectly borne to the good faith, stability, and growing prosperity of the Black Republic, coming as it does from men who are utterly indifferent to the various shades of complexion and principle, and whose self-interest is the best of vouchers for their sincerity, is worth a hundred eulogies and appeals from Messrs Buxton and Wilberforce. It is known from good authority, that the Black President renewed his application to the British Cabinet to obtain a recognition of the Republic's independence, and that, on condition of obtaining

it, he has offered to reduce the duties on British merchandise, and, if necessary, to interdict all trade between the Republic and our West India islands. From some scrupulosity not easily understood, these proposals have not been replied to.

ASIA.

EAST INDIES.—We have received letters and papers from Madras to the 19th of July, and from Calcutta to the 12th of June. The accounts from the seat of war state, that the rainy season had set in, and the troops at Prome were unhealthy. The reported negotiations for peace are stated to have ended in rather a farcical manner, by the absconding of the Burmese ambassador during the night, when he had so far succeeded as to prevent the march of the English troops on the capital, and when he ascertained the necessity of the troops remaining at Prome, and the neighbourhood, during the rainy season. There is now no doubt whatever that the Burmese war will continue; at all events, there must be another campaign, or at least all the preparations for it. The force under Lieutenant Pemberton and Gumbier Sing has entered Mumpore, and the British flag is now flying on the citadel. This news is important, and our readers may rest assured of its correctness. The enemy made no resistance, we are told, but fled on the approach of our force. Mumpore, or Mumpora, (Mampura, the town of jewels,) is a town in the Birman empire, and the capital of the province of Cassay. The district in which this town is situated is sometimes called the Muggaleo, or Meekly country, and is the nearest communication between the N. E. extremity of Bengal, and the N.W. quarter of the Burman territories; but the route has never before been traversed by Europeans. The town was captured by the Birmans 1774, and has ever since remained tributary to them. An intercourse subsists between it and the province of Assam, for, in 1794, the British detachment which went to Gergong, the capital of Assam, saw there a body of cavalry, which had arrived from Mumpore.

By official documents in the Calcutta and Bombay papers last received, we learn that the town and island of Ramree have been taken possession of by the forces under Brigadier General Macbean. No resistance seems to have been made by the Burmese, who fled immediately on the approach of our troops. It is a conquest, however, of no great importance.

BRITISH CHRONICLE.

NOVEMBER.

I.—*Preparations for Raising the Comet*—Early this morning, the Caledonian and Hercules Steam-boats arrived in Gourock Bay to assist in this desired object. The wind still continued fresh. About ten o'clock two small boats, containing between them one of the chains, and dragged out by two boats with four oars each, left the bay to commence sweeping. To each end of the chain was attached a long cable, which was again terminated by buoys. The boats, on coming near to the spot where the Comet is lying, separated a little, and let the chain drop between them into the water, the buoys floating above, and keeping the ends above water. Having deposited this chain in the water, they returned to the bay, and taking out another chain, they sunk it in a similar manner at the other side of the Comet. These operations occupied till nearly twelve o'clock, at which hour the steam-boats sailed from the bay to the scene of action. They seized each a rope attached to one of the sunk chains, and sailed in the same direction on either side of the Comet, until the chain was dragged under her keel. The next chain was dragged under in a similar manner, when they were crossed over each other, and left to be fastened to the tackling on board the lighters. The operations were watched with much anxiety from the shore by the relatives of those who are still missing. Had the Comet sunk a very few hundred yards farther to the eastward she might have been raised long ago; but the place where she lies is very stormy, when the other side of the point is quite calm. Should, however, the wind shift to the south, they will commence the raising of the vessel, for which every thing is now ready. The bodies which have been last found were many of them severely injured. The eyes of several of them were eaten out by shell-fish, some of which were found sticking on various other parts of the bodies. Mrs Wright, who was one of the first that was found, was still alive, and grasped the hand of the boatmen who lifted her from the water. She died, however, almost immediately upon reaching the shore. On Sunday the 20th, the Comet was moved nearer the shore 15 feet; on Tuesday 16; on Wednesday 50; and on Thursday 60—making, in all, 143 feet. In the place where she sunk, the water was 17 fathoms deep;

in the place she now is, it is about 13 fathoms, so that she is now about 4 fathoms nearer the surface. The weather has continued so stormy that nothing farther has been done.

9.—*University and Town-Council of Edinburgh*.—A difference has taken place between the Town-Council, the Patrons, and the Senatus Academicus of the University of Edinburgh, in regard to the right of the former to frame regulations on the subject of the *curriculum*, or course of study in the College, particularly that of Midwifery. The Senatus, it seems, do not object to the lectures on midwifery and the diseases of children forming eventually part of the medical *curriculum*; but they deny the right of the patrons to frame regulations on the subject; and in the event of the Council persisting in their claims, have declared their intention of applying for a Royal visitation, which means an inspection of the affairs of the University by Commissioners appointed by Government. A communication to this effect has been made to the Council, and referred to the Committee upon College matters, with instructions to advise farther with Council, and to take all necessary measures to maintain the rights of the Patrons. The Solicitor-General having given an opinion, the substance of which was, that the Senatus had taken up untenable ground in applying for a Royal visitation, inasmuch as the constitution of the University depended on Acts of Parliament, and the Crown had no right to interfere, the Council determined on a visitation to the University, the form of procedure at which, and the statement to be made, was determined on the previous day. They this day, accordingly, proceeded to put their design into execution. The following is the account of the visitation:—

“In pursuance of a resolution with reference to the pending controversy between the Council and the University, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, attended on Thursday, at two o'clock, at the College Buildings, where, the Senatus being informed of their visit, they were accommodated with the Principal's apartments, immediately above the Senate-room, for the purpose of assembling. The Council having met, and put on their robes, walked down stairs, and, attended by the City Clerks and an Assessor, were ushered into the Senate-room, where the Senatus Academicus were met to receive

them, with the Principal at the head of the table, and the Professors seated in their order of seniority. The Council being accommodated at the other end of the same table, the Lord Provost rose, and addressing himself in the most polite and gentlemanly manner to the Very Reverend the Principal, stated that he must be quite aware of the object of this visit; that the Council, in the exercise of their rights, as Patrons of the University, and watching it as they did with a fostering care, had, on due deliberation, thought proper to prescribe that Midwifery, together with the diseases of women and children, should form part of the *curriculum* for a medical degree; and that the Act of Council to that effect would now be read by the Clerk.

"Thus having accordingly been done, and reference being made to the various papers which had passed between the Council and the Senatus since January 1824, the period at which this controversy began,

"The Lord Provost put the question to the Principal, whether the Senatus was prepared to give effect to the Act of Council which had been read, as in the event of their not doing so, they must hold themselves liable for the consequences to which a refusal might subject them? His Lordship added, that the question was put with the view, if necessary, to establish their right by application of a court of law.

"Principal Baird said, that although fully aware of the object of the visit of the patrons, he was not prepared to answer all the topics which had been touched upon by his Lordship, but would read from a paper which had been drawn up by the Senatus Academicus, what he considered would virtually answer the principal question that had been put to him, and which they had anticipated. The Reverend Doctor then read the document, which in substance stated, that the Senatus considered that the patrons had no right to prescribe what should or should not be the *curriculum* of study; that the Senatus being the party which conferred degrees, held themselves best able to judge what qualifications were necessary to entitle them to grant them.

"The Lord Provost then addressed the Principal, and stated, that their public business being now at an end, he hoped that what had just passed between them, and what each party had considered to be their duty in their public capacities, would not tend in the least degree to lower either party in the eyes of the other; that he could assure them, both for himself and his brethren of the Coun-

cil, that they held the learning and talents of the Senatus Academicus of this University, which had raised our city to the proudest eminence of literary and scientific celebrity, in the highest estimation, and he trusted that nothing that had occurred would in the least interrupt the train of harmony and good humour which had always subsisted between them individually.

"The Rev. Principal Baird, in the most respectful manner, replied to the friendly and complimentary language of the Lord Provost, and expressed an equally ardent desire for a continuance of mutual good will between the University and its Patrons; when the Council took their leave, and withdrew."

It is scarcely necessary to state, that these proceedings, on the part of the Council, were merely meant to afford a regular ground for an action at law. Whether the Council will immediately enter the Court themselves, or whether, by endeavouring to invalidate the diploma granted, they will compel the Senatus to become the pursuing party, or whether the Royal visitation craved will be granted, and supersede an action altogether, we cannot tell. Neither are we sufficiently informed to say on which side justice lies; but we are sure, that any circumstance which shakes the confidence of the Students in the validity of the degrees they receive here, must, if it is not speedily removed, prove highly injurious to the University. Mr Peel has referred the Memorial of the University, craving a Royal visitation, to the Lord Advocate and Solicitor-General, for their report.

10.—A meeting was held in Westminster, for the purpose of founding a new Scientific and Literary Institution for that part of the metropolis. Mr Henry Drummond, Banker, was in the Chair, supported by Mr Brougham, Mr T. Campbell, Mr Hobhouse, &c. The Institution is to include—1, A library and reading-room; 2, Lectures on various branches of science and literature; 3, Classes for teaching modern languages, &c. The members are to pay two guineas a-year in half-yearly payments. The Institution is designed chiefly for the accommodation of the commercial classes.

11.—This morning early, a man named Pollock, a labourer, residing in Gifford's Park, in the southern suburbs, gave an alarm to some neighbours that his wife was severely ill, and a surgeon being sent for, it was found that she was dead. The surgeon of the police establishment was subsequently called. On examination of the body, a severe wound, supposed from a knife, was discovered in the

abdomen, from which it appeared that the poor woman had bled to death; and some suspicions attaching to Pollock, he was taken into custody until a precognition should be had of the circumstances.

14.—HIGH COURT OF JUSTICIARY. —This day the Court met, when Ann Paton was placed at the bar, charged with two acts of theft from lock-fast places, aggravated with being habit and repute a thief; to which she pleaded Guilty. The Lord Advocate having restricted the libel, she was sentenced to be transported for seven years. John Carstairs was next placed at the bar, charged with stealing from a stable belonging to Mr Younger, brewer, near the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, a quantity of lead, weighing upwards of one cwt. and a quarter: he was also charged with the aggravation of being habit and repute a thief; to all of which he pleaded Not Guilty. [An accomplice escaped.] The prisoner having no Council, Mr Bruce, at the request of the Lord Justice Clerk, undertook the case. The evidence was short, but perfectly conclusive as to the guilt of the prisoner; he having been seen to get over the wall of Mr Younger's premises, was pursued to the Dumbie Dykes, and there taken with the stolen property in his possession. No fewer than seven convictions in the Police Court were libelled on, and Police Sergeant Stuart, and Thomas Macdonochie, swore that the prisoner had no other means of supporting himself except by thieving. The Lord Advocate restricted the libel, and the jury having without hesitation found him guilty, he was sentenced to transportation for life.

John Jamieson, an old man, was next placed at the bar; he had been convicted at the Circuit Court at Inverary, before Lord Meadowbank, of an assault, with intent to commit a heinous crime, on a girl of fifteen years of age. Lord Meadowbank stated, that he had not deferred sentence on any doubt he entertained at the time as to the guilt of the prisoner, but as he would have to come to Edinburgh at any rate, he thought it better to have their Lordship's opinions as to the extent of punishment. Mr M.A. Fletcher, in mitigation of punishment, read a certificate as to the prisoner's previous good character, signed by a great number of inhabitants of the parish where he had resided sixty years. Lord Hermand thought the crime of which the prisoner had been convicted the most atrocious that could be committed, and he therefore could not propose a less punishment than transportation for life. Lord Gillies, although the last man in the world to

treat such a crime lightly, thought the proposed sentence too severe in the present case, more so than the Court had been in the habit of inflicting; he was of opinion that transportation for seven years would be sufficient, which sentence was approved of by the rest of their Lordship, with the exception of Lord Hermand: the hoary culprit was sentenced accordingly, and removed from the Bar.

The Court was occupied a considerable time with the case of Janet Ramage, a young girl, who stood indicted at the Stirling Circuit Court for an attempt to poison her fellow-servant, Margaret Marquarth, by putting vitriolic acid into a teapot intended for her breakfast. The relevancy of the indictment had been objected to by the prisoner's counsel at the Circuit Court, on account of its vagueness. The same objections were again urged before their Lordships, and it was ultimately agreed, that informations be ordered to be given in.

21.—This day Neil McIlroy, an Irish labourer, was placed at the bar, charged with a violent assault, to the danger of life, on Helen Milton, in Brunswick-Street, Stockbridge, on the 15th of August last, she being far advanced in pregnancy. The prisoner pleaded Guilty of the assault, but not to the danger of life. The Jury found the prisoner guilty, and the Lord Justice Clerk, in addressing him, alluded to the characteristic proneness to violence of the lower Irish in their own country, which could not be permitted here, and trusted that the issue of this trial would operate as an example. He was then sentenced to seven years' transportation.

James Bartholomew, William Somerville, John Meikle, and James Watson, farm-servants, were next placed at the bar, charged with furiously driving their carts, to the danger of the heges. Meikle was dismissed from the Bar, owing to an error in his designation; the others pleaded Not Guilty. The facts of the case were these:—Two carts laden with furniture, belonging to John Mowbray, Esq. W. S., were proceeding along the Mid-Calder road, in charge of his carter, James Finlay. In the last cart three of the maid-servants were sitting. At Kiershill toll-bar, no less than eight butter-milk carts were standing without their drivers. Having driven on some distance, Mr Mowbray's servants were suddenly alarmed by the noise of carts driving furiously, and the rattling of barrels. Finlay, very properly, for the safety of the females, laid firm hold of his last horse, but in an instant the cart was overturned and broken, as was the furniture, and

himself severely injured. One of the women, Elizabeth Brown, had a leg broken, and was otherwise much hurt about the shoulders and breast; she was supported into court, and from her appearance, it will be long before she perfectly recovers, if ever; she sat within the bar while giving her evidence. Another of the females, Ann Knight, was also greatly hurt. These witnesses clearly proved that they were on the near side of the road,—that the noise of the carts was frightfully alarming,—that one cart passed them at a furious gallop, and that three others came up abreast at the same furious rate, one of which caught the axle of the cart on which they sat, and overturned it. The Jury unhesitatingly found the prisoners guilty; and they were sentenced to be imprisoned in Edinburgh Jail for twelve calendar months, and till they found security for their good behaviour for five years in the sum of £50.

William Flockhart and Peter Love, two boys, were next placed at the Bar, charged with stealing a japanned knife-tray, containing a quantity of plate, from a press in the lobby of the house of Mr Moffat, Solicitor, in Brown's Square; they were also habit and repute thieves. Mary Charlton or Flood, stood charged in the same indictment, with the crime of reset. The boys pleaded Not Guilty, and the woman's reply was that she did not know what was in the bundle. They were sentenced to transportation for fourteen years.

15.—Natural Philosophy Class.—It is not often, says the Scotsman, that those who enjoy the gifts of fortune have the spirit to make a liberal use of them, and it is still more rare that those who have both the means of doing good, and the spirit to do it, are sufficiently enlightened to render their good intentions serviceable to mankind. It is, therefore, with very great pleasure that we lay before our readers an instance of true munificence, united with an enlightened zeal in the cause of science, as communicated by Professor Leslie to his class in his introductory lecture this day. He said, that in commencing the session, he had a piece of gratifying intelligence to communicate. A gentleman of eminent talents and distinguished benevolence had placed at his disposal a donation of £200, to be employed in enlarging the physical cabinet connected with the class; he had further destined the sum of £50 annually for two prizes to the more advanced pupils of the class; and for the present year, he had promised an additional sum of £75, to be given as prizes for the two best essays on Comets, to candidates who had

studied at this University. The Professor stated, that the conditions to be annexed to these trials of proficiency were not yet settled. For the present session, it was proposed to admit as competitors for the two prizes, all those who join the Natural Philosophy class this season, and have attended it before within a period of five years backward. The prizes are to be awarded in March next, according to the method usually followed in the class; that for the best essay being £20, with a gold medal of the value of £10, that for the next in merit £20, with a silver medal of the same size. The £75 previously mentioned will be expended in prizes for the best essays upon the subject given, and for which all those who have studied at Edinburgh University within the last ten years will be invited to contend. For these liberal donations, the Professor said, they were indebted to Mr Fellowes of Ryegate, in Surrey, whom the late worthy and learned Baron Maseres, with a discrimination that did him honour, had selected to be the heir of his fortune. Mr Fellowes had evinced a rare superiority to the love of private gratification, and seemed rather disposed to view himself as the guardian of a sacred public trust. Actuated by such principles, he had seized this occasion to testify his respect for the University of Edinburgh, and his personal regard for the Professors, as an intimate private friend of the late excellent Baron. "If these first marks of his favour," said the Professor, "produce the good effects that may be anticipated, it is possible that we may yet obtain more substantial proofs of his patronage." Perhaps it is proper to add, that the Professor made honourable mention, at the same time, of the conduct of the Magistrates and Town Council, the patrons, who, with a liberality that augured better times, had granted him a sum for procuring additional apparatus, and had promised farther supplies for the same purpose.

19.—Dinner to Joseph Hume, Esq. M.P.—This day a public entertainment was given to Joseph Hume, Esq. M.P. in the Waterloo Hotel, by about four hundred and thirty gentlemen, citizens of Edinburgh. We may venture to say, that no public man was ever received in any town with a more genuine and hearty welcome than Mr Hume on this occasion; and it must have been gratifying alike to him and the public of Edinburgh. Leonard Horner, Esq. was in the chair, who, after the usual regal toasts had been drank, rose to propose the health of Mr Hume, and proceeded to review the life of that public-spirited Statesman.

The enthusiasm, he said, which the bare mention of his name excited, proved the meeting to be well acquainted with the firm ground whereon his fame was built. Mr Hume had not devoted himself to those questions where immediate and profitable renown was to be won, but to the difficult and wearisome task of unravelling the voluminous public accounts of a mighty commercial empire; and, by perseverance, he had so well armed himself with their minutest details, that he was able to come forward and meet the directors of every branch, each in his particular department. Nor had Mr Hume to contend only with the weapons which his adversary brought openly into the field. It would be a great stretch of charity to believe, that, in making the returns which Mr Hume required from the public offices, the clerks were particularly careful to present them in that condensed form, which would enable the Honourable Member to obtain his information with the least possible trouble, or the least risk of error. I will answer for it, that these official gentlemen took especial care that he should have abundance of figures,—that he should have a considerable mass of crude matter to distil before he should be able to obtain the essence he was in search of (*a laugh*). That this was the case, there is no doubt, for my Honourable Friend has again and again stated in his place in Parliament, that accounts, which it took weeks to understand, might have been rendered perfectly clear and intelligible by a single hour's labour on the part of the clerks. There is a part of Mr Hume's conduct connected with this subject, which deserves to be particularly noticed, as it forms a very remarkable contrast with that of some of his opponents. At the very moment they were resisting every proposal of Mr Hume's to economise the resources of the country, they were urging Ministers to break faith with the public creditor. But what was Mr Hume's conduct on this occasion, in the midst of all his efforts to lessen the weight of taxation? With that honesty and consistency which has marked the whole of his public life, he protested against so dishonest a proposition, and gave his strenuous support to his Majesty's Ministers, when they announced their determination to uphold the national credit undoubted and secure (*applause*). There was also another part of Mr Hume's conduct to which he would direct their attention—his exertions to procure the abolition of the Combination Laws; and still more, the manly manner in which he had acted and spoken respecting combinations. Yet in speaking of what Mr Hume had

done in national questions, he was but doing him half his deserved honour: for in all others wherein the people of Scotland were more immediately concerned, they had found him a strenuous and an effective champion. But proud as they must feel in rendering him this tribute of applause, they could scarcely be equally so with the Honourable Member himself, when he saw that vast assemblage of the most independent and intelligent minds of his native land, pressing forward to do homage to his patriotism. (*Mr Horner sat down amidst tumults of applause.*)

Mr Hume returned thanks: he had, he said, done no more than many of his fellow-citizens would have done, similarly situated. To hard labour he had been accustomed from his boyish days; it had become, as it were, a recreation; and now that he had acquired for himself a fortune in a foreign land, he esteemed it both a duty and a pleasure to devote the remainder of his days to improving the moral and political condition of his fellow-countrymen. In such circumstances, he had no emoluments to look for from office—nothing to lure him from the path whereon he had set forth. He had obtained an independent scat for his native town, and greatly he wished that he could say as much for the representative of Edinburgh. Yet he still entertained the greatest confidence that extensive benefit would eventually result to Scotland from the investigation which had taken place respecting the close-burgh system. He never would despair of success for any measure, while the people acted upon sound principles. When he found in the House of Commons the details of our great establishments contained in a page or two, and that millions were voted away upon an estimate of a few lines, the difficulties he had to encounter appeared as great as those in the task he now called on them to step forward and undertake. Were not, he would ask, the many intelligent citizens he saw around him as capable of electing their rulers, as those 32 or 33 into whose hands it was intrusted? Year after year he had been aspersed, and in refutation he would only appeal to those who knew his private life:—he had been called ambitious—that he would own: he was indeed ambitious of serving his country to the utmost; and the events of this day would be a stimulus to redouble his exertions. (*Mr Hume sat down amid universal applause.*) The Honourable Member rose again, in a short time, to propose a toast—"Prosperity to the City of Edinburgh."

A number of other eloquent speeches and appropriate toasts followed; among

others, "Catholic Emancipation, and the removal of all religious disabilities," was given by Mr James Moncrieff; "Mr Brougham, and the cause of general Education," by Mr John Cunningham; and "The Independent Burghs which returned Mr Hume to Parliament," by Mr Peter Brown. Mr Hume, in returning thanks, eulogized the Press. "Through the freedom of the Press," he said, "all the misdeeds which power would conceal are made known,—all change of sentiment or proceedings which might take place in any order of society was instantly communicated to every part of the country. It was impossible," he concluded, "to point out the manifold advantages we derive from 'The Liberty of the Press,'"—(*Toast drunk with great enthusiasm.*)

Mr Jeffrey, in rising to propose a toast, prefaced it by alluding to the repeal of the Combination Laws. They had long been a blot, he observed, on the statute-book, and at length, after a full enquiry in Parliament, were expunged thence without opposition. The chief mischief connected with them was the rancorous feeling which was engendered among the labouring classes, by denying to them this privilege of lawfully adopting measures for protecting their interests. This led them to form secret cabals and combinations, in which they acquired habits and feelings which reduced them almost to the condition of desperate outlaws. Their abolition was one of Mr Hume's proudest triumphs. Unfortunately, scarcely were they repealed, when a fearful set of combinations started up in the country: but every one at all acquainted with human nature must be aware, that the repeal of a series of laws which had long galled a large body of the people, must necessarily cause some commotion,—a kind of sea-sickness, among them. As the novelty, however, of the state which they now enjoyed passed away, so would the mischiefs that novelty had generated; but the benefits of the state itself would remain. The Learned Gentleman reprobated the inconsistency of the misled men, in supposing that Mr Hume, whose object was to give freedom to trade, would assist them in enslaving their employers. As the friend,—the advocate of the labouring classes, he entreated them to abstain from those violent and unjust measures which could scarcely fail to reduce them again within their former shackles.—[At the earnest request of the Meeting, Mr Jeffrey consented to furnish a copy of his speech for publication.]—Mr Jeffrey concluded

by giving—"The Freedom of Labour; but let the labourer recollect, that in exercising the freedom of his own rights, he cannot be permitted to violate the rights of others."

Mr Cockburn, after an elegant speech, which was loudly applauded, gave "The Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, and a cordial union of all men and of all parties, for the moral improvement of Edinburgh.—A number of other well-selected toasts followed after, which Mr James Gibson Craig eulogised the merits of Mr Horner, and proposed a vote of thanks for his conduct in the chair, which was carried by acclamation. The meeting then, at a few minutes past twelve o'clock, broke up.

A beautiful lunar rainbow was lately observed at Falkirk. The night being calm, and the sky clear, it remained visible for nearly twenty minutes, with great vividness and effect, bestriding the heavens nearly to the height of the zenith. The prismatic colours were very distinct, the outer edge of the arch being of a dark greenish tinge, while the inner was of a fine orange; and what was remarkable, the whole space within the compass of the bow was of a brilliant whiteness, like the appearance exhibited by the sky during aurora borealis.

The workmen employed in digging the foundation of the new lock at Carron, found lately, at a considerable depth, the horn of a stag, imbedded in a stratum. We understand the fossil, with a scientific account of its discovery, will be transmitted to the Wernerian Society.

Improved Railway Carriages.—Mr W. H. James, of Birmingham, has constructed a model of an Improved Railway Carriage, for working upon both straight and curved rail-roads, and for ascending and descending hills of any elevation. The action of the wheels in turning angles enables the carriage to deviate an inch and a-half in the yard from a direct line, without any more friction than is necessary in passing straight forwards; this is done, by simply causing the wheels on one side of a train of carriages to travel from the ground faster than the wheels on the other side; and the object of ascending hills is effected by causing the engine to act directly upon every wheel of a train of carriages, so as to give to each wheel a perfect rotatory motion of its own, which compels it to advance forwards without being dragged by the locomotive engine, as is necessary in the present system.

APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, &c.

I. ECCLESIASTICAL.

The King has presented the Rev. James Maitland to the Parish of Kells.

The Duke of Buccleuch and curators have presented the Rev. David Stevenson to the Parish of Wilton.

James Scott, Esq. of Brotherton, has presented the Rev. James Glen to the Parish of Beulah.

The Associate Baptist Congregation of Whitburn, have given an unanimous call to Mr John Downes.

II. MILITARY.

BREVET.—for November.

- Maj. Gen. Sir H. Lowe, K.C.B. local rank of Lieut. Gen. upon the Continent of Europe 29 Sept. 1825
- Capt. Macfarlane, Adj. E. I. C. Dep. at Chatham, local rank of Maj. 6 Oct.
- W. Thorne, local rank of Lieut. Col. on the Continent of Europe only 15 do.
- 1 Dr. Gds. Cornet Tyssen, Lieut. by purch. vice Master, prom. 6 do.
- G. H. Thompson, Cornet do.
- 3 Assist. Surg. Ingham, from 22 F. Assist. Surg. vice Brown, 22 F. 15 do.
- 4 Cornet Ogle, Lieut. by purch. vice Nash, prom. 1 do.
- Hon. W. Vaughan, Cornet do.
- 1 Dr. Surg. Young, from 10 F. Surg. vice Stead, ret. 22 Sept.
- 4 B. Ogle, Cornet by purch. vice McCafferty, prom. 10 Aug.
- J. Elton, Cornet by purch. vice Ramsbottom, prom. 2 Sept.
- 6 Lieut. Armstrong, Adj. vice Boyd, res. Adj. only 15 do.
- Lieut. Down, Capt. by purch. vice Hassard, ret. 29 do.
- 7 R. Dore, Cornet by purch. vice Hope-tem, prom. 22 do.
- 8 Reg. Surg. W. J. Mawdsley, Quart. Mast. vice Donahoe, h. p. 29 do.
- 9 Cornet Runckly, Lieut. by purch. vice Markham, prom. 8 Oct.
- C. S. Fowler, Cornet 29 Sept.
- 10 Surg. West, from 27 F. Surg. vice McRobert, h. p. 6 Oct.
- 11 Cornet Bambrick, Lieut. by purch. vice McKern, prom. 12 do.
- A. Bolton, Cornet do.
- 12 Capt. Vandeleur, Maj. by purch. vice Strevell, prom. 1 do.
- Lieut. Harrington, Capt. do.
- 13 A. Brown, Cornet by purch. vice Campbell, prom. 8 Sept.
- Col. F. G. Ensign Hon. C. Howard, from 70 F. Ensign and Lieut. by purch. vice Fane, prom. 22 Oct.
- 5 F. Gds. Colonel Clitherow, Lieut. Colonel vice Rooke, h. p. res. diff. 1 do.
- Lieut. Col. Keate, Maj. with the rank of Col. do.
- Lieut. Col. Hall, from h. p. Capt. pay, do. do.
- 1 F. Ensign Ogilvy, Lieut. by purch. vice O'Brien, 29 F. 1 Oct.
- F. Lucas, Ensign do.
- 8 Lieut. Lang, from 15 Dr. Capt. by purch. vice Hailes, prom. do.
- 9 D. H. Heathcote, Ensign by purch. vice Ogle, prom. 8 Sept.
- 10 Assist. Surg. Graham, from 51 F. Surg. vice Young, 1 Dr. 22 do.
- 11 Ensign Bell, Lieut. by purch. vice Mitchell, 96 F. 15 do.
- J. Gould, Ensign do.
- Ensign Gardiner, from 37 F. Lieut. vice Haldenby, dead 29 do.
- 16 Hon. — Hay, Ensign vice McKenzie, dead 6 Oct.
- J. W. F. Prettejohn, Ensign by purch. vice Hay, 71 F. 22 do.
- 17 Capt. Bouverie, from h. p. (pay diff.) Capt. vice Grey, 45 F. 18 Aug.
- 5 F. S. C. Hilton, Ensign by purch. vice Dore, prom. 17 Sept. 1825
- Assist. Surg. Martindale, Surg. vice Heriot, 6 Dr. Gds. 29 do.
- T. R. Ambro, Ensign by purch. vice Young, prom. 21 do.
- Lieut. O'Brien, from 1 F. Lieut. vice Thatcher, 57 F. 1 Oct.
- A. Scott, Ensign by purch. vice Cum- mings, 88 F. 15 do.
- Lieut. Higge, from h. p. Lieut. vice Hannell, 40 F. 24 Sept.
- Ensign Gough, Lieut. by purch. vice Butler, prom. 1 Oct.
- Ensign Mansergh, Lieut. by purch. vice Lynch, 97 F. 22 Sept.
- W. W. Stanton, Ensign do.
- Lieut. Warle, from h. p. Lieut. vice Murray, 56 F. 15 Oct.
- Assist. Surg. Mostyn, Surg. vice West, 10 Dr. 6 do.
- Hosp. Assist. Mullarky, Assist. Surg. do.
- Ensign Irving, Lieut. by purch. vice Lord S. Lennox, prom. 22 do.
- B. Broadhead, Ensign do.
- Hosp. Assist. Minty, Assist. Surg. vice Graham, 10 F. 22 Sept.
- Lieut. Colthurst, Capt. vice Lord S. Kerr, dead 29 do.
- White, from 14 F. Lieut. do.
- Ensign Markham, Lieut. by purch. vice Paik, prom. 23 Oct.
- F. J. Griffin, Ensign vice Wardell, 58 F. 15 do.
- J. S. Greene, Ensign by purch. vice Moores, ret. 29 Sept.
- Ensign Deshon, from 8 F. Lieut. by purch. vice Greene, prom. 6 Oct.
- Ensign Foskett, Lieut. by purch. vice Airey, prom. 22 do.
- E. S. Bayly, Ensign do.
- Lieut. Thatcher, from 20 F. Lieut. vice Hantley, prom. 1 do.
- Cornet J. Ralston, from h. p. 25 Dr. Ensign vice Gardner, 11 F. 29 Sept.
- Bl. Lieut. Col. Dunbar, from 66 F. Maj. by purch. vice Valiant, prom. 8 Oct.
- L. W. Yeo, Ensign by purch. vice Amiel, ret. 6 do.
- Capt. Seymour, from h. p. Capt. vice Willocks, 81 F. 22 do.
- Lieut. Kinkley, from 2 Vet. Bn. Lieut. vice Newport, prom. 8 April
- Lieut. Olipherts, from 2 W. I. R. Lieut. vice Robertson, 92 F. 22 Sept.
- Fitz Herbert Coddington, Ensign by purch. vice Hotham, 85 F. do.
- Lieut. Gledstanes, Adj. vice Woollard, 55 F. do.
- G. M. Dalway, Ensign by purch. vice M'Crea, prom. do.
- Ensign M'Cleverty, Lieut. by purch. vice Kenyon, 77 F. 6 Oct.
- H. Leech, Ensign do.
- Capt. Smith, from h. p. Paymast. vice Pilon 29 Sept.
- Lieut. Murray, from 25 F. Lieut. vice Bell, dead 15 Oct.
- Lieut. Doran, Capt. vice Mathers, dead 6 do.
- Ensign Clark, Lieut. do.
- R. Macgregor, Ensign do.
- Lieut. Hammill, from 21 F. Lieut. vice Swamy, New South Wales Vet. Comp. 24 Sept.
- 2d Lieut. and Adj. Coghlan, rank of 1st, do. 12 Oct.
- 2d Lieut. and Adj. Liddele, do. 13 do.
- Ensign Hay, from h. p. 2d Lieut. vice Colman, cancelled 6 do.
- Capt. T. Fawcough, Maj. by purch. vice Arbuthnot, prom. 1 do.
- Lieut. Briggs, from 50 F. Capt. do.

- 61 F. G. Goung, Ensign by purch. vice Hunter, prom. 1 Oct. 1825
- 65 A. H. L. Wyatt, Ensign by purch. vice Dundas, prom. 17 Sept.
- 66 Ensign Johnston, Lieut. by purch. vice Murray, prom. 1 Oct.
- G. Douglas, Ensign 8 do.
- 69 W. T. Smyth, Ensign by purch. vice Keiley, 52 F. 29 Sept.
- 71 Staff Assist. Surg. Bartley, Assist. Surg. do.
- Ensign Lord A. Lennox, Lieut. by purch. vice Montagu, prom. 22 Oct.
- Ensign Hon. — Hay, from 16 F. Ensign do.
- 75 Lieut. Hamilton, Capt. by purch. vice Mac Mahon, ret. 15 Sept.
- Ensign Seymour, Lieut. do.
- C. D. O'Connell, Ensign do.
- R. Bullic, Ensign vice Howard, prom. 8 Oct.
- 71 Ensign Vallancey, Lieut. by purch. vice Black, prom. do.
- H. C. Pocock, Ensign do.
- Staff Assist. Surg. Brisbane, Assist. Surg. 6 do.
- 77 J. Powell, Ensign vice Irvine, dead 29 Sept.
- Lieut. Kenyon, from 18 F. Lieut. vice Molyneux, 57 F. 6 Oct.
- C. W. P. Magua, Ensign 15 do.
- Ensign Steele, Adj. vice Molyneux do.
- 78 Capt. Douglas, Maj. by purch. vice Falconer, prom. 22 do.
- Lieut. Twopeny, Capt. do.
- Ensign Vassall, Lieut. do.
- J. Macleod, Ensign do.
- 80 Ensign Thomas, Lieut. vice Molony, dead 15 Sept.
- Cornet Cood, from h. p. Royal Waggon Train, Ensign do.
- Lieut. Ellis, Capt. vice Phelps, dead 29 do.
- F. H. Graham, Ensign by purch. vice Good, prom. 1 Oct.
- 81 Brevet Maj. Horton, Maj. by purch. vice Taylor, prom. 22 do.
- Capt. Willcocks, from 58 F. Capt. do.
- 82 Lieut. Holdsworth, from h. p. Col. Comp. Mauritius, Paymast. vice Williams, dead 22 Sept.
- 85 Lieut. Swinburne, Capt. vice Sanderson, dead 6 Oct.
- 81 Hon. M. St. Clair, Ensign by purch. vice Faber, cancelled 15 do.
- 85 Hosp. Assist. Smyth, Assist. Surg. 6 do.
- 88 Ensign Hon. C. Monckton, Lieut. by purch. vice Jardine, ret. 21 Sept.
- Ensign Galloway, Lieut. by purch. vice Mitchell, ret. 22 do.
- Ensign Cumming, from 20 F. Ensign 21 do.
- 89 S. J. Sutton, Ensign 22 do.
- Lieut. Hawkins, from 44 F. Capt. by purch. vice Agnew, ret. 15 Oct.
- 92 Lieut. Macpherson, Capt. vice Donaldson, dead 22 Sept.
- Lieut. Robertson, from 40 F. Lieut. do.
- Capt. Winchester, Maj. vice Charlerton, dead 16 Aug.
- Lieut. J. McDonald, Capt. by purch. vice Gannell, ret. 6 Oct.
- Lieut. Waymouth, from 52 F. do. 13 do.
- Ensign McCumming, Lieut. by purch. 6 do.
- C. Galwey, Ensign do.
- 95 J. H. Johnston, Ensign by purch. vice Delancey, 16 F. 22 Sept.
- 91 Ensign and Adj. Spiller, rank of Lieut. 6 Oct.
- 95 Gent. Cadet S. G. Dalgety, from R. Mil. Coll. Ensign vice Price, 78 F. do.
- 96 Lieut. Mitchell, from 11 F. Capt. by purch. vice Borlase, ret. 8 Sept.
- Ensign Cumberland, from 35 F. Lieut. by purch. vice Ouseley, prom. 15 Oct.
- 97 Lieut. Lynch, from 25 F. Capt. by purch. vice Colthurst, ret. 17 Aug.
- 98 F. Lieut. Maxwell, from h. p. 25 F. Lieut. vice Dutton, New S. Wales Comp. 24 Sept. 1825.
- Ensign Gregory, Lieut. by purch. vice Allan, prom. 1 Oct.
- J. H. Armstrong, Ensign do.
- Lieut. Wolfe, Adj. vice Stevens, prom. 6 do.
- 99 Hosp. Assist. Dobson, Assist. Surg. 22 Sept.
- Rifle Brig. — Smith, 2d Lieut. vice Vivian, 15 do.
- 1 W. I. R. Lieut. Walton, from h. p. R. York Rangers, Lieut. vice Warner, New South Wales Comp. 24 do.
- Ensign McPherson, Lieut. vice Olpherts, 10 F. 22 do.
- P. C. Codd, Ensign do.
- Lieut. Fraser, from h. p. 95 F. Paymast. vice Stottford, dead do.
- Ensign Dickenson, Lieut. vice Kettlewell, dead 15 Oct.
- F. Codd, Ensign do.
- Ceylon R. Lieut. Peimsey, from h. p. 81 F. Lieut. vice Woolhouse, cancelled 8 Sept.
- Cape C. Lieut. A. Armstrong, Capt. vice Stuart, dead 15 do.
- Ensign Warden, Lieut. do.
- J. North, Ensign do.
- Afr. C. Co. Ensign Calder, Lieut. vice Dowling, ret. do.
- Stapleton, Lieut. vice Splaine, dead 22 do.
- Vol. E. Hartley, Ensign do.
- Lieut. Ring, Adj. vice Patterson, res. do.
- Adj. only do.
- E. Cooke, Ensign by purch. vice Calder 28 do.
- Lieut. Rogers, Capt. vice de Barrallier, dead 29 do.
- Ensign Turner, Lieut. do.
- J. P. Hardy, Ensign do.
- C. Nott, Ensign vice Carmody, dead do.

Ordnance Department.—Royal Artillery.

- 2d Capt. Roimer, Adj. vice Gordon, prom. 29 July 1825.
- Simmons, from h. p. 2d Capt. vice Roimer 29 do.
- 1st Lieut. Wright, 2d Capt. do.
- 2d Lieut. St. John, 1st Lieut. do.
- Gent. Cadet W. F. William, 2d Lieut. do.
- Lieut. Col. Macdonald, Col. vice Thornhill, dead 29 Aug.
- Maj. and Lieut. Col. Holcombe, Lieut. Col. do.
- Capt. and Brevet Maj. Addams, Maj. do.
- 2d Capt. and Brevet Maj. Mitchell, Capt. do.
- 2d Capt. Andrews, from h. p. 2d Capt. do.
- 1st Lieut. Mathias, 2d Capt. do.
- 2d Lieut. Davies, 1st Lieut. do.

Royal Engineers.

- 1st Lieut. Wortham, 2d Capt. vice Birch, h. p. 24 Sept. 1825.
- 2d Lieut. Walpole, 1st Lieut. do.
- Gent. Cadet R. Howorth, 2d Lieut. 6 Aug.
- J. D. Healty, Lieut. 12 Sept.
- R. Dashiwood, Lieut. do.
- C. C. Wilkinson, Lieut. do.
- J. Greatorex, Lieut. do.
- W. Renwick, Lieut. do.
- T. H. Rimmington, Lieut. do.
- W. E. Broughton, Lieut. do.

Staff.

- Lieut. Col. Stavelly, from R. Staff Corps, Dep. Quant. Mast. Gen. in the Mauritius, vice Nesbitt, res. 29 Sept. 1825.

Hospital Staff.

- Hosp. Assist. Dyce, Assist. Surg. vice Melin, prom. 22 Sept. 1825.
- Wood, Assist. Surg. vice Bartley, 74 F. 6 Oct.
- H. Mackesey, Hosp. Assist. 22 Sept.
- R. Johnston, Hosp. Assist. vice Minty, 51 F. do.
- W. Macready, Hosp. Assist. vice Mularky, 27 F. do.
- D. Browne, Hosp. Assist. vice Wood, do.
- W. H. Crawford, Hosp. Assist. vice Smyth, 83 F. do.

*Unattached.**To be Lieut.-Colonels of Infantry by purchase.*

Major Stawell, from 12 Dr.	1 Oct. 1825.
Arbuthnot, from 65 F.	do.
Vahant, from 57 F.	8 do.
Taylor, from 81 F.	22 do.
Falconer, from 78 F.	do.

To be Majors of Infantry by purchase.

Capt. Hailes, from 8 F.	1 Oct. 1825
Webb, from 5 Dr.	22 do.

To be Captains of Infantry by purchase.

Hartley, from 37 F.	1 Oct. 1825.
Butler, from 22 F.	do.
Allan, from 38 F.	do.
Nash, from 4 Dr. Gds.	do.
Murray, from 66 F.	do.
Hon. H. D. Shore, from 4 Dr. Gds.	8 do.
Markham, from 9 Dr.	do.
Smith, from 2 Life Gds.	do.
Stevenson, from 38 F.	15 do.
Hon. H. S. Fane, from Coldst. Gds.	22 do.
Montagu, from 71 F.	do.
Lord S. Lennox, from 28 F.	do.
Palk, from 32 F.	do.
Wemyss, from 4 Dr. Gds.	do.
Airey, from 54 F.	do.

To be Lieutenants of Infantry by purchase.

Ensign Hunter, from 64 F.	1 Oct. 1825.
Hon. R. Howard, from 75 F.	8 do.
Cook, from 80 F.	15 do.

To be Ensigns by purchase.

G. J. Rush	1 Oct. 1825.
J. F. Wetherall	do.
F. Deacon	8 do.
H. Reynolds	do.
S. D. Clarke	do.
H. Curling	22 do.
H. S. James	do.
G. Robinson	do.

Exchanges.

Major Heathcote, from 27 F. with Major Dansey, 88 F.	
Bt. Lieut. Col. Staveley, from Staff Corps, with Capt. Jackson, h. p.	
Capt. Dawson, from African Col. Corps, with Lieut. Col. Raimey, h. p. 55 F.	
Babington, from 1 Dr. Gds. rec. diff. with Capt. Quicke, h. p.	
Randall, from 6 Dr. rec. diff. with Capt. Orme, h. p.	
Raymond, from 19 F. with Capt. Taylor, h. p. 40 F.	
Lamphier, from 19 F. rec. diff. with Capt. Hely, h. p. 25 F.	
Wroughton, from 54 F. rec. diff. with Capt. Hon. H. S. Fane, h. p.	
Morton, from 53 F. rec. diff. with Capt. Hill, h. p.	
Dennis, from 62 F. with Capt. Mair, h. p.	
Seymour, from 65 F. with Capt. Wood, h. p. 5 Dr. Gds.	
McLame, from 75 F. with Capt. Hammond, h. p.	
Leaper, from 79 F. rec. diff. with Capt. Marshall, h. p.	
Smith, from 89 F. with Capt. Thorp, h. p.	
Lieut. Collins, from 2 Dr. Gds. with Lieut. Hedley, 4 F.	
Dent, from 10 Dr. rec. diff. with Lieut. Osborne, h. p.	
Morritt, from 7 F. rec. diff. with Lieut. Chambre, h. p. 64 F.	
Plunkett, from 37 F. with Lieut. Freeman, h. p. 18 Dr.	
Blakeway, from 45 F. with Lieut. Foster, Cape Corps Cav.	
Foster, from 45 F. with Lieut. Kearney, h. p. 31 F.	
Noyes, from 56 F. rec. diff. with Lieut. Keating, h. p. R. W. I. Ran.	

Lieut. Cornwall, from 76 F. with Lieut. Beere, h. p. 71 F.	
Duke, from 91 F. with Lieut. Barney, h. p.	
Ensign Webster, from 51 F. with Ensign St. Ledger, 12 F.	
Paymast. Irvine, from 72 F. with Capt. Graham, h. p. 80 F.	

Appointments Cancelled.

Lieut. Colonel Slessor, as ret. Maj. h. p. 35 F.	
Lieut. Robinson, 2 F.	
Woolhouse, Ceylon R.	
2d Lieut. Colman, 60 F.	
Ensign Faber, 84 F.	
Assistant Surgeon Portelli, 28 F.	

Resignations and Retirements.

Major General Miller, late of Royal Marines	
Colonel Earl of Lonsdale, h. p. Sheffield Reg.	
Bailie, h. p. Surrey Rang.	
Light, h. p. 25 F.	
Lieut. Col. Humphrey, h. p. Unatt.	
Rudd, h. p. Insp. Field-Officer	
Major Colthurst, 97 F.	
Reynolds, late 8 Vet. Bn.	
Browne, h. p. 105 F.	
Amory, h. p. 5 Gar. Bn.	
Capt. Hassard, 6 Dr.	
Mac Mahon, 75 F.	
Agnew, 89 F.	
Gammell, 92 F.	
Borlase, 96 F.	
Warren, h. p. 25 F.	
Sankey, h. p. 29 F.	
Evelyn, h. p. 60 F.	
Mulhall, h. p. 6 Irish Brigade	
Walsh, h. p. 54 F.	
Morrall, h. p. 9 F.	
Cole, h. p. 82 F.	
Galwey, h. p. 64 F.	
Bogle, h. p. Cape Rang.	
Eustace, h. p. 8 F.	
Huddleston, h. p. 46 F.	
Clonard, h. p. 4 Irish Brigade	
Bromhead, h. p. 28 Dr.	
Lieut. Jardine, 88 F.	
Michell, 88 F.	
Dowling, R. African Col. Corps	
de Lorentz, h. p. 1 F.	
Lynn, h. p. 78 F.	
Rope, h. p. 24 F.	
Brett, h. p. 24 Dr.	
Comet Doherty, h. p. 25 Dr.	
Ensign Moore, 55 F.	
Amiel, 57 F.	
Gordon, h. p. 13 Gn. Bn.	
Shenley, h. p. 4 F.	
Conolly, h. p. 71 F.	
Heatley, h. p. 99 F.	
Smith, h. p. 43 F.	
Rae, h. p. 6 Irish Brigade	

Deaths.

Colonel Thornhill, R. Art. Jamaica	28 Aug. 1825.
Major Phelps, 80 F.	
Charlton, 92 F. Jamaica	
J. Hewett, 52 F. New Brunswick	25 do.
Shekleton, h. p. 54 F. Maj. of Brigade at Quebec	
Lenn, 19 F. Cork	24 Oct.
Capt. Sutherland, 53 F. lost with the Comet Steam Packet, off Greenock	25 do.
Mathers, 59 F. on board the ship Euphates, on passage from India	12 Aug.
Sanderson, 85 F. on passage from Ceylon	do.
Purefoy, h. p. 79 F. Walsworth	21 do.
Mather, Dublin Co. Mil.	26 Sept.
Rose, 89 F. in the Burman Territory	7 March
Cannon, do. do.	do.
Lieut. Haldeby, 11 F.	
Kettlewell, 2 W. I. R. Honduras	
Oxley, R. African Col. Corps, Cape Coast Castle	25 June
Eyre, R. Eng. Tobago	21 Aug.
Walker, h. p. 4 Dr. Whitecross, near Wakefield	22 May
Grobetker, h. p. R. Wagg. Train, Disport, Wittengen, Prussia	11 July

Lieut. Osbourne, h. p. 35 F. Bruges 4 Sept. 1825
 — Marshall, 77 F. Jamaica
 — Jefferson, 5 R. Vet. Bn. and Riding Mast-
 to 1 L. G. London 16 Oct.
 Ensign Mackenzie, 16 F.
 — Irvine, 77 F.
 — Carmody, R. African Col. Corps, Cape
 Coast Castle
 — Coxen, h. p. 14 F. Windsor 15 Sept.
 — Lawton, h. p. 95 F. Ireland 15 Aug.
 Quartermast. Folienus, h. p. 7 Dr. Gds. Rush House,
 Swords, Dublin 21 Sept.
 — Sutton, h. p. 1 Irish Brigade 29 do.
 Assist. Surg. Bulkley, 16 F. on passage from Cey-
 lon 14 July

*Officers Killed and Wounded in the Do-
 minions of the King of Ava, between
 6th March and 1st April 1825.*

Killed.

Captain Rose, 89 F. 7 March 1825
 — Cannon, do. do.

Wounded.

Lieut. Gordon, 47 F. severely, not dangerously
 Captain Evanson, 54 F. do. do.
 Lieut. Harris, do. do. do.
 — J. Clarke, do. do. do.
 — W. J. King, 39 F. slightly 7 March
 — C. G. King, do. do. do.
 — Currie, do. do. do.

Appointments, Promotions, &c. continued.

4 Dr. Gds. Lieut. Stamer, Capt. by purch. vice
 — Whitecote, prom. 29 Oct. 1825
 1 Dr. Surg. Jameson, from 75 F. Surg. vice
 — Young, cancelled 22 Sept.
 Lieut. Slade, Capt. by purch. vice
 — Webb, prom. 22 Oct.
 Cornet Philipps, Lieut. by purch. do.
 1 F. Capt. Macdougall, from 1 Vet. Bn. Capt.
 8 April
 Lieut. Sargent, do. Lieut. do.
 4 — Rawstorne, do. Lieut. do.
 5 — Fleming, do. Lieut. do.
 6 — Pilkington, do. Lieut. vice Bowl-
 by, 90 F. do.
 8 Bt. Maj. Lyster, from 3 do. Capt. do.
 9 Ensign Browne, from 1 do. Ensign
 7 do.
 — Maxwell, do. Ensign do.
 Lieut. McGrath, from 2 do. Lieut. do.
 Ensign Croker, do. Ensign 8 do.
 Hosp. Assist. Tighe, Assist. Surg. 7 do.
 20 Oct.
 3 Ensign Peel, Lieut. by purch. vice Mac-
 pherson, 91 F. do.
 — Dwyer, from 3 Vet. Bn. Ensign 7 April
 Forbes, Ensign by purch. vice Peel 29 Oct.
 23 Capt. Harrison, Maj. by purch. vice
 — England, prom. 29 do.
 Lieut. Waller, Capt. do.
 2d Lieut. Beaulieu, Lieut. do.
 H. R. H. C. Elwes, 2d Lieut. do.
 26 Capt. Platt, from h. p. Capt. vice Mur-
 ray, exchange rec. diff. 20 do.
 Ensign Brebant, Lieut. by purch. vice
 — McNiven, prom. 29 F. 29 do.
 J. Guthrie, Ensign do.
 27 Ensign Frame, from 3 Vet. Bn. Ensign
 7 April
 Lieut. McNiven, from 26 F. Capt. by
 purch. vice Chambers, prom. 29 Oct.
 J. J. Burgoyne, Ensign by purch. vice
 — Markham, prom. 22 do.
 33 Lieut. O'Neill, from 2 Vet. Bn. Lieut.
 vice Barrs, prom. 9 April
 41 — Webb, from h. p. 86 F. Lieut.
 vice Spencer, 18 F. 20 Oct.
 Hosp. Assist. Dartnell, Assist. Surg.
 vice Mostyn, prom. 81 F. do.
 15 Lieut. O'Mara, from h. p. African
 Corps, Paymast. vice Webb, h. p. do.
 18 — Weston, Capt. by purch. vice
 — Brooke, ret. do.
 — Sweeney, from 3 Vet. Bn. Lieut.
 vice Hay, prom. 5 F. 9 April
 40 Hosp. Assist. Ellison, Assist. Surg. 20 Oct.

53 F. Lieut. Carpenter, Capt. by purch. vice
 O'Grady, prom. 29 Oct. 1825
 Capt. Hamilton, from 1 Vet. Bn. Capt.
 9 April
 Lieut. Hensworth, from 2 Vet. Bn.
 Lieut. 7 do.
 Ensign Thompson, from h. p. Ensign
 vice Dely, 1 W. I. R. 20 Oct.
 Capt. Dillon, from 2 Vet. Bn. Capt.
 8 April
 Lieut. Hunt, Capt. by purch. vice
 — Wood, prom. 29 Oct.
 66 Lieut. Kirwan, Capt. by purch. vice
 — Dunbar, prom. 37 F. do.
 P. W. Braham, Ensign by purch. vice
 — Howard, Coldt. Gds. 22 do.
 D. T. Barton, Ensign by purch. vice
 — Campbell 29 do.
 Surg. Clarke, from Cape Corps, Surg.
 vice White, h. p. 20 do.
 74 Ensign Kearnes, from 2 Vet. Bn. En-
 sign 7 April
 Assist. Surg. Graham, from 31 F. Surg.
 vice Jameson, 1 Dr. 22 Sept.
 77 Ensign Porter, from 1 W. I. R. Lieut.
 vice Marshall, dec. 20 Oct.
 81 Assist. Surg. Mostyn, from 41 F. Surg.
 — Cogan, ret. do.
 85 Capt. Burgess, from 2 Vet. Bn. Capt.
 8 April
 88 Lieut. Woollard, Adj. vice Soutar, res.
 the Adj. only 20 Oct.
 89 Lieut. Butler, from 1 Vet. Bn. Lieut.
 vice Blayney, Rifle Brig. 9 April
 91 Capt. Rivers, from 3 Vet. Bn. Capt. 8 do.
 Lieut. Macpherson, from 18 F. Capt.
 by purch. vice Richardson, ret. 20 Oct.
 92 Capt. Pilkington, from h. p. 59 F.
 Capt. vice Peel, exchange do.
 91 Lieut. Gillessa, from h. p. Lieut.
 Bickerton, exchange rec. diff. do.
 Rifle Brig. Lieut. Woodford, Capt. by purch. vice
 — Percival, prom. 29 do.
 2d Lieut. Stewart, 1st Lieut. do.
 J. Benyon, 2d Lieut. do.
 1 W. I. R. Ensign Dely, from 62 F. Ensign For-
 ter, prom. in 77 F. 20 do.
 Ceyl. Reg. Lieut. Phelan, from h. p. 41 F. Lieut.
 vice Whitaker, cancelled do.
 Cape Corps Assist. Surg. Parrott, from the Prov.
 Bn. Surg. vice Clarke, 72 F. do.

Staff.

Cape of G. H. Maj. C. A. Fitzroy, h. p. Dep. Adj.
 Gen. with Rank of Lieut. Col. vice Blake, res.
 20 Oct. 1825.

Medical Department.

Hosp. Assist. Grant, Staff Assist. Surg. vice Mil-
 lar, prom. 20 Oct. 1825.
 C. Bell, Hosp. Assist. vice Grant do.
 A. Gibson, Hosp. Assist. vice Squir, 93 F. do.
 J. Ewing, Hosp. Assist. vice Tighe, 16 F. do.

Unattached.

Major England, from 23 F. Lieut. Col. of Inf. by
 purch. 29 Oct. 1825.
 Capt. Chambers, from 29 F. Major do. do.
 — O'Grady, from 55 F. Major do. do.
 — Whitecote, from 4 Dr. Gds. Major do. do.
 — Wood, from 65 F. Major do. do.
 — Percival, from Rifle Brig. Major do. do.
 Lieut. Small, from 25 F. Capt. do.
 Ensign Hon. G. Upton, from 45 F. Lieut. do. vice
 — Berkeley, cancelled do.
 Gent. Cadet Wilkie, from R. Mil. Coll. Ensign do.
*The following Officers have been allowed
 to dispose of their Half-pay.*
 Col. Sir J. M. Doyle, as Lieut. Col. 12 Garr. Bn.
 29 Oct. 1825.
 Lieut. Col. Ryves, as Maj. and Perrin. Assist. Quart.
 Mast. Gen. do.
 Col. Thomas, as Maj. R. Waggon Train do.
 Major O'Connell, 18 F. do.
 Major Sir T. T. F. E. Drake, Bt. 52 F. do.
 Major Ouseley, Port. Service do.
 Capt. Im Thurn, 35 F. do.
 Ensign Robinson, Cape Reg. do.

Cancelled.

Assist. Surg. Graham, 10 F.
 — Foote, 12 F.
 — Ewing, 86 F.

CORN MARKETS.

Edinburgh.

		Wheat.		Barley.	Oats.	Pease.	Quar. Loaf.	Potat. p. peck.	1825.	Oatmeal.		R. & P. Meal.	
		Bls.	Prices.	Av. pr.						Bls.	Peck.	Bls.	Peck.
		s. d. s. d.	s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.		s. d.	
Nov.	16	92 1/2	50 0 37 0	53	5	28 0 37 6	18 0 22 6	20 0 22 6	0 10	1 0	Nov. 15	506	1 5 41 1 5
	25	107 6	29 0 36 0	52	10	30 0 35 0	18 0 22 0	20 0 25 0	0 10	1 0		309	1 4 36 1 2
	30	615	30 0 37 0	34	2	30 0 33 9	18 0 23 0	21 0 23 0	0 10	1 0		29	1 4 36 1 2
Dec.	7	757	30 3 37 0	53	7	28 0 35 0	19 0 21 0	19 0 27 0	0 10	1 0	Dec. 6	326	1 5 38 1 2
	14	638	28 0 35 0	53	2	28 0 32 6	19 0 23 0	20 0 25 0	0 10	1 0		370	1 5 48 1 2

Glasgow.

1825.	Wheat, 240 lbs.				Oats, 264 lbs.		Barley, 520 lbs.		Brs. & Pcs.		Oatmeal	Flour,	
	Dantzic.	For. red.	British.	Irish.	Scottish.	Irish.	Scots.	Alfons.	140 lbs.	280 lbs.			
	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Nov.	16	—	—	31 0 51 0	19 0 21 0	28 6 32 0	54 0 56 0	26 0 27 0	17 6 20 0	53 44			
	25	—	—	31 0 51 0	19 0 21 0	27 6 32 0	54 0 56 0	26 0 27 0	17 6 20 0	53 44			
	30	—	—	32 0 34 6	19 0 21 0	27 0 32 0	54 0 56 0	25 0 27 0	17 6 20 0	53 44			
Dec.	7	—	—	32 0 34 6	19 0 22 0	27 6 32 0	54 0 56 0	24 6 27 0	17 6 20 0	53 44			
	14	—	—	32 0 34 6	19 0 22 0	29 0 32 0	54 0 56 0	24 6 27 0	17 6 20 0	53 44			

Huddington.

1825.	Wheat.			Barley.	Oats.	Pease.	Beans.	1825.	Oatmeal.		
	Bolls.	Prices.	Av. pr.						Per Boll.	Pr. Peck	
		s. d. s. d.	s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.		s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	
Nov. 18	714	27 6 55 6	32 2	27 0 35 6	18 0 25 0	18 25 0	18 0 22 0	Nov. 14	17 9	19 3	1 3
25	621	30 6 55 0	52 0	28 0 38 0	18 0 25 6	18 22 0	18 0 22 0	21	17 6	18 9	1 3
Dec. 2	470	28 0 53 6	55 6	28 0 32 0	17 0 25 0	17 21 0	18 0 22 0	28	17 6	18 6	1 3
9	722	26 0 57 9	51 7	28 0 32 0	17 0 25 0	17 22 0	18 0 22 0	Dec. 7	18 0	19 6	1 3
16	635	27 6 53 0	50 8	26 0 31 0	18 0 22 0	17 21 0	18 0 22 0	12	18 0	19 3	1 3

Dalkeith.

London.

1825.	Wheat, per qr.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.		Beans.		Pease.		Flour, 280 lb.		Quar. Loaf.
				Fd & Pol.	Potat.	Pigeon.	Tick.	Boiling.	Grey.	Fine.	2d.	
	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. d.
Nov.	14	50 74	58 44	50 47	23 30	25 35	41 54	40 46	48 55	46 48	55 60 45 54	27 32
	21	50 75	58 44	50 47	23 30	25 35	44 54	40 46	46 54	46 48	55 60 45 54	10
	28	50 71	54 40	50 48	25 31	26 34	44 54	40 46	48 56	46 48	55 60 45 54	10
Dec.	5	50 71	54 40	29 47	25 31	26 34	44 54	40 46	50 58	47 49	55 60 45 54	10
	12	48 70	54 40	28 45	25 31	26 31	41 54	40 46	50 58	47 49	55 60 45 54	10

Liverpool.

	Wheat.		Oats.	Barley.	Rye.	Beans.	Pease.	Flour.		Oatmeal.	
	70 lb.	45 lb.						King.	Irish.	Amer.	Engl.
	s. d. s. d.	s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	240 lb.	190 lb.		
Nov.	15	89 10 9	54 3 7	5 0 6 6	38 44	42 50	52 56	58 53 16	20 50 54	27 32	
	22	89 10 9	53 3 8	5 0 6 8	38 44	46 52	52 56 50	54 23 26	28 53	27 29	
	29	89 10 9	53 3 8	4 10 6 8	38 44	46 52	52 56 50	54 23 26	28 53	27 29	
Dec.	6	89 10 6	53 3 8	4 10 6 8	38 44	46 52	51 54 51	55 23 26	28 53	27 29	
	13	80 0 6	53 3 8	4 8 6 8	38 44	46 52	51 54 48	55 23 26	28 53	27 29	

England & Wales.

1825.	Wht.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Pease.	Oatmeal.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Nov.	5 65 3	41 5	41 11	26 9	46 7	54 4	—
	12 65 2	42 4	41 5	26 10	46 2	54 4	—
	19 64 11	42 10	40 5	27 3	46 5	50 10	—
	26 65 3	43 8	41 5	26 4	46 5	48 8	—
Dec.	5 64 8	42 6	41 11	26 12	45 11	48 2	—

Nov. 12.—Quarterly Average wheat price, as Importation.

Wheat, 6s. 2d.—Barley, 41s. 4d.—Oats, 36s. 4d.—Rye, 41s. 11d.—Beans, 46s. 3d.—Pease, 34s. 10d.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE,

Kept at Edinburgh, in the Observatory, Caltonhill.

N.B.—The Observations are made twice every day, at nine o'clock forenoon and four o'clock afternoon.—The second Observation, in the afternoon, in the first column, is taken by the Register Thermometer.

1825.	Ther.	Baro.	Attach. Ther.	Wind.	Weather.	1825.	Ther.	Baro.	Attach. Ther.	Wind.	Weather.
M.39	29.33	M.50			Dull, but	Nov.16	M.31	29.82	M.45		Fresh, mild,
A.47		A.46			fair.		A.45	.854	A.44		with sunsh.
M.33	.256	M.18			Foren. cold	17	M.35	.507	M.41		Foren. fair,
A.47	.85	A.45			aftern. rain.		A.45	.437	A.43		rain aftern.
M.32		M.45			Rain morn.	18	M.35	.338	M.42		Rain morn.
A.40		A.40		NE.	and foren.		A.41	.302	A.41		and aftern.
M.53	29.25	M.40		NW.	Cold & dull,	19	M.51	.502	M.42		Dull, cold,
A.39	.67	A.40			but fair.		A.39	.438	A.41		with hail.
M.30	.428	M.58		SW.	Sleet for en.	20	M.54	.636	M.41		Dull, with
A.36	28.518	A.40			rain aftern.		A.41	.251	A.48		shrs. rain.
M.24	.526	M.42		NE.	Cold, but	21	M.55	.119	M.47		Dull, with
A.40	.801	A.40			fair.		A.45	.292	A.45		h. shs. sleet.
M.28	.728	M.38			Keen frost.	22	M.32	.480	A.40		Fair, sunsh.
A.34	.822	A.38					A.38	.843	A.40		but cold.
M.29	.875	M.38		Cble.	Ditto morn.	23	M.31	.639	M.44		Day dull,
A.35	.696	A.54			dull day.		A.44	.805	A.43		rain even.
M.29	.685	M.36			Keen frost,	24	M.36	.766	M.43		Dull, slight
A.54	.892	A.38			snow on hills		A.42	.565	A.43		rain aftern.
M.22	.999	M.36			Ditto.	25	M.51	.867	M.40		Frost morn.
A.28	.999	A.33					A.37	.746	A.43		rain even.
M.26	29.276	M.36			Ditto.	26	M.39	28.930	M.46		Day rain,
A.36	.403	A.35					A.48	.978	A.42		snow even.
M.24	.482	M.35			Morn. frost,	27	M.28	.370	M.40		Frost morn.
A.30	.540	A.35			day mild.		A.34	.370	A.38		snow night.
M.30	.402	M.42			Ditto.	28	M.51	28.754	M.36		Snow, sleet,
A.40	.102	A.41		W.			A.32	.580	A.36		and rain.
M.50	.540	M.38			Ditto.	29	M.50	.590	M.37		Foren. snow,
A.37	.750	A.38		W.			A.56	.925	A.36		aftern. h. rain.
M.29	.920	M.37			Ditto.	30	A.28	.260	M.57		Morn. frost,
A.5	.925	A.39		NW.			A.32	.260	A.55		sleet night.

Average of rain, 1.811.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

Loud westerly winds, with occasional slight showers, prevailed between the 16th and 22d November. On the 28th, the lower districts were covered with snow: this was dissolved by the beginning of December, but the ground received a fresh covering on the 5th. A thaw succeeding, ploughs were at work on the 7th; and where the ground is not too wet, plowing has not met with any obstruction, and that operation is far advanced for the season. The depth of rain since our last is nearly three inches. The mean temperature in the central district of Scotland is 39° Fahrenheit; under this temperature, vegetation has made no progress till within these six past days, when the mercury ranged from 40° to 44°, which has given young wheat a fresh and growing appearance. Turnips received a check by severe frost early in November, which they have not yet recovered; their next stage of vegetation will be to run to flower stem; a circumstance not to be wished for in the winter months, either by the feeder or the farmer.

The Highland mountains have been deeply covered with snow, of which a considerable part has been lately dissolved, and sheep are partially relieved from threatened starvation. Springs now yield a plentiful supply of water, and mills can now be kept in perpetual motion.

Our corn-markets have been rather dull of late, and prices are rather looking down; this reverse is perhaps occasioned more by the unsettled state of the money-market in England, than by any excessive importation of foreign barley. Pease maintain their price, and oats are in demand. The price of wheat is nearly stationary. Potatoes, in town, bring from 14s. to 16s. per boll. Hay sells at 11d. per stone. In butcher-meat there is little alteration.

At all public sales of growing timber, high prices were obtained: from 2s. 6d., to 3s. per foot was the general rate for ash and elm;—a proof of the scarcity of timber, and also of the demand which the present state of agriculture excites.—*Perthshire, 13th December 1825.*

Course of Exchange, London, Dec. 13.—Amsterdam, 12 : 9. Ditto at sight, 12 : 6. Rotterdam, 12 : 10. Antwerp, 12 : 10. Hamburg, 37 : 9. Altona, 37 : 19. Paris, 3 days sight, 25 : 40. Ditto, 25 : 75. Bourdeaux, 25 : 75. Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 153. Petersburg, 9½, 3 U. Berlin, 7. Vienna, *Eff. flv.*, 10 : 15. Trieste, ditto, 10 : 15. Madrid, 36½. Cadiz, 36½. Bilbao, 36½. Barcelona, 36. Seville, 36½. Gibraltar, 31. Leghorn, 49. Genoa, 44. Venice, 27. Buenos-Ayres, 43½. Naples, 40. Palermo, per oz. 122. Lisbon, 50½. Oporto, 51. Rio Janeiro, 48½. Bahia, 50. Dublin, 9½—Cork, 9½ per cent.

Prices of Bullion, £ oz.—Portugal Gold in coin, £.0.0.0. Foreign Gold in bars, £.3.17.6d.—New Doubloons, £.0.0.0. New Dollars, 4s. 10½d. Silver in bars, standard, 0s. 0d.

Premiums of Insurance at Lloyd's.—Guernsey or Jersey, 15s. 9d. a 20s.—Cork or Dublin, 15s. 9d. a 20s.—Belfast, 15s. 9d. a 20s.—Hamburg, 20s. a 30s.—Madeira, 20s.—Jamaica, 25s. a 30s.—Home, 6s. a 8 Gs.—Greenland, out and home, 0 a 0 gs.

Weekly Prices of the Public Funds, from Nov. 16 to Dec. 14, 1825.

Nov. 16. | Nov. 23. | Nov. 30. | Dec. 7. | Dec. 14.

Bank Stock.....	221	221	214	214½	198
3 ¼ cent. reduced.....	84½	84	81½	83	78½
3 ¼ cent. consols.....	85½	84½	81½	—	—
3½ cent. do.....	93	91½	89½	90½	83
4 ¼ cent. do.....	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto New do.....	102½	102	99½	—	—
India Stock.....	—	—	251	—	—
— Bonds.....	7 pr.	par.	15 dis.	—	50 di.
Exchequer bills.....	1 pr.	2 dis.	18 pr.	—	—
Consols for account.....	85½	84½	82½	84½	82½
French 5 ¼ cents.....	97 fr.50 c.	93 fr.25 c.	94 fr.50 c.	97 fr.50 c.	92 fr.50 c.

Prices of Stocks.—Edinburgh, 16th December 1825.

	Shares.	Paid up.	Price.
Royal Bank of Scotland.....	£.100 0 0	£.100 0 0	
Bank of Scotland.....	83 6	83 6 8	
Commercial Banking Company of Scotland...	500 0	100 0 0	
National Banking Company,.....	100 0	10 0 0	
British Linen Company,.....	100 0	100 0 0	
Edinburgh Friendly Insurance Company,...		100 0 0	£.100 0 0
Caledonian Fire Insurance Company,.....	100 0	10 0 0	
Hercules Insurance Company,.....	100 0	10 0 0	
North British Insurance Company,.....	200 0	10 0 0	0 0
Edinburgh Life Assurance Company,.....	100 0	10 0 0	
Insurance Company of Scotland,.....	10 0	10 0 0	10 0
Scottish Union Insurance Company,.....	20 0	1 0 0	0 6
West-of-Scotland Insurance Company,.....	10 0	10 0 0	
Edinburgh Coal Gas Company,.....	25 0	17 2 6	38 0 0
Ditto Oil Gas Company,.....	25 0	11 10 0	
Leith Oil Gas Company,.....	20 0	20 0 0	18 0 0
Edinburgh Portable Gas Company,.....	10 0	4 0 0	
Edinburgh Joint Stock Water Company,.....	25 0	25 0 0	
Forth and Clyde Canal Company,.....	Average.	400 16 0	50 0 0
Union Canal Company,.....	50 0	50 0 0	
Australian Company,.....	100 0	40 0 0	
Caledonian Iron and Foundry Company,.....	25 0	2 0 0	1 10 0
Shotts Iron and Foundry Company,.....	50 0	20 0 0	21 1 0
Edinburgh and Leith Glass Company,.....	20 0	9 0 0	
Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Alloa Glass Co....	20 0	4 0 0	
North British Loan Company,.....	50 0	3 0 0	
London, Leith, Edin., & Glasgow Shipping Co.	0 0	0 0 0	42 0 0
Scottish Porter Brewery Company,	20 0	4 0 0	
Leith and Hamburg Shipping Company,...	0 0	0 0 0	
Caledonian Dairy Company,.....	25 0	0 0 0	

ALPHABETICAL LIST of ENGLISH BANKRUPTS, announced between the 23d of October and the 19th of November 1825: extracted from the London Gazette.

- Ashby, G. S. Lombard-street, engraver.
 Asprey, St. George, Hanover-square, silversmith.
 Augier, M. Marchmont-street, bill-broker.
 Baker, F. Hendon, potter.
 Baker, W. S. W. H. Kensington-lane, silk-hat-manufacturer.
 Baillister, J. Worcester, victualler.
 Barham, T. Warwick, slater.
 Binks, G. Balham-hill, dealer.
 Bland, J. Tysoe-street, Spa-fields, baker.
 Bizard, W. Petersham, butcher.
 Bolton, E. and W. Sparrow, Maugate-street, upholsterers.
 Bousfield, J. Manchester, merchant.
 Bromley, Mary, and J. Gilling, Commercial-road, cheesemongers.
 Brown, J. Upper Thornhaugh-street, Cold Harbour-lane, builder.
 Brunton, J. Southwick, Durham, shipbuilder.
 Brown, J. and J. Thompson, Fenchurch-street, merchants.
 Buchanan, C. Woolwich, shoemaker.
 Burn, J. New street, Covent garden, grocer.
 Burnell, W. S. New London-street, merchant.
 Burnell, F. J. St. Mary-hill, ship and insurance-broker.
 Carrington, W. Fore-street, cheesemonger.
 Clarke, J. B. Walworth, dealer.
 Collicott, R. S. Weston, Somerset, clothier.
 Conway, J. Upper Stamford-street, Lambeth, builder.
 Cowper, G. Oxford street, linen-draper.
 Cowper, J. Coptinall-court, merchant.
 Davies, E. Lambeth, engineer.
 Dawson, E. Knare-borough, butcher.
 Dennett H. Fulham-road, cheesemonger.
 Dibdin, C. Zion-place, Waterloo-road, music-seller.
 Dolby, J. Catherine street, bookseller.
 Dutton, S. Oat-lane, Noble-street, Cheapside, warehouseman.
 Dunham, W. Coleman street, victualler.
 Earle, J. Liverpool, dealer.
 Edwards, J. Thames-bank, nonfounder.
 Edgar, W. Castle street, Holborn, coal merchant.
 Fatley, B. Manor-street, Chelsea, bricklayer.
 Fell, H. Grocer's-hall-court, merchant.
 Fern, S. Bell-street, Edgeware-road, corn-dealer.
 Filby, S. Haresden-green, Harrow-road, bricklayer.
 Flint, T. Burlington arcade, bookseller.
 Fowler, M. Birmingham, grocer.
 Franklin, R. Wilmot-street, Brunswick-square, tailor.
 Fulljones, A. V. Judd-street, linen-draper.
 Garbutt, G. Bishopwearmouth, Durham, bookseller.
 Gilbert, C. S. Devonport, chemist.
 Giles, W. Heston, dealer.
 Godden, W. Portsea, carpenter.
 Goodyear, T. Aldersgate-street, straw-hat-manufacturer.
 Green, S. Kingsland, plumber.
 Green, T. Leabury, Hereford, corn-dealer.
 Gregory, J. Froune, Selwood, Somerset, rope-maker.
 Gregory, T. Ealing, bookseller.
 Harding, R. Chapel-street, Somers Town, timber-merchant.
 Harris, G. W. and C. Evans, Southampton, linen-draper.
 Harpham, H. J. Nottingham, hosier.
 Higgins, H. Nottingham, baker.
 Honeybourne, J. Portsea, builder.
 Humphreys, J. Harlow, builder.
 Hyatt, J. Bristol, carpenter.
 Jackson, J. Hammersmith, shopkeeper.
 Jennings, J. Leicester, soap-boiler.
 Jupp, E. Camden-town, builder.
 Kirk, E. Manchester, cotton-spinner.
 Know, J. and J. W. Rent Mills, near Wilsden, York, cotton-spinners.
 Lancashire, J. Littlebourne, builder.
 Langford, T. T. Lamb's Conduit street, china and glassman.
 Lawson, T. Manchester, cotton spinner.
 Leonard, R. Cheapside, warehouseman.
 Devy, J. Church-street, Minorities, silversmith.
 Lewis, D. Lampeter, Pontstephen, Cardigan, inn-keeper.
 Lewis, J. Langbby, Monmouth, dealer.
 Lintott, W. Leadenhall-market, butcher.
 McMurdo, W. and W. C. Pout, Epping, stationers.
 Massey, P. Bristol, hooper.
 Masters, W. Duke-street, Aldgate, woollen-draper.
 Mash, J. Bordesley, glass-cutter.
 Miller, W. Lower Thames-street, warehouseman.
 Mizen, J. Southwaxall, Wilts, baker.
 Moberley, W. Old Broad-street, merchant.
 Morris, R. and W. T. Tower street, wine-merchant.
 Munday, T. Great Marlborough-street, cheesemonger.
 Newnham, H. P. Tower-hill, flour-dealer.
 Norris, S. Cobham-row, Coldbath-fields, brewer.
 Orelayno, G. Nottingham, carriage-maker.
 Orme, R. Burton-upon-Trent, draper.
 Orton, S. Athelstone, woolstapler.
 Parmenter, G. Earl-street, Blackfriars, coal-merchant.
 Parr, J. Nottingham, victualler.
 Patterson, W. and W. Elliott, Basinghall-street, merchants.
 Perkins, T. Manchester, cotton-spinner.
 Peacock, J. Watford, stationer.
 Pearman, W. Easton-street, music seller.
 Perkins, R. Egham, carpenter.
 Piermont, M. Strand, victualler.
 Pitter, J. Cheltenham, grocer.
 Pollard, F. Penton row, Walworth, umbrella-maker.
 Pott, W. Union street, Southwark, victualler.
 Powell, J. Southampton-buildings, Holborn, tailor.
 Pudeaux, W. J. Square, and W. Pudeaux, jun., Kings-bidge, Devon, bankers.
 Pritchard, J. and J. Burton, Yewley, brickmakers.
 Rawlings, R. Castle-street, Leicester-square, jeweller.
 Reid, R. High street, Mary-le-bone, upholsterer.
 Reynolds, W. Liverpool, cotton-broker.
 Ridley, W. Castle-street, Holborn, carpet-dealer.
 Rigg, T. B. Chelsea, commission-agent.
 Roebuck, J. Huddersfield, wholesale-grocer.
 Roberts, Sir W. Whiteombe, Rawleigh, Devon, banker.
 Roby, T. Tamworth, tanner.
 Rowson, J. Mining-lane, merchant.
 Sapio, L. B. Alpha-cottage, Regent's-park, music-seller.
 Seagrove, W. Portsea, draper.
 Shaw, A. Delphi, York, grocer.
 Smith, C. S. Bishopsgate-street, draper.
 Smith, J. O. High-street, Borough, draper.
 Smith, J. sen. and J. Smith, jun., Cateaton-street, warehouseman.
 Smyrk, T. and J. Hope, Manchester, calculator.
 Stewart, R. S. Preston-upon-Wye, milliner.
 Stevens, J. Regent-street, bootmaker.
 Stockey, R. and J. Nicholas, Upper Thames-street, coal-merchants.
 Stokes, J. Bristol, miller.
 Symonds, W. Stow-market, miller.
 Tatton, T. Gerrard-street, grocer.
 Taylor, J. Manchester, machine-maker.
 Thompson, S. Carlisle, milliner.
 Thornwate, W. C. W. Ryland, and J. Wills, Fleet-street, ironmongers.
 Till, C. Taunton, linen-draper.
 Tinsley, W. Arnold, Nottingham, blacksmith.
 Trott, T. Haxton, builder.
 Wait, G. T. Old-street, linen-draper.
 Walsh, T. Preston, grocer.
 Wehnert, H. Leicester-square, tailor.
 Wells, J. and W. Onyon, Bishopsgate-street-without, woollen-drapers.
 West, J. and R. Doren, Golden-square, tailors.
 Weston, W. Clarendon-st. Somers Town, builder.
 Wilkie, A. Duke-street, Portland-place, upholsterer.
 Wilson, J. King-street, merchant.

Wilson, G. Constitution ro Gray's-linn-road, coin-dealer.
 Wilson, J. Leeds, dealer.
 Williams, S. Finsbury square, merchant.
 Wilmott, R. S. Paddington-street, builder.
 Williams, W. and W. Scott, Broad-court, wine and spirit merchants.

Winter, G. Bucklersbury, merchant.
 Wise, W. Piccadilly, picture-dealer.
 Woods, J. and H. Williams, Hastings.
 Worley, J. Fish-street-hill, wine & spirit merchant.
 Wright, G. Birmingham, merchant.
 Wright, H. Eccleston-street, Fimlico, merchant.
 Young, B. Camberwell-new-road, carpenter.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SCOTCH BANKRUPTCIES and DIVIDENDS, announced November 1825; extracted from the Edinburgh Gazette.

SEQUESTRATIONS.

Rob, Adam, grocer and spirit-dealer in Paisley.
 Campbell, William, tailor and clothier in Glasgow.
 Hazel, Henry Johnstone, merchant in Dundee.
 Hill, David, builder in Edinburgh.
 Moxton, Robert, jeweller in Edinburgh.
 Roberts & Crawford, paper-makers at Kenlieth Bank-Mill, parish of Currie.
 Robb, William, partner of Inglis & Robb, merchants in Glasgow.
 Wilson, Andrew, spirit-dealer at Bankton, near Glasgow.

DIVIDENDS.

Clyne, John, merchant in Leith; by Atkinson Ralston, writer in Edinburgh.
 Hutton, John, late chemist at Water of Leith; by D. Paterson accountant in Edinburgh.
 King, Robert & Co. merchants in Greenock; by R. Baird, merchant there.
 McLennan, Murdoch, messenger at Tullich of Loch-carron; by the trustee at Corry, by Broad-ford.
 Robertson, Samuel, late spirit merchant in Leith; by William Virtue, merchant there.
 Turnbull, Robert, seedsman in Edinburgh; by James Lawson, W. S. there.

Obituary.

CHARLES MACALISTER, ESQ. YOUNGER OF STRATHAIRD.

THE loss of this excellent and esteemed young man, in the Comet Steam-boat, off Gourock, on the 21st of October last, is one of the most cruel bereavements inflicted by a deplorable catastrophe, which has plunged so many respectable families in mourning, and left to surviving friends the sad duty of recording their unavailing regrets.

Mr Charles Macalister was the youngest son of Alexander Macalister, Esq. of Strathaird, in the Isle of Skye, and the last of three sons who have died within the short space of fifteen months. Having made choice of the law as a profession, he applied himself assiduously to the study of that science in its different branches, and was, in due time, admitted a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet. A natural acuteness and perspicacity of mind, united to great zeal in favour of whatever he engaged in, with a constitutional firmness and decision of character, which nothing could bend from the path prescribed by honour and duty, naturally gave promise of future eminence in his honourable calling, and would, doubtless, have speedily conducted him to that consummation, if length of days had been allotted him, and if other hopes and prospects had not interfered to withdraw him from prosecuting a profession, which his mental and moral qualifications equally fitted him to adorn. It is truly heart-rending to think, that a life so dear to his family and friends, and which inspired the hopes of so much usefulness, should have been cut short in a moment, not by the sudden access of a fatal dis-

ease, or any other natural dispensation of Providence, but by a catastrophe resulting from a combination of ignorance, negligence, and inhumanity, almost without parallel in the history of similar calamities. Mr Macalister, who had, a short time previous to his death, been admitted a freeholder of the counties of Inverness and Argyle, perished in the thirty-second year of his age; at the moment, it may be said, when he was secured in an independent fortune, and thus placed in a situation to indulge, in their fullest extent, the natural generosity and independence of his character.

The deceased was a dutiful son, an affectionate brother, a firm, zealous, and generous friend. He possessed a delicate, nay, romantic sense of honour and independence, which, however, were uniformly under the guidance of sound discretion and right feeling: of his personal constancy and courage he gave several highly honourable proofs; and he was equally capable of inspiring and of cherishing the most ardent friendship and attachment. Respect for the feelings of the living alone prevents us from recording many traits in his character, and many acts of benevolent generosity, which reflect honour on human nature, and the remembrance of which is calculated to soothe the poignancy of the grief occasioned by his premature fate. Esteemed by every one who knew him, to his chosen friends his loss is altogether irreparable; for they will not soon "look upon his like again." One of those friends in whose estimation the deceased

has left few equals in many of the noblest qualities of the heart, has attempted to record this humble tribute to the memory of one he loved; and, however unavail-

ing or inadequate it may seem, still he feels it consoling to say with the poet,

Ihs saltem accumulalem donis, et fungar inani Munere.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

1825. Sept. 5. At Hopewell, St. Ann's, Jamaica, the Lady of William Shand, Esq. of Balmakewan, a daughter.

Oct. 16. At Madeira, the Lady of John Cross Buchanan, of Auchintoshan, Esq. a son.
29. Mrs Kirkwood, Paterson's Court, Broughton, Edinburgh, a son.

— At Edinburgh, the Lady of Arch. Macbean, Esq. royal horse artillery, a daughter.

30. At his house in Portland Place, London, the Lady of James Stewart, Esq. M. P. a son.

— At Charlotte-Street, Leith, Mrs Thomas Young, a son.

31. At Usan, Mrs Keith, a daughter.

Nov. 2. At Worminster, Fife-shire, Mrs David Lindsay, a son.

3. At Dunsinane, Mrs Nairne of Dunsinane, a daughter.

— At Auchmleck Manse, Mrs Boyd, a son.

— At Bellast, the Lady of Major Middleton, 72d regiment, a son.

5. At Cheltenham, the Lady of Henry John William Collingwood, Esq. younger of Lilburn, a son and heir.

— At Pitt-Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Bayley, a daughter.

6. At Garrairg, Mrs Miller, a son.

7. At 61, York Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Andrew Tawse, a daughter.

8. At his house, on Richmond Terrace, London, the Lady of Robert Wilmot Horton, Esq. M. P. a son.

10. At Kensington, the Lady of Dr Walker S. Morson, a son.

11. At 17, Dublin-Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Stuart a son.

12. At Rockvale House, Low Torrie, Mrs McQueen, a son.

— At Kirkaldy, Mrs Menzies, a son.

18. At Holland Place, Glasgow, the widow of the late Captain Lewis Campbell, R. N. a daughter.

— At Tayfield, Mrs Berry, a son.

19. At No. 2, Gilmour Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Balfour, a son.

— At St. Vincent-Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Gemble, a son.

21. At Edinburgh, Mrs Anderson, Walker-Street, a son.

24. At Montrose, the Lady of Campbell Locke, Esq. R. N. a son.

27. At 4, Bellevue Crescent, Edinburgh, Mrs Ratray, a son.

Lately. At Teawig, the Lady of Dr Chisholm, Royal Regiment of Artillery, a son.

— At Northfield, parish of Dunipace, the wife of Donald McDermott, servant to Mr Randal Callender, was delivered by Dr Buchanan, Denny, of three children. The first, a boy, on the 15th; the second, a girl, still-born, on the 20th current; the third, a girl, the same day. The mother and children are doing well.

MARRIAGES.

1825. June 17. At Bombay, Captain Bruce Seton, third son of the late Sir Alex. Seton, Bart., Aid-de-Camp to the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, to Miss Jane Elphinstone, daughter of John Elphinstone, Esq. of the Civil Service, and late Member of Council at Bombay.

July 1. At St. Thomas's Mount, Madras, John Walker, Esq. Civil Service, eldest son of James Walker, Esq. of Blackheath, to Margaret Somerville, second daughter of Mr William Allan, merchant, Leith.

Oct. 20. In the Protestant Church of La Tour, in Piedmont, by licence from his Britannic Ma-

jesty's Plenipotentiary to the Court at Turin, Josiah Webb Archibald, Esq. of Porto Rico, to Fanny, youngest daughter of Dr Andrew Berry of Edinburgh.

Oct 24. At Hull, Mr Alex. Anderson, wine-merchant, Pathhead, Fifeshire, to Mary, third daughter of Mr John Miller, timber-merchant, Hull.

— At Slippelfield, Thomas Jackson, Esq. of Broomhill, to Jane, third daughter of Mr Simon Linton, merchant, Bigger.

— At St. Philip's Church, Liverpool, John Hall Morrison, Esq. surgeon, Gloucester-Street, there, to Catherine, daughter of James Hanney, Esq. of the city of Bath, and late merchant in Glasgow.

25. At Lismore, Argyllshire, John Derepas, jun. Esq. of Ashbourne, county of Meath, Ireland, to Margaret, second daughter of Mr John Macdonald, Glasgow, and niece to the Right Reverend Bishop Macdonald.

28. At Rosehaugh House, Ross-shire, James Walker, Esq. of Dalry, advocate, to Miss Lillias Mackenzie, youngest daughter of the late Roderick Mackenzie, Esq. of Scotsburn.

— At No. 4, South Bridge-Street, Edinburgh, Mr Johnston Carnegie, merchant, to Miss Ann, fifth daughter of Mr Playfair, brewer, Dundee.

31. At Kinloch, Charles Guthrie, Esq. younger of Taybank, to Margaret, second daughter of George Kinloch, Esq. of Kinloch.

— At Paisley, Mr William McArthur, merchant, to Janet, second daughter of James Tannahill, Esq. Barclay-Street.

— At Kelso, Robert Bruce, Esq. chief magistrate of, and writer in Kelso, to Mrs Murray, widow of the late James Murray, Esq. civil engineer.

Nov. 1. At Fort William, Alexander Macdonell, Esq. Inch, to Miss Mary Isabella Stewart, eldest daughter of Duncan Stewart, Esq. of Achnacraig, collector of his Majesty's customs at Fort William.

— At Glasgow, James Wilson, Esq. Jamockburn, to Mary, youngest daughter of the late Mr William Lennox.

— At Edinburgh, John Sinclair Cunningham, Esq. Inspector of branches of the Commercial Bank of Scotland, to Miss Janet Rhind, eldest daughter of the late Rev. Jan. Rhind, minister of Whitburn.

— At Edinburgh, Mr James Edington, merchant, Leith, to Catherine, eldest daughter of the late Mr John Richardson, builder, Peterborough.

2. At Balgarnie, David Russell, Esq. Balholvie, to Margaret Forbes, fourth daughter of the late John Scott, Esq.

— At Edinburgh, James Gilliland Simpson, of Rush Lane and Islington, London, to Jane, only child of the late Thomas Horsburgh of Lee, Peebles-shire.

— At Greenock, James Smith, Esq. Birmingham, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Thomas Nimmo, Esq. of Auchublain.

6. At Southmpps, William Shickle, Esq. of Field Dalng, county of Norfolk, to Mary, second daughter of Mr James Davidson, Perth.

8. At Mary le-bone Church, London, Sir John Thomas Claridge, Recorder of Prince of Wales Island, to Miss M. P. Scott, eldest daughter of Vice-Admiral Scott.

— At Topham Church, Devon, Adam, son of David Gordon, Esq. of Abergeldie, Aberdeen-shire, and Dulwich Hill, Surrey, to Susan, daughter of the late Rev. John Swete, of Oxton House, Devonshire.

— At Ellreton, the Rev. P. Craw, minister of St. Boswell's, to Miss Elizabeth Dunbar, youngest daughter of the deceased William Dunbar, Esq. Forres.

— At Edinburgh, Archibald Gibson, Esq. Ac

comptant, to Harriet, youngest daughter of the late James Newbigging of Whitehouse, Esq.

Nov. 8. At Collonsay House, James J. Duncan, Esq., Craigend, to Mary, eldest daughter of John McNeill of Collonsay, Esq.

10. In the Episcopal Chapel, Dumfries, John Croxton Peddie, Esq. H. M. 21st regiment, Royal Scotch Fusiliers, to Eliza, eldest daughter of the late James Baillic, Esq. of the Honourable East-India Company's Service.

11. At Edinburgh, Mr. William Wallace, Kinross, to Miss Isabella Blackwood, daughter of Mr. Blackwood, tinner, Kinross.

— At Minto, Roxburghshire, J. P. Boileau, jun. Esq. eldest son of J. P. Boileau, Esq. of Mortlake, Surry, to Lady Catherine Elliott, daughter of the late, and sister of the present Earl of Minto.

13. Mr. Andrew Robertson, merchant, Glasgow, to Miss Hedderwick, Launceston.

16. At Nottingham, Mr. Alexander Stevenson, writer in Melrose, to Elizabeth, only child of the late Mr. John Moss, Darnick.

21. At Kirkton, William Cullen, Esq. surgeon in Carlisle, to Jacobina Stuart, second surviving daughter of the late Charles Hamilton, Esq. of Fairholm and Kirkton.

22. At Stirling, the Rev. James Gillfillan, to Margaret, eldest daughter of the late William Telford, Esq.

— Andrew Barclay, Esq. second son of the late William Barclay, Esq. of his Majesty's Navy Pay-Office, to Isabella, youngest daughter of William Creelman, Esq. Portobello.

— At Paisley, Mr. Thomas Carswell, manufacturer, to Miss Jane Anderson, third daughter of the late Mr. Hugh Anderson, merchant there.

25. At Kelso, Mr. Thomas Sibbald, ironmonger, Edinburgh, to Ann, daughter of William Elliott, Esq. architect, Kelso.

Lately. At Edinburgh, George Archer, Esq. of Great Pond, St. Ann's, Jamaica, to Eliza, fourth daughter of the late Alexander Edgar, Esq. of the island of Jamaica.

— Thomas Atkinson Latta, M. D., Leith, to Mary, youngest and only surviving child of the late John Millar, Esq.

DEATHS.

1825. Feb. 22. At sea, William Small, Esq. purser of the General Ky, East Indiaman, youngest son of Andrew Small, Esq. of Durneen, sincerely regretted by his shipmates, and all who knew him.

March 22. Mr. George Skirving, late of Monktonhall. The following letter, from a worthy stranger, in a foreign land, gives the particulars of his untimely death:—

To the Reverend the Minister of the Gospel for the parish of Musselburgh, Scotland.

"Valparaiso, July 7th 1825.

"Reverend Sir—I take the liberty to address you, to communicate the untimely death of a gentleman who was, I believe, born in your parish, viz. Mr. George Skirving, and whose relations, if I am not misinformed, still live in your neighbourhood. In some conversations I have at different times had with the deceased, I think I have heard him mention Bankton Hall as the place of his native residence.

"My friend, Mr. Skirving, about thirteen years ago, came from Scotland to Buenos Ayres. He had lived in that city, and in the Banda Oriental, for seven or eight years; he then came to Valparaiso de Chili, and, about six months ago, he entered into a speculation, in various goods and produce of this country, to the coast of Peru.—Through the assistance of some friends, he bought a small vessel, and sailed for his destination, and, on the 22d of March last, at or near midnight, was wrecked upon the Isle de los Chios; he and two sailors perished, by attempting to land in a small boat, through the surf. This island is deserted, and lies about half distance between the ports of Coquimbo and Huasco, upon the main land of Chili. The crew were saved, by a vessel from Coquimbo, after being ten or twelve days upon the island, and suffering many privations.

"To his relations it may be a satisfaction to know, that Mr. Skirving was always honest and honourable in his transactions, and held in gene-

ral esteem, both by his countrymen and the natives of the country.

"Should you present this letter to any of his friends, be pleased to assure them of my sincere condolence, and, if they want any farther information, let them address me.

"I regret, reverend Sir, to put you to any trouble in this business, but as it is a matter of humanity, charity, and duty, I know it will meet your approbation—I am,

"Reverend Sir,

"Your faithful and obedient servant,

(Signed) "JOHN DAVIDSON."

The above letter has been handed to his afflicted sister, Miss Spence, Piccadilly Place, Edinburgh, and is published as a mark of esteem, for the punctuality of the worthy elegyman at home, and the humanity and attention of the unknown stranger abroad, trusting he may see it has reached its destination.

May 22. At Meerut, Lieutenant William Beveridge, of the Honourable East-India Company's service, Bengal establishment, eldest son of the late William Beveridge, Esq. W. S.

30. At sea, in the Bay of Bengal, on board the ship Providence, on her passage from the East Indies, Mrs. Smith, aged 27 years, wife of John Smith, Esq. of Droghda, Antrim, and of the firm of Messrs Ferguson and Co. Calcutta.

June 1. At Madras, Captain Felix Robson, in the service of the Honourable East-India Company, on the Madras establishment.

3. At Fort William, in the East Indies, in consequence of an accident in a buggy, with a native horse, Lieutenant-Colonel H. R. Browne, commanding his Majesty's 8th regiment.

7. At the Presidency, Madras, Colonel Jane Erskine, C. B. of his Majesty's 48th foot.

— At Indore, of cholera, John Warner, Esq. surgeon of the 15th regiment native infantry. Few men have fallen victims to this dreadful malady more sincerely and universally regretted, and in his regiment more particularly his loss will be long and severely felt. Having been suddenly ordered to afford medical aid to a detachment attacked by cholera, he was urged by his own generous and humane disposition to make unusual exertions to overtake them, the fatigue of which, added to his unremitting attention in administering to the wants of the sick, brought on this deeply-lamented event.

Aug. in Westmoreland, Jamaica, Dr. John Nisbet.

— On the Jamaica station, John Sinclair, Esq. Assistant Surgeon, H. M. S. Pylades, son of Mr. D. Sinclair, Kinloch Rannoch, justly and deeply regretted.

15. At New York, North America, William, eldest son of Mr. William Brodie, belkirk.

28. On Bath Estate, in the island of Dominica, aged 22 years, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, eldest son of Captain McLeod of the Ross-shire militia.

Sept. 9. At Rome, Caranigna, (the ancient Leonium), aged 32, Thomas Vyse Bromhead, Esq. late of Christ's College, Cambridge, only son of the Rev. Edward Bromhead, of Riepham, near Lincoln. This enterprising traveller, after an absence of five years from his native country, was hastening homewards, when arrested by a sudden and fatal disease. He breathed his last with no other attendants than his foreign servants, or the uncivilized natives, and the sad satisfaction of knowing the closing events of his life seems denied to his numerous and deeply-sorrowing friends. One of the companions of Mr. Bromhead's travels, the Rev. Joseph Cook, Fellow of Christ's College, died on a camel under almost as melancholy circumstances, near the Palm Trees of Elim, in Mauch; and the other, Henry Lewis, Esq. R. N. after traversing Palestine in his company, parted from him at Beirut, in June, and returned to England. The same post brought his own cheerful letters from Damascus, and the official announcement of his death by the Porte.

15. At Bognie, Westmoreland, Jamaica, in consequence of a fall from his horse, Benjamin Morrison, Esq. of Bognie, in the 59th year of his age.

18. At Geneva, New York State, Mrs. Janet Welsh, wife of Mr. Walter Grieve, in Geneva, and daughter of the late Mr. David Welsh, Braefoot.

24. At Peebles, Mr. John Reid, junior, surgeon, aged 19 years.

Sept. 27. At the Manse of Carstairs, William eldest son; and on the 26th of Oct. last, Rachel Kater, only daughter of the Rev. George Munro.

Oct. 3. At Leith, from the bite of a spider, Lewis Henderson, Esq. merchant, brother to Andrew Henderson, Esq. artist, Glasgow.

11. Near Lausanne, Helen Marianne, infant daughter of Alexander Scott Broadfield, Esq.

12. At Maclefield, John Vass Agnew, Esq. of Sheuchan and Bannahouch.

19. At Edinburgh, Mrs Mary Jack, aged 79, relict of the late Mr James Gail, Cowgate, Edinburgh, much and justly regretted.

20. At Ayr, Mrs Colonel Mackenzie.

— At the cavalry barracks, Norwich, aged 59 years, Sir Thomas Pate Hookin, Lieut.-Colonel of the 3d regiment of dragoons.

21. On board the Comet steam-boat, on his way to attend the College of Edinburgh, Angus Alexander Kennedy, son of John Kennedy, Esq. of Annat-farm, near Fort William; an amiable youth of great promise, much and justly regretted.

— Off Gourock, by the founding of the Comet steam packet, on her voyage from Inverness to Glasgow, Charles Bailie Sutherland, youngest son of the late Captain George Mackville Sutherland of Rhives.

22. At the house of her brother, Mr Andrew Page, surgeon, 15, Eldon-street, Edinburgh, Miss Isabella Page.

27. At Lyons, in France, Miss Mary Honyman, youngest daughter of the late Mr John Honyman, merchant in London.

28. At Edinburgh, Mrs Dawson, relict of Mr Thomas Dawson, of the Exchequer Office, Edinburgh.

— At Breehlin, James Hutton, weaver, aged about 85. This individual had been one of the town officers, and jailor of the burgh for nearly half a century. He was by no means unconscious of the dignity attached to his office. It is said, and we believe on good authority, that he used to tell a brother functionary, a Banie, long since dead, "You may decide as you please, Banie, but that's the law, and you will allow that I know the law." It was no uncommon matter for James to say to the gentlemen of the quill or bar (as they are called), "Write there, and I'll dote (dictate) what is proper to be written." We ourselves recollect of this officer, upon the occasion of a procession to a market, telling the Provost, "So and so is to be done, and I know best, for I am the member of council present."

— In Upper Hailey-Street, London, Walter Fawkes, Esq. of Farnley Hall, Yorkshire. He was a descendant of the celebrated conspirator of that name, and prided himself not a little on his pedigree.

27. At Woolwich, Mrs Chibborn, wife of Major Chibborn, royal artillery, and daughter of the late Menzies Bailie, Esq.

— William Fleming, innkeeper, Cupar Angus, aged 102. In his earlier years, he had been a soldier, and fought in the ranks of Prince Charles, at Prestonpans, in 1745. He was close by, attending on his wounded master, a Captain Wedderburn, when the brave Colonel Gardner fell, to whom he likewise afforded considerable assistance. Fleming was the first operative artificer who began to build the bridge of Perth, and the first turnpike man upon the roads of Strathmore. He lived to see his grandchildren, his great-grandchildren, and his great great-grandchildren—in all amounting to the number of nearly one hundred.

— At Southampton, Captain Alexander Richard Mackenzie, of the R. N.

28. At Banff, Mr John Richardson, painter there, aged sixty-seven years, universally respected and most sincerely regretted by a numerous circle of friends.

29. At Auchtermuchty, the Rev. James Brown, minister of the Second Associate Congregation there, in the 77th year of his age, and 41st of his ministry.

30. At Culross, Henry Brown, Esq. of Prathouse.

— At Dolls, aged six years, James Haig, son of the late James Haig, jun. Esq. Sunbury.

— At Bridgend, near Sanguhar, Thos. Barker, Esq.

31. At King Edward, the Rev. Dr Robert Duff, in the 87th year of his age, and 61st of his ministry. The parish of King Edward has been nearly an hundred years under his and his father's pas-

toral charge. The late Dr Duff has been upwards of seven years the father of the Synod of Aberdeen, and was one of the oldest ministers of the Church of Scotland.

Nov. 3. John Scott, aged 100; and on the 4th current, George Cooper, aged 103. Both these instances of longevity occurred on the estate of Knockespeck, in the parish of Clatt, Aberdeen-shire.

1. At the Manse of Dunse, Andrew, eldest son of the Rev. George Cunningham, aged 23.

— At Cornhill, Aberdeen-shire, Mrs Helen Baker, relict of the late William Baker, Esq. of Fonthill Bishop, in the county of Wilts.

— At Portsoy, after a severe illness of three years, Mrs Lillias Cameron, wife of John McLean, merchant there.

— At Haversham, Westmoreland, Henrietta, wife of the Rev. Dr Lawson, Vicar of that parish, and daughter of the late A. Hutton, Esq. of Blenheim, Perthshire.

— At Irvine, Mrs Jean Montgomerie of Craighouse, aged 68 years.

5. At Mayfield, Mr Alexander Robertson, fifth son of the late James Robertson, Esq. W. S.

— John Clapperton, Esq. of Spylaw, a gentleman who is deeply regretted by all who knew him, and whose death will be felt as a serious loss among the independent traders of Edinburgh. He was the architect of his own fortune; but his wealth was not accumulated by fawning, or by any mean or avicious arts. He courted nobody; yet was liked by all. His very bluntness had an agreeable zest conferred upon it by his known integrity. He was par excellence an honest man. In business he was at once shrewd and attentive—just and honourable; but what, in this end of the island, distinguished him most, was his independence both in spirit and conduct. May his example be followed by those of his class who remain behind; and may those who have the sense and courage to become imitators be equally successful and prosperous.

— At Collingburgh, Mr Arthur Edie, late farmer at Muircambus, much regretted.

6. At Edinburgh, Miss Helen Duncan, relict of Mr Alex. Stevenson, one of the deputy clerks of the Court of Session.

— At Ardlardan, Dumbartonshire, after a few days illness, Claud Neilson, Esq. universally regretted by all who had the pleasure of his neighbourhood or acquaintance.

— At Glasgow, Mr James Holt, merchant.

7. At Perth, aged 15, Margaret, youngest daughter of Captain Menzies, 68th regiment.

— At his house, Bonnington Place, Edinburgh, John Boyd, Esq.

8. At Ayr, Captain David Hunter, in the 80th year of his age.

— At Clayburgh, Perthshire, Mrs Janet Mitchell, wife of William Spottiswoode, Esq.

9. At Portrose, Colin Matheson, Esq. of Benntreil.

10. At Kirkcaldy, Mrs Ronaldson, widow of the late Mr Andrew Ronaldson, writer there.

— At Annan, after a lingering illness, Ottiwell Wood, Esq.

11. At No. 14, Jamaica-Street, Edinburgh, Mr Charles Robertson, in the 71st year of his age.

12. At Humber, in the parish of Durrissleer, of consumption, Mr Ebenezer Corson, late merchant in Glasgow.

— At Gainslaw, Berwick, Ralph Gilroy, Esq. late of Jamaica.

— At Ormiston, East Lothian, Mrs Margaret Reddie, widow of John Thomson, Esq. of Prior Letham, merchant in Leith.

— At Moray-Street, Leith Walk, Mr William Knox, the author of *The Songs of Israel*; *The Lonely Hearth*; *The Harp of Zion*; *A Visit to Dublin*; *Marianne, or The Widower's Daughter*; and a great variety of contributions in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, and other publications.

— At St. Bride's Mill, Mr George Nisbet, late factor on the Castle Semperton estate.

— At his residence, in Marsham-Street, Westminster, Mr J. Kennedy, at a very advanced age, and after a lingering illness. For many years he had been head door-keeper at the House of Commons, and was well known to the several Members and to the frequenters of the Commons' lobby. In such situation he amassed a considerable fortune, and had large estates in his native

country in Wales. He was a great and intimate favourite with the late Chief Baron Richards, with whom he used frequently to dine. Though the situations of the two persons nominally were so different, they were neighbours born, had been educated together, and through after life continued on the most friendly terms. His age and infirmities compelled Mr K. to retire from exertion at the latter end of last session. Mr S. Spiller is his successor as head door-keeper, a place of great emolument.

Nov. 13. At Leith, Mr Malcolm Wright.

— At Kirkcaldy, in the 15th year of her age, Elizabeth, only child of the late Rev. James Hutten, minister of Beath.

— At her house, Edinburgh, Mrs Douglas Dickson, of Hartree, widow of A. Douglas, Esq.

— At her house, 8, George Square, Edinburgh, Mrs Grace Græme, daughter of the late David Græme, Esq. advocate.

14. Mrs Marion Graham, wife of John Lang of Harthope, writer in Glasgow.

— At Edinburgh, John Fuller, Esq. M. D. late of Berwick-on-Tweed.

— At Rhives, Ross-shire, Miss Naomi Forbes. As an attached friend, combined with a character distinguished for truth, candour, and unaffected religion, she had few equals; and as such, her death is deeply lamented by all those who were acquainted with her.

— At New Pentland, Mrs Helen Dickson, wife of Mr James Train, much and justly regretted.

16. At Aberdeen, in the 60th year of his age, Mr James Cromar, rector of the grammar school there.

— At Glasgow, Alexander Finlay, Esq. carver and gilder to his Majesty for Scotland.

— At Glasgow, Mr Robert Hamilton, of the Paisley Union Bank.

— At No. 6, West George-Street, Glasgow, Sybilla, wife of John Kirkland, Esq. and only surviving sister of the late Sir Alex. Mackenzie of Avoch.

Nov. 17. At Aberdeen, Alex. Innes, Esq. surgeon.

— At Bonnyrigg, near Lasswade, Miss Beatrix Wight, daughter of the late James Wight, Esq. Ormiston.

18. At her house, in London, Mrs Sarah Elliot, widow of the late Archibald Elliot, Esq. architect.

— At his house, William's Place, Aberdeen, Mr James Leslie, late merchant, in the 81st year of his age.

19. At her house, in Gloucester Place, Glasgow, Miss Catherine Glassford, daughter of the late John Glassford, Esq. of Douglaston.

— At Edinburgh, Mary, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Leatham, 38, George Square.

20. At his house, in Linlithgow, Mr James Buncle, deservedly esteemed by all who knew him.

21. At Strathmiglo, Mrs Elizabeth Gardner, relict of Mr David Gardner, brewer there.

— At Prestonpans, Mr Andrew Watson, collector of customs.

— At No. 3, Antigua-Street, Edinburgh, Miss Elder, daughter of the late Thomas Elder, Esq. of Forneth.

— At her house, No. 7, James's Court, Mrs Christian Orphoot, relict of Mr Thos. Henderson, junior, merchant in Edinburgh.

22. At Millfield, aged 63, William Mill, Esq. sometime Provost of Arbroath, and many years agent there for the Dundee Union Bank. Mr Mill was truly a good man. He was cautious without timidity—obliging without ostentation—and honest without unnecessary pretension. His numerous family will never blush at the mention of his name, and his memory will be long held in grateful remembrance by a large circle of acquaintances, and by the public in general.

Lately. At Annan, at an advanced age, Mr John Little, writer.

At Leeds, aged 70, Mrs Fearn. Her death was awfully sudden and affecting; the report made by the breaking of a decanter, placed too near the fire, went, as she expressed it, "to her heart," and she died almost instantly.

Ruthven & Son, Printers, Edinburgh.

ERRATA IN LAST NUMBER. *

Page 520, line 1, column 1st, for "*nupretending*" read "*unpretending*."

— 524, — 13, — 2d, for "*Bhan Bhorav*" read "*Bhan Bhorar*."

— 568, — 58, — 1st, for "*cinere*" read "*cineri*."

— 577, — 4, — 1st, for "*Enchieridion*" read "*Encheiridion*."

— 578, — 7, — 1st, delete the word "*produced*."

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